

LAYMEN'S FOREIGN MISSIONS INQUIRY
FACT-FINDERS' REPORTS

INDIA - BURMA

VOLUME IV
SUPPLEMENTARY SERIES

PART TWO

ORVILLE A. PETTY, EDITOR



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EDITORIAL NOTE

The Supplementary Series to RE-THINKING MISSIONS (the Report of the Commission of Appraisal) consists of the collateral data of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry selected for publication:

Part One;

Volume I—India-Burma “Regional Reports” of the Commission of Appraisal

Volume II—China “Regional Reports” of the Commission of Appraisal

Volume III—Japan “Regional Reports” of the Commission of Appraisal

Part Two;

Volume IV—India-Burma “Fact-Finders’ Reports” (selected material)

Volume V—China “Fact-Finders’ Reports” (selected material)

Volume VI—Japan “Fact-Finders’ Reports” (selected material)

Volume VII—Home Base and Missionary Personnel, “Fact-Finders’ Reports”

Other Data (unprinted) is deposited with the Missionary Research Library in New York City, and is available for reference.

Part Two contains selected material from the Fact-Finders’ data. This material was collected and classified by the individual Fact-Finders whose names are associated with their contributions. These data as presented in the four volumes of Part Two, however, have undergone editorial treatment. Corrections have been made, abridgments have been accomplished in order to avoid duplication and in some cases material submitted has been rearranged; so that where changes have been made, the Editor, in a small way, shares responsibility with some of the individual writers.

O. A. P.

GENERAL REVIEW OF THE RESEARCH WORK OF THE FACT-FINDERS IN INDIA, BURMA, CHINA AND JAPAN

by

GALEN M. FISHER, *General Director*

THE Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry on May 28th, 1930, voted to request the Institute of Social and Religious Research to undertake and complete, by September, 1931, the fact-finding process of the Inquiry, in reference primarily to the work of the seven coöperating mission boards¹ in India, China and Japan proper, as a preparation for the work of the Appraisal Commission during the succeeding year. The problems on which the Laymen desired the Institute to gather data immediately follow this review. On June 7th, the Board of Directors of the Institute of Social and Religious Research voted to comply with the request and to defray the cost of the project, which was to be carried to completion by a staff of experts to be known as the Fact-Finders of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry. On June 23rd, the writer was appointed the general director of the project, and soon after the regional directors were appointed: Dr. H. Paul Douglass for China, Dr. C. Luther Fry for India, including Burma, and Dr. Harvey H. Guy for Japan, excluding Korea and Formosa.

The first step was to elaborate the general plan of the fact-finding process which had already been outlined for the Laymen's Committee by the General Director.

The main features of the plan were these:

1. The problems set by the Laymen would be taken as the charter of the project.
2. The project would consist of two sections, the major section being the field studies to be conducted simultaneously in India, China and Japan, the minor section embracing the studies in the United States concerning missionary withdrawals, the cultivation of the constituency

¹ The Boards are: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions; Board of Missions of the National Council of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church; Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.; Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America; Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church. The Episcopal Church Mission has no work in India, and the United Presbyterian Church Mission has no work in either China or Japan.

by the boards, the recruiting and selection of missionary candidates, and the trends in recent decades of the distribution of funds and personnel by the boards.

3. The studies in the field would cover not only the policies, personnel and operations of the seven coöperating boards but also, so far as practicable, those of the related indigenous churches.

4. The staff for each of the three countries would comprise specialists in each of the major phases of the missionary enterprise: the church and religious education, general education, medical work, agricultural economics, women's conditions and activities, the social, industrial and religious background.

In passing, it may be observed that the plan was unique in three respects: For the first time all the major aspects of the missionary enterprise were to be studied simultaneously and over a large area; the environmental factors were to be taken systematically into account; and the entire investigation and appraisal were to be conducted by agents independent of the mission boards.

The creation of this Research staff proved to be extremely difficult, as had been expected, because of the shortness of the time available and the difficulty of detaching competent persons from their positions for an entire year. Finally, however, twenty-seven specialists and seven secretarial assistants were engaged. From September 12th to September 24th, the entire staff assembled in New York and drafted schedules for the field work. The names and assignments of the staff for each country are given in the preface to each national report. Mr. Fennell P. Turner studied missionary personnel in all three countries and thus served for a short time successively on each of the national staffs. The studies made in the United States were supervised by Mr. Trevor Bowen, assistant executive secretary of the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

If there had been sufficient time, the national directors would probably have gone to their fields in advance of their staffs to make preliminary arrangements, but as this was impossible, Dr. A. L. Warnshuis, of the International Missionary Council, consented to explain the Inquiry to both missionaries and nationals in Japan and China, and Dr. J. W. Pickett was asked to render a similar service in India, but was hindered by illness.

During July and August, 1930, compendiums of background information on Japan, China and India were compiled by specialists.

The three staffs arrived at their respective destinations early in November, 1930. The impossibility of making adequate preliminary arrangements required all the staffs to spend several weeks in establishing satisfactory relationships, in procuring competent nationals to assist them and in revising and translating schedules. The unavoidably late arrival of two members of each staff greatly increased the difficulty of unifying the staff and field procedure. This difficulty was especially felt in India,

Burma and China, in each of which countries the vastness and diversity of the field required the dispersion of the staff and made frequent conference and comparison of experience impracticable. The time spent in field work was five months by the India staff, six months by the Japan staff and six and a half months by the China staff.

By invitation of the Institute, secretaries of three of the seven coöperating boards went to the field and assisted the staffs for several weeks each, particularly by enlisting the cordial coöperation of the missionaries. The Rev. Wynn C. Fairfield assisted in Japan, Dr. P. H. J. Lerrigo in China and Dr. Ralph E. Diffendorfer in India.

For the reasons stated in the Preface to this volume, the staff in India were embarrassed during the first few weeks by doubts and fears entertained regarding the Inquiry by some of the missionaries, but with this exception, the three staffs received hearty coöperation, especially from the nationals, who repeatedly expressed approval of the Inquiry and showed eagerness to have their churches and other enterprises studied. The nationals and missionaries who served either as paid associates on the staffs or as volunteer collaborators rendered invaluable aid and lessened the danger that the Inquiry would lack elements of local vantage in perspective and insight.

Attention should be called to the various studies supplementary to those made by our staff. Several of these studies were made at our request by individual missionaries or by nationals who were attached to our staff. Others were made by organizations: The North China American Board Mission and the related churches conducted an extensive self-survey based in part on our schedules; the Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations gathered representative Japanese opinion regarding various aspects of Christianity and missions. A Study of the Christian Mass Movement in India, under the auspices of the National Christian Council and with the support of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, is due to be completed in 1932.

The General Director of the project cannot refrain here from paying a tribute of admiration and gratitude to the Research Staffs. They worked from first to last under high pressure, conscious that they were attempting to glean dependable data from wide and complicated fields within time limits which some experts had declared preposterously inadequate; they had to struggle against manifold handicaps—trying climates, broken nights, poor food, unknown tongues, fragmentary records, biased and conflicting testimony; they had then to convert the vast mass of data assembled into intelligible reports in the phenomenally short space of two months. The regional directors exhibited skill, patience, charity and resource, and they were loyally supported by their associates, including the hard-driven secretarial and financial members. A number of the staff were under the doctor's care for longer or shorter periods,

but only three of the entire staff were seriously ill, and they all recovered sufficiently to complete the greater part of their allotted tasks.

THE QUALITY OF THE PROCESS AND THE PRODUCT

The reports of the national directors will tell of the sources tapped, and the general methods used in gathering the data, but no critical description or appraisal of the methodology will be attempted at this time. To do so adequately will require a more deliberate analysis than is now possible. It will suffice here to state that the regional directors and the General Director concur in considering the general plan of the study to have been essentially valid. Many omissions, both of data and procedure, could have been prevented if there had been more time. Even an increase in the size of the staffs could not have compensated for the lack of time, not only for preparation and field work but also for checking the data and writing the report.

We are fully aware of the shortcomings both in the original data and in their presentation. No effort was spared to make the various kinds of data as nearly representative and accurate as possible, but with varying degrees of success. Every social investigator knows how hard it is to make a truly "representative sampling", or to get accurate and verifiable social data even in a country like the United States, and with ample time. Obviously, it is very much harder in an Oriental country where linguistic, racial, and statistical impediments abound, and all the more so when time is lacking. But the writers of the various reports have tried to warn the reader wherever the data were inadequate or of doubtful validity, and also to discriminate between objective data and their own opinions.

Considerable importance was attached to interviews held with many representative persons, both Christian and non-Christian. In view, however, of the dangers of individual bias the material thus gathered was supplemented by numerous group discussions and was checked, so far as possible, by more exact and verifiable data. Mention should also be made of the fact that members of the staff were sometimes able to get into confidential relations with important nationals who customarily wear a mask in contacts with missionaries and other Westerners.

Possibly the chief defect of the entire fact-finding process was the slight degree to which dependable data over time could be gathered, especially with reference to the churches. The fragmentary nature of the records kept by many churches, and the lack of uniformity in the statistical reports both of the boards at home and of the missions on the field, severely limited the number of deductions that could be drawn. The plotting of trends, therefore, has been for the most part impossible.

Nevertheless, despite the inherent difficulties as to methodology and the limitations of the data available, we believe that with respect to a number of the crucial problems to be explored the data are fairly repre-

sentative, and that they are more extensive and objective than have ever before been presented. Furthermore, the authority of the findings on these problems depends on data gathered, not by one but by many specialists, which all point in considerable degree to the same conclusions.

SCOPE OF REPORT

Of the volumes composing the report of the Fact-Finders, one deals with Home Base data regarding the recruiting and selecting missionary candidates, missionary withdrawals, the trends in recent decades of the distribution of funds and personnel by the boards, the cultivation of the constituency by the boards and with missionary personnel on the field; the other volumes present data on India, China² and Japan. These volumes in their *preliminary* printing for the use of the Commission of Appraisal, with their tables and charts, were edited and pushed through the press within a period of some six weeks.

Attention should also be called to the wealth of material contained in the unprinted, but carefully prepared appendices. They present not only tables and other source materials necessary to supplement and confirm the reports, but selected interviews, case studies and digests.

Certain gaps in the reports call for explanation. Higher education was omitted in India because a commission headed by Dr. Lindsay, master of Balliol College, Oxford, and appointed by the India National Christian Council, was known to be covering the subject and we were assured that their report would be placed at the disposal of the Appraisal Commission. In its preliminary form the report, since published, was shown to our India staff.³ Religious education was not separately studied in India-Burma, chiefly because it was found necessary to assign the staff-member who would have covered it exclusively to Burma, which, as Dr. Fry points out, had to be treated, not as a province of India but as a separate country. The subject was, however, included in the study of the church in both India and Burma.

In Japan, general education was omitted because we had been informed that it was to be covered during the winter of 1930-31 by a competent educational commission created by the International Missionary Council and the North American mission boards, and that its report would be made available to us and to the Appraisers. After our study in Japan was half completed we learned that the Educational Commission had been postponed for a year. In the time then available it was decided that our Japan staff should gather data only in the special field of theological education.

²A *preliminary* printing of material gathered by the China associate staff and consisting of studies concerning the economic and social trends in China; eleven Chinese cities, and the indigenous religions of China, were presented for the use of the Commission of Appraisal.

³*The Christian College in India:* The report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India. (New York; Oxford University Press; 1931.)

GENERAL REVIEW

Medical mission work in Japan was also omitted, partly because only one of the coöperating missions was conducting medical work there, and partly because it proved impossible to carry out the original plan, by which Dr. Lennox was to go to Japan for one of his five months in the Orient, after having completed China. It had also been hoped that Mr. Bruère might be able to study the whole field of industrial conditions in China after he had completed his inquiries in Japan. When it was found that he could spare only a few weeks for China it was decided that he should focus attention on small supplementary industries in agriculture and on the application of the Factory Act.

SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES AMONG INDIA, CHINA AND JAPAN

In the popular mind these three countries⁴ are commonly lumped together as though they were as much alike as any three commonwealths in the United States. As pointed out by Dr. Lowes Dickinson, China and Japan have affinities at many points with the Occident, but India, particularly in a religious sense, is a world by itself. Be that as it may, the visitor to these countries is likely to be impressed more by their differences than by their similarities.

Among the more obvious differences are those of area, size of population, degree of industrialization and percentage of literacy. Of these, the last named has been recognized by the missions and governments alike as a fundamental problem, and it is not surprising that in India and China, with only a small fraction of the people literate, the missions should have engaged extensively in elementary as well as higher education, whereas in Japan, with almost universal literacy, the missions and churches have practically ignored elementary education except for the kindergarten.

The high literacy of the Japanese accounts for the fact that they are a nation of great newspapers and publishing houses, so that it is pertinent to inquire whether the Christian movement has availed itself as it should of the printed page. There are no newspapers in either China or India which are read, as are several of the Osaka and Tokyo dailies, by two or three million persons a day. Although Japan is called an absolute monarchy and China a republic, the power of the press and of a growing popular opinion is by common consent greater in Japan than in China or India.

The annual rate of population increase is 1.0 per cent. for India and about 1.4 per cent. for Japan. There is every indication that China's

⁴The differences between Burma and India proper are so sharp and so numerous that it might be more correct to say that the Inquiry had covered four countries. However, the political separation of Burma from India has not yet been consummated and we shall content ourselves in this section with calling attention to a few outstanding points of contrast as they may arise. In the field work, however, Burma had to be treated as though it were already an independent country and the report dealing with it forms a separate division of the India volume.

birth-rate is as high as that of either of the others, and that her net rate of increase is fairly high. In any event, the pressure of population upon subsistence is a live issue in all three countries, and one about which Christian as well as non-Christian leaders are concerned. In Japan, contrary to the common assumption, the advance of agricultural science will probably enable food to keep ahead of population for at least a quarter of a century longer.

In means of communication China lags far behind, and has paid the penalty in recurrent famines, and in difficulty of political unification and social control. In India the extension of railways and of irrigation projects has reduced the danger of famine. Postal and telegraphic communications are well developed in Japan and India, and in China are far ahead of any other public utility.

The high degree of law and order in India and Japan has been an inestimable boon to the missionaries in those countries, while in China of late years the instability and disorder have been handicaps.

In respect to rapidity of social change, it was a commonplace, up to the Boxer Uprising of only thirty-one years ago, to refer to China as the symbol of changeless conservatism, and to Japan as a miracle of rapid change. But today China, considering her bulk, is thought by some observers to have equaled Japan's record, and India, also, is exhibiting surprising mobility. The speed and extent of the changes now being wrought by Mr. Gandhi and the nationalist propaganda in the conceptions and conduct of a vast population have been rarely equaled.

Organized agitation by or on behalf of oppressed groups differs markedly among the three countries. In Japan it has advanced farthest among both factory laborers and tenant farmers, partly through the leadership of Christian men, who have stood for peaceful procedures. In China the unions of the urban manual workers have included only relatively small numbers, but multitudes of the peasants have been swept into sometimes violent movements of a mixed political and economic character. In India labor organizations have enlisted a considerable membership in the factory centers, but the nationalist movement, while only loosely organized outside the cities, has ranged large numbers of the common people in both city and country in conscious opposition to alleged political and economic exploitation by the British.

Communism is an active factor in the group agitations in China and Japan. Some of the communist leaders in Japan who were formerly identified with Christianity are now stigmatizing it as a tool of the privileged classes, and as having no program for redeeming the underprivileged groups from want and injustice.

The relations between the hereditary religions and Christianity have been undergoing changes in all three countries, but most noticeably in Japan, where several of the Buddhist and Shinto sects frankly admit their indebtedness to Christianity in both doctrine and range of activity.

SALIENT FINDINGS

The Fact-Finders from first to last took the problems to be explored as their chart and compass. But while these problems, as defined in advance, rightly exercised a decisive influence over this Research group, additional problems were thrust upon their attention as they faced the actual situation on the field. Among such additional problems, the bearing of the nationalist movement in India on missions and on the whole Christian movement, proved to be of primary importance and properly bulks large in the India report.

A few salient findings common to all the countries emerged from the data. But they were very few, and when stated in generalized terms, they lose much of the force which they have in their specific form in the national reports. In this general review, therefore, no pretense is made of stating all the important findings. The most that it seems profitable to attempt is to state a few of the outstanding findings, laying emphasis on those which are common to all the countries but, by way of contrast and qualification, mentioning certain of those which are distinctive of one or two countries.

For convenience of reference, the order of treatment is the same as the order of the problems to be explored in the statement that follows this review.

1. COMPREHENSIVENESS

The data in all the countries indicate that the missions and churches do not exhibit the full measure of comprehensiveness set forth in the statement of the Jerusalem Meeting.

2. ADAPTATION

There is wide assent to the general principle that Christianity should find expression in harmony with the genius and cultural background of each people, but in practice, in respect to architecture, ecclesiastical organization and content of message, only minor and infrequent adaptations are to be found in any of the countries. In respect to forms of worship, however, the experiments of certain church groups in India and China toward incorporating indigenous elements are worthy of note.

3. CONTROL

The leading Christians in all the countries desire, with marked unanimity, that the missions shall complete the transfer of essential control of the church and of educational institutions to nationals. The transfer has already been largely effected in Japan; it has recently been greatly accelerated, perhaps prematurely, in China; in India and in Burma, of necessity, in part, it has been very slow. There is a growing demand among nationals, particularly in Japan, that the transfer of control shall include not only administration and finance but also the

right to have a deciding voice in the selection and assignment of new missionaries.

4. SHIFT OF EMPHASIS

The conviction that work among the rural population should receive fresh emphasis is shared by many of the Christian leaders in all the fields, and the vaguely understood idea of "rural community parishes" is generally endorsed, but there are very few intelligent and well-manned programs of all-round rural Christian work.

The bulk of the Christian literature produced by agencies dominated by the missions is held by many thoughtful nationals and missionaries to be feeble, out-of-date and semi-foreign. Prominent among the reasons assigned are: failure to pool the resources of overlapping or competing agencies, unwillingness to utilize the literary and administrative gifts of nationals, domination by reactionary groups, and failure by mission and church leaders to treat literature as a major problem.

5. CONCENTRATION OR DIFFUSION

Greater concentration of resources is shown to be especially desirable in the case of educational institutions.

Both Christian and non-Christian authorities in India, Burma and Japan, agree that the Christian secondary schools and colleges in recent years have lost to Government institutions much of the prestige they formerly enjoyed. In China, a similar but less marked loss of rank is in evidence. Furthermore, by conformity to Government requirements and by allowing the ratio of Christians in the student bodies to fall, the Christian institutions in all the countries are thought by many representative Christians to have lost much of their distinctive Christian character. If the level of these institutions is to be raised, both educationally and religiously, the data suggest the advisability of concentrating resources on a smaller number of institutions, of limiting the size of student bodies, of maintaining a higher ratio of Christians in both the faculties and the student bodies, and of enabling a few institutions to exemplify the most progressive educational ideals.

In India, Burma and China the deficiency of elementary schools is so great that many Government officials, as well as all the Christian nationals, welcome the utmost contribution that the missions can make toward supplying it.

6. SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

No significant common finding on this problem has emerged. The extent of the medical, agricultural and social welfare work by the missions bears some relation to the degree to which these needs are supplied by Government and other non-Christian agencies. In Japan, the Christian settlements and other social welfare institutions are being surpassed both

in technical training of personnel and in equipment by non-Christian institutions.

7. CHRISTIAN COÖPERATION

There is only mild interest in the union of churches in any of the countries. A compensatory outlet for the desire for unity appears to have been found in the various interdenominational coöperative organizations and activities.

In China, theological differences are seriously impeding coöperation among both the missions and the churches.

8. RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENTS

No significant common finding, bearing strictly on relations with Governments, has emerged. But in all the countries the nationalist spirit in some form is vitally affecting the Christian movement. In India, Burma and China social and political nationalism has created a new and trying situation for the missions.

9. MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

Orientals and missionaries alike agree that missionaries should be assigned more exclusively to the tasks for which they are qualified and trained, and that steps should be taken to reduce the discontinuity due to furloughs and emergency assignments.

Leading Japanese Christians increasingly object to the term and the system of "missions." They resent the patronage implied in being called a "mission field," but they strongly desire the partnership of Western churches in Christianizing their country and wish to create a system of coöperation marked by genuine mutuality. Some of the liberal missionaries advocate changing the term "missionary" to "commissioner," in order to signify the desired change in attitude and function.

A majority of the Japanese leaders (and a growing number of missionaries) are now disposed to advocate a sharp reduction in the missionary force within a few years. But, after the boards shall have fully conceded to the Japanese churches the right to have a deciding voice in the selection and assignment of missionaries, it appears probable that the Japanese will request the American churches to maintain a considerable force of missionaries or "commissioners" in Japan.

In India and China there is growing tendency among the leading Christians to insist that the main issue is not that of the reduction or increase of the missionary force, but that of the attitude of the missionaries. They wish the missionaries to act as brothers not as bosses.

In all the countries, but notably in Japan, there is a desire on the part of both nationals and missionaries that ways be provided to send to the Orient, for limited periods, a succession of Christian men and women of the highest eminence in various callings who will exemplify

and expound the best religious, intellectual and ethical attainment of the West.

10. NATIONAL CHRISTIAN WORKERS

In all the countries it is generally agreed by both missionaries and church leaders that the majority of professional Christian workers are inadequately trained, and that the rural ministers, with rare exceptions, are of secondary or even lower grade. Only a few of the young men and women of first-rate ability are entering the ministry and Bible women's work. Returned students, trained for Christian callings, and the abler graduates of the training schools almost never accept calls to rural posts. They have not been trained for rural service and are repelled by the low financial and intellectual level of the people.

This situation can be remedied in part by strengthening the faculties of the training institutions and by relating their curricula and training more closely to the life and needs of the people, but in part it can be remedied only as conditions both within and without the missions and churches are so changed that professional Christian service will afford a prospect of adequate livelihood, and give freer scope to men and women of ability, independence and social vision.

In Japan the Christian movement has lost ground among students in Government schools, who admittedly rank far above the students in Christian schools. Consequently, a number of Japanese and missionary leaders believe that renewed attention should be paid to Christianizing students in the Government and other non-Christian schools.

11. FINANCE

The question of church self-support emerges in the data more prominently than any other financial problem.

In India and China, in which rural churches predominate, there is no prospect that rural churches with a well-trained and an adequately paid resident ministry can become self-supporting unless economic conditions are radically improved or, in the case of India, unless Indians of caste origin, and therefore of higher economic status, embrace Christianity. The churches in Japan are predominantly urban and the number of self-supporting city churches of the larger denominations has grown steadily for many years. But there is little chance of the rural churches becoming self-supporting in the average district unless they are organized in clusters with a smaller number of paid ministers.

The Karen churches in Burma, in both city and country, have achieved a remarkable degree of self-support.

The missionary and national Christian leaders in India, Burma and China practically all desire a continuation and, if possible an increase, of mission board grants for church development. But the data indicate

the need of exercising greater discrimination in the allocation of grants and of more adequately safeguarding their administration.

The number of *bona-fide* self-supporting churches, particularly in India and China, is considerably less than it appears to be in church and mission reports. Among the sources of this unreality are these facts:

(1) that the cost of the services rendered by missionaries in administrative activities is not included; (2) that many of the larger churches are largely supported by the contributions of those who are in mission employ, especially the churches which are near mission institutions; (3) that in certain districts in India where village churches are called "self-supporting" it is really "government support" by grants-in-aid to primary teachers who are the village preachers.

In financial accounting there is a lack of uniformity between each board and its missions on the field; between the missions and the aided churches, and among the various boards, so that close comparisons and generalizations as to expenditures are impossible.

12. ACHIEVEMENTS

The missionary societies, and the Christian movements generated by them in these countries, have exerted a powerful and cumulative influence on individuals and classes and, indeed, on entire nations. After making full allowance for whatever of narrowness, incompetence, sectarianism and tendency to domineer may have characterized the missions, their achievements, whether religious, educational, medical or social, have been great and pervasive. Both Christians and non-Christians recognize that the missionary movement has been one of the leading agencies of fundamental social change and of intercultural exchange. More specifically, the missions are given universal credit for being pioneers in the education and emancipation of women in these countries.

In India and China the services of medical missions have been especially notable. In all three countries the Christian colleges are credited with having made a great contribution to the nation by training many of the leaders in social reform, eleemosynary work, education, journalism and governmental service. In Burma it is generally recognized that the Karens owe to Christian missions not only a substitute for animism, but also the greater part of their cultural and social advance.

13. RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

The data show the need in each country and in every phase of Christian activity for continuous research and critical experimentation on problems growing out of the actual situation. A few such problems are mentioned in the successive reports in these volumes. Many others are implied. Persons capable of participating in such research and experimentation are to be found in each country, both within and without Christian circles. But there are no experienced persons assigned to stimu-

late, guide and coördinate research, or to serve as connecting links between the various governmental and other secular agencies of information and inquiry on the one side and the Christian agencies on the other. The Lindsay Commission Report on "Christian Higher Education in India"⁵ recommends: "That in each province there should be set up a department of extension and research under a director. On the department should be represented both the colleges and those concerned with other forms of Christian work in the province."

PROBLEMS TO BE EXPLORED FOR THE LAYMEN'S FOREIGN MISSIONS INQUIRY

1. COMPREHENSIVENESS

The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council (1928) declared:

The one inclusive purpose of the missionary enterprise is to present Jesus Christ to men and women the world over as their Redeemer, and to win them for entrance into the joy of his discipleship. In this endeavor we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions—physical, mental and social. We are therefore desirous that the program of missionary work among all people may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships.

How far does the work of the missions and churches exhibit the measure of comprehensiveness set forth in this statement?

2. ADAPTATION AND NATURALIZATION

How far are the missions reproducing the sectarian divisions and theological standards of the West rather than fostering a movement that is faithful to the lessons of Christian history, but freely adapted to the genius and cultural heritage of the people?

To what extent are the best elements in the national religions and culture embodied in the faith and practice of the missions and younger churches; or, to what extent is there a tendency to carry over unmodified foreign sectarian divisions, patterns of thought, forms of organization and practices, and with what effects? What further modifications are needed?

How far has there been a tendency to develop Christian groups and communities unduly foreignized or insulated from the surrounding society.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 176.

3. CONTROL

Are responsibility and control in Christian institutions and activities being transferred to nationals as rapidly as they are prepared to carry them? Are the missions taking adequate measures to facilitate this process?

What have been the most effective means used to develop self-maintaining, self-propagating churches, led and controlled by nationals?

4. SHIFT IN EMPHASIS

What outstanding needs, what trends in attitudes, what changing social conditions seem to call for a shift in allocation of funds, in types of work carried on, or in groups to be reached?

For instance, what have been the gains and losses of the institutional and the non-institutional emphases respectively as shown by the experience of the missions and churches?

What have been the gains and losses of the emphasis on different classes of the people such as students, farmers, officials, outcastes?

5. CONCENTRATION OR DIFFUSION

Should Christian effort be more concentrated in scope and outreach, or should it be more diffused? In other words, should it be intensified in fewer centers, or be more widely dispersed as a national leaven? What does experience show to have been the gains and losses of these two policies?

What are the advantages and the disadvantages of the organic type of community or neighborhood approach represented by the "rural reconstruction unit"?

6. SOCIAL WELFARE WORK

What contributions to the solution of such basic human problems as high birth- and death-rates, low subsistence levels, disease, and illiteracy are being made by the Christian movement; and what, if any, further efforts along these lines are thought to be desirable?

What evidence is there in favor of leaving some or all of these lines of activity to secular agencies, governmental or private?

What Christian or non-Christian social enterprises of this area are particularly worthy of study?

7. CHRISTIAN COÖPERATION

What are the facts, and the resulting advantages and disadvantages, of the various kinds and degrees of competition and coöperation among missions, churches, schools, hospitals, or other Christian agencies?

What are the developments and trends looking to the union of missions or churches, and what would be the effect of such movements on the development of an indigenous Christianity?

In developing an effective strategy for further Christian progress in India, what comprehensive measures in the way of unified planning should be taken?

8. RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

What should be the policy of the Christian schools in view of the attitude and regulations of the Government?

9. MISSIONARY PERSONNEL

What readjustments of policy are needed in respect to the (1) number, (2) proportion, (3) qualifications and (4) remuneration of national and Western leaders?

10. NATIONAL CHRISTIAN WORKERS

To what extent have Christian institutions for the education and training of Christian workers and leaders been adequate to their task, and what changes are needed?

What methods of enlisting and training volunteer lay workers, both men and women, have proved most effective, and what have been the pros and cons of dependence on them in Christian activities?

11. FINANCES

What, if any, economic and psychological conditions make it desirable to change policies in regard to the use of American money; and what changes would be thus suggested?

What notable instances have there been of Christian work developed by nationals without mission grants?

12. ACHIEVEMENTS

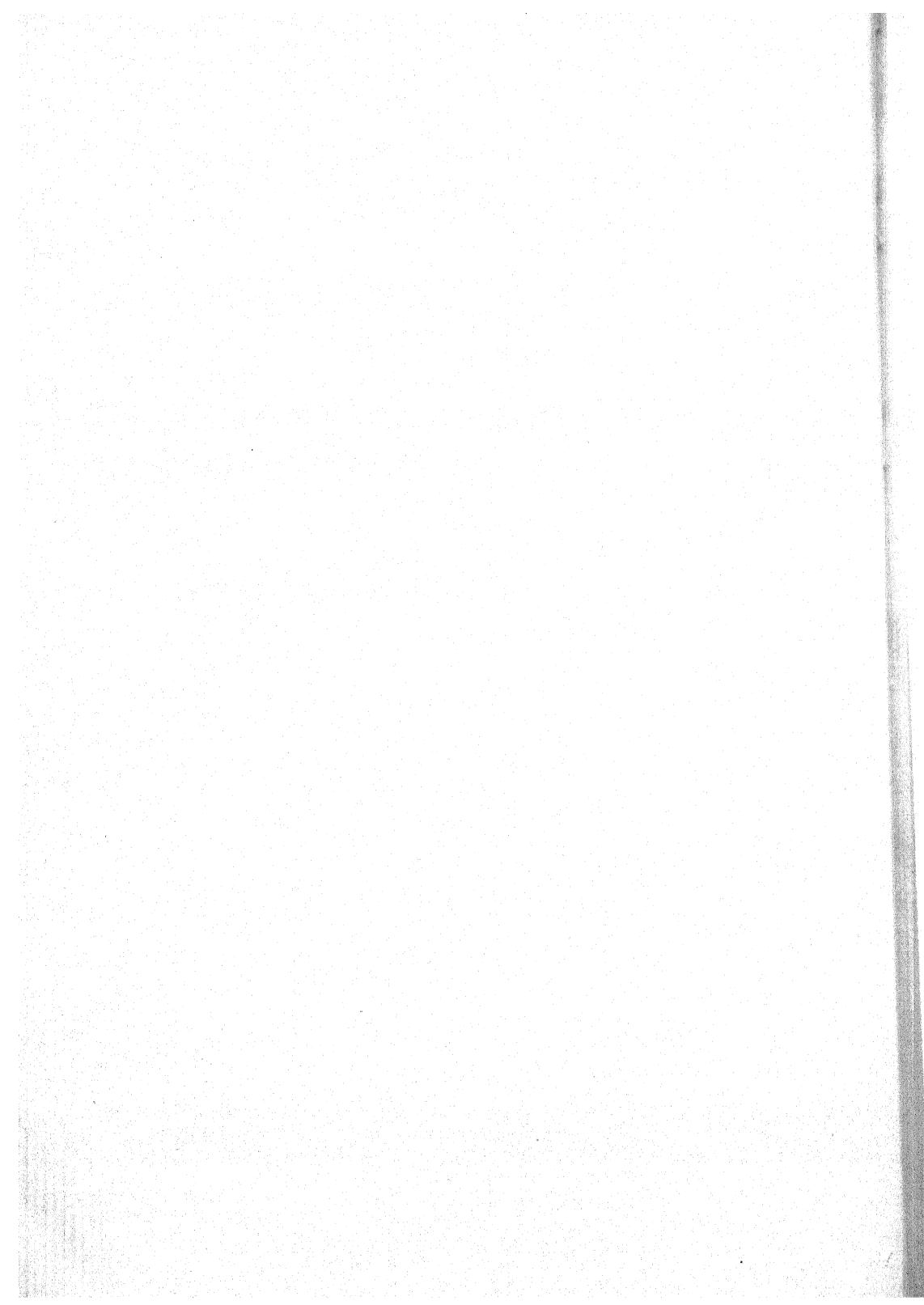
What definite evidences are available of changes in individual or group habits, standards, attitudes and living conditions, brought about primarily through Christian agencies?

What, if any, distinctive results have been achieved by Christian institutions as compared with corresponding non-Christian institutions?

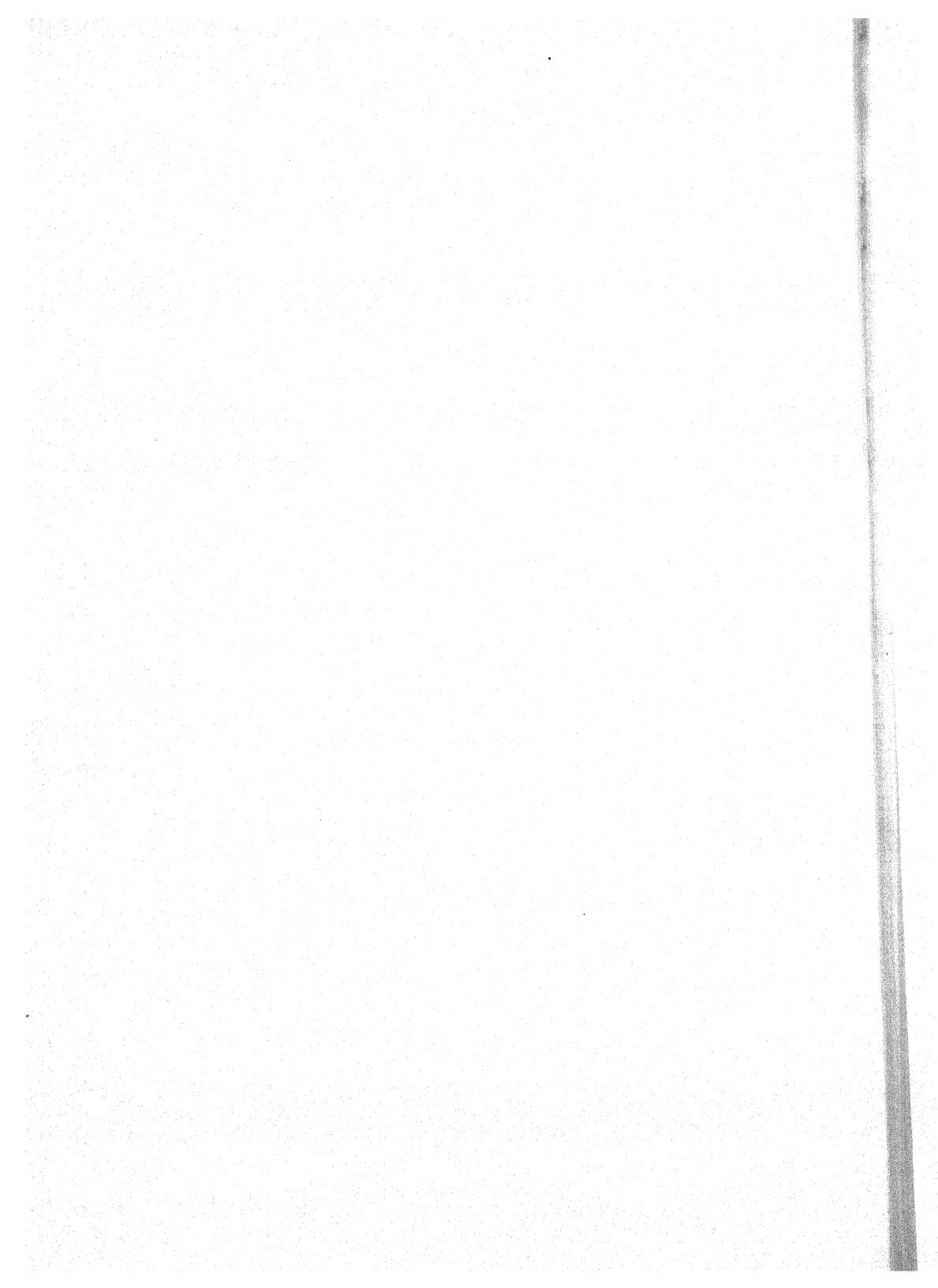
Describe or give references to noteworthy experiments or demonstrations, making for a realization of the inclusive purpose stated above, which challenge both careful study and the attention of a wider public.

13. RESEARCH AND EXPERIMENTATION

What lines of further research or experimentation are called for in order to meet unsolved problems confronting the missionary movement?



INDIA



PREFACE

THE India-Burma Fact-Finding Research Staff of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry was appointed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and operated under its direction. Seven of this staff were able to spend six months in India and Burma; three were there for shorter periods. The staff, with each member's field of specialization, was as follows:

C. Luther Fry, Ph.D.—Director
Paul F. Cressey, Ph.D.—Urban Sociology
Daniel J. Fleming, Ph.D.—Church Work
Eldo L. Hendricks, Ph.D.—High Schools and Teacher Training Institutions
J. L. Hypes, Ph.D.—Rural Sociology
Orville A. Petty, Ph.D., D.D.—The Church and the Mission
Leslie B. Sipple, M.A.—Mission Education
Fennell P. Turner, B.A.—Personnel
Fred J. Wampler, M.D.—Medical Work
Ruth F. Woodsmall, M.A.—Women's Interests
Mrs. C. Luther Fry—Treasurer
Miss K. Beatrice Carroll } Secretaries
Miss Bertram Ireland }

It was found necessary to make a separate study of Burma, not only because of the recent decision of the Round Table Conference to detach Burma from the rest of India, but also because social and economic conditions there are quite different. Thus the term India as used throughout the India section of this report excludes Burma.

The staff for India and Burma, with the exception of Dr. Daniel J. Fleming and Mr. Leslie B. Sipple, sailed from New York City on October 8th, 1930. Upon arrival in Bombay on October 31st, we received a telegram from the Secretary of the Home Department of the Government of India stating that all Provincial Governments had already been advised of our coming and offering to facilitate the work of the group in any way that was proper. During its stay in the country the group availed itself of this offer in a number of ways, and is very appreciative of the splendid coöperation tendered by British officials in all parts of India.

Because of numerous questions in the minds of many Christian leaders in India, British and American, regarding the nature and scope of the Inquiry, the Fact-Finders welcomed the opportunity given to them on December 19th, 1930, to explain their mission to the delegates in attend-

ance at the annual meeting of the National Christian Council. An official minute reads in part:

The very evident sympathy and understanding expressed by the Director and the members of the Commission drew a hearty and earnest response from the Council. The Secretary was asked to draw up the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the National Christian Council record its deep appreciation of the visit of the Laymen's Commission of Inquiry, and for the manifest sympathy and understanding with which the Commission as a whole and of its various members are entering upon the task before them.

Further, that the Council desires to express its willingness to cooperate with the Commission in every way possible.

Dr. J. Z. Hodge, Secretary of the National Christian Council of India, Burma and Ceylon, rendered invaluable aid. In consultation with Dr. Hodge and other advisers an itinerary was adopted. Late in December, Dr. Ralph Diffendorfer, who was the representative of the Mission Boards in the United States sent out to coöperate with this study, arrived in India.

Dr. Fleming, who joined the group on January 31st, 1931, devoted all of his time to Burma, consenting to write not only the Church Report for that area but the introductory section as well. Mr. Sipple, who arrived in India in November 1930, assumed entire responsibility for the educational survey of Burma as well as for the study of Mission Education in India.

Toward the end of February, Dr. Galen M. Fisher, the General Director of the Fact-Finding research work, came to India where he remained until early in April, when he left for China, visiting Burma en route.

At the end of March 1931 the group terminated its field work, having traveled in India and Burma about 12,000 miles per person. The month of April following was spent in Darjeeling analyzing the materials collected and in securing additional data. The group also used this time to consult a number of especially qualified advisers from the field. We left India on May 1, 1931, returning home via China and Japan, where conferences were held with the members of the Research Staffs of these countries.

Indian co-workers were secured to aid in the Fact-Finding process. Three of these are worthy of special mention. Mr. A. N. Sudarisanam, B.A., of Madras, remained with Dr. Orville A. Petty for about four months and rendered very great assistance in gathering and interpreting materials about the Indian Church. Miss L. Devasahayam, B.A., of St. Christopher's Training College, Madras, helped Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall for nearly a similar period of time, while Prof. P. D. Nair of the Nagpur Agricultural College spent a number of weeks assisting Dr. J. L. Hypes with his agricultural report.

We are specially indebted to several missionaries who made supplementary studies. The Rev. L. Bevan Jones, Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore, prepared a confidential memorandum on "The Effects of Christianity upon Islam," while Dr. M. H. Harrison, of United Theological College, Bangalore, wrote a similar paper on "The Influence of the Christian Movement upon Hinduism." Dr. Murray Titus performed a very valuable function for the Inquiry by assembling a series of case studies of the reactions of Indians—both Christian and non-Christian—toward the life and teachings of Jesus; and Prof. B. C. Harrington of Forman Christian College, Lahore, pushed through to completion the tabulation of data collected in the Calcutta Area Survey, which was a self-survey of conditions among Methodist Episcopal Christian families living in Central and Eastern India.

We are indebted to Dr. J. W. Pickett, the director of an Inquiry, also financed by the Institute of Social and Religious Research, investigating the phenomena of mass conversions to Christianity. Dr. Pickett and his associate, Dr. Warren H. Wilson, compiled certain preliminary findings for the use of the Fact-Finding staff.

We are also under obligation to the Lindsay Commission on Higher Education which generously consented to put all of the materials assembled during its recent visit to India at the disposal of the Laymen's Inquiry. For this reason the Fact-Finders made no attempt to study mission colleges.

The Inquiry is grateful to Dr. Otis W. Caldwell of the Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University, who acted in an advisory capacity, and who released Dr. Julius B. Maller of his staff to assist in certain educational editorial work and tabulations.

We are also under the deepest sense of gratitude to the missionaries of the six coöperating Boards who not only took time from their busy lives to answer questions and questionnaires, but who graciously welcomed us into their homes.

C. L. F.

INDIA AND THE CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISE

by

C. LUTHER FRY

THE data presented in this volume were assembled by the Fact-Finders' Research Staff of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry for use by the members of the Appraisal Commission of that Inquiry in reaching conclusions and formulating recommendations regarding the future of missions in India conducted by the coöperating Boards. In gathering its material the Fact-Finding staff tried constantly to keep in mind the basic issues outlined by the Laymen's Committee.¹

The main purpose of this introductory section is to supplement the information contained in the reports of the different specialists for India. It attempts to introduce their studies, by accenting some of the social and economic factors in India that condition the various aspects of the missionary movement; by showing the relationship of the work of the boards coöperating in this study to the work of the total missionary force in India; by drawing attention to some of the major effects of missions, both direct and indirect; and by dealing with certain of the main problems outlined by the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry, and especially with the question of the relationship of missions to Government, which is a subject that does not fall directly within the purview of any of the other inquirers.

The difficulties involved in presenting a survey of the missionary movement are very great. India is a vast and complex subcontinent concerning which virtually no statement can be made that is of universal application. Moreover, the point of view of each observer is shaded by his religious interest and convictions. In this study the attempt is made only to tell the story of what missions are doing, leaving to the Appraisal Commission the task of evaluation.

I

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS CONDITIONING MISSIONS

Missions in India face a problem that is complicated by the size of the country, the variety of races in its population and a series of rapidly changing situations. Excluding Burma, the preliminary report of the Census for 1931 gives the population as 337 millions,—more than two

¹ See General Review by the General Director, this Volume.

and one-half times the population of the United States. It is a population far more heterogeneous than that which comes to the American melting pot, for in it almost all of the world's ethnological families are largely represented. Here, moreover, is gathered together, as in a museum, a vast collection of various periods of historical development of men and institutions.

There is a familiar statement by Lord Morley pointing out that there is "in that vast congeries of people we call India, a long slow march in uneven stages through all the centuries from the fifth to the twentieth." A fairly close comparison, however, would seem to be with medieval Europe. There are the firm control of religion over every aspect of life; the emphasis placed on an existence other than the present; the economic self-sufficiency of small population groups; the appalling mortality, more than offset by prolific reproduction; and the predominance of custom and tradition to the exclusion of experimentation: while in the use of English by the educated few, there is even a language comparable with the Latin of the Middle Ages.

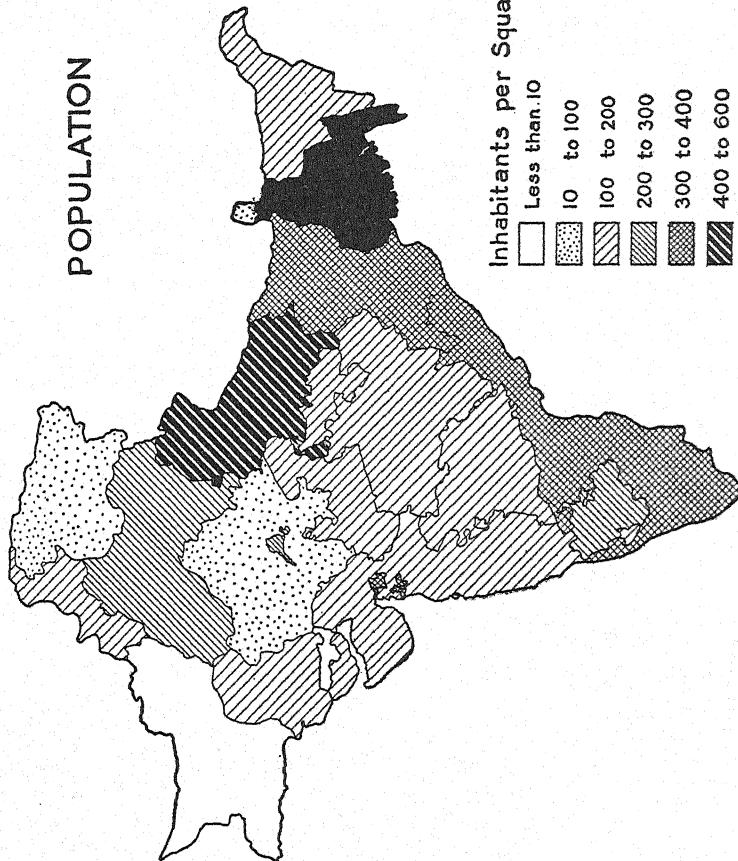
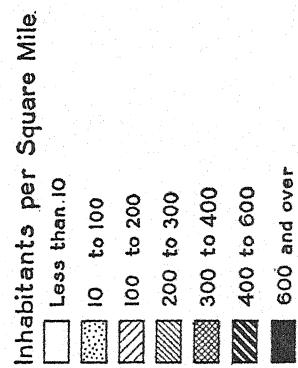
These are the more easily observed phenomena: it is far more difficult to discern and to gauge the changes taking place in immemorial institutions that are held in veneration by millions. Yet the effort to conduct a mission enterprise is variously conditioned and complicated by all these factors.

AREA AND POPULATION

India's 1,572,000 square miles include the northern double ranges of permanently snow-covered Himalayan Mountains, the highest in the world; wide alluvial plains of the Ganges and the Indus, the great desert of Sind; a broad stretch of mountains and jungles separating the fertile plains of the north from the Deccan plateau, which alone ranges from virtual waste desert to fertile, tropical coastal strips like Travancore and Malabar.

Population has distributed itself most unevenly over these areas. Using a straight arithmetic average, the 1931 density per square mile for India, excluding Burma, is 214, which represents an increase from 195 in the preceding decade, and compares with 41 for the United States as a whole in 1930. In parts of Bengal and the United Provinces, the census shows 600 persons to the square mile; in most of the river deltas and low-lying coastal districts there are 500. These figures compare closely with those of the highly productive industrial populations of England and the Rhine Valley and with the areas around Boston and New York in the United States. Over the greater part of the Deccan plateau and Central India generally there are 100 to 200 persons to the square mile, comparable with the density of Central Europe or of the State of New Jersey.

POPULATION



THE CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISE

9

PRELIMINARY CENSUS OF INDIA—1931

Provinces and States

Province, State or Agency	Total	POPULATION—1931		INCREASE 1921-31	
		Male	Female	Number	Per Cent.
Ajmer-Merwara	560,576	295,688	264,888	65,305	13.2
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	29,463	19,702	9,761	2,377	8.2
Assam	8,784,943	4,619,691	4,165,252	1,178,713	15.5
Baluchistan *	463,492	270,045	193,447	42,844	1.2
Bengal	49,997,376	25,979,883	24,017,493	3,301,840	7.1
Bihar and Orissa	37,590,356	18,752,046	18,838,310	3,588,167	10.5
Bombay (Presidency)	21,102,126	10,973,829	10,128,297	1,753,907	9.1
Central Provinces and Berar	15,472,628	7,746,183	7,726,445	1,559,868	11.2
Coorg	163,089	90,434	72,655	-749	-5
Delhi	636,827	368,888	267,939	148,639	30.4
Madras	46,731,850	23,089,914	23,641,936	4,412,865	10.4
Northwest Frontier Province *	2,423,380	1,314,249	1,109,131	172,040	7.6
Punjab	23,580,520	12,877,848	10,702,672	2,895,496	13.9
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	48,423,264	25,447,847	22,975,417	3,047,477	6.7
Total for Provinces	255,950,890	131,846,247	124,113,643	22,168,789	9.5
Assam State (Manipur)	446,084	216,117	229,967	62,068	16.1
Baluchistan States †	403,719	217,734	185,985	24,742	6.5
Baroda State	2,442,924	1,257,763	1,185,161	316,402	14.8
Bengal States	972,291	515,492	456,799	75,365	8.4
Bihar and Orissa States	4,642,663	2,283,702	2,358,961	682,994	17.2
Bombay States	4,377,455	2,242,592	2,134,863	509,636	13.1
Central India Agency	6,615,204	3,397,361	3,217,843	618,181	10.3
Central Provinces States	2,478,519	1,232,146	1,246,373	411,619	19.9
Gwalior State	3,520,708	1,867,299	1,653,409	334,633	1.5
Hyderabad State	14,395,493	7,339,001	7,056,402	1,923,723	15.0
Kashmir State	3,649,339	1,938,010	1,707,329	324,821	9.8
Madras States	6,748,107	3,370,846	3,377,261	1,287,795	23.6
Mysore State	6,554,573	3,355,188	3,201,385	575,681	9.6
Northwest Frontier Province †	2,259,305	1,212,470	1,046,835	-565,831	-20.3
Punjab States	4,909,537	2,680,382	2,229,155	493,501	11.1
Rajputana Agency	11,223,708	5,881,175	5,342,533	1,379,324	14.0
United Provinces States	1,203,608	617,878	587,730	70,727	6.2
Western India States Agency	3,997,290	2,025,318	1,971,972	455,680	12.9
Total for States and Agencies	80,838,527	41,648,564	39,189,963	8,899,340	12.3
Grand Total	336,798,417	173,494,811	163,303,606	31,068,129	10.2

* Districts and Administered Territories.

† Agencies and Tribal Areas.

Probably the dominant economic and social problem of India is the severity of the pressure of population tending to outstrip any temporary improvement in subsistence level. The generation that has matured in the first thirty years of the twentieth century has seen a net increase in population of close to fifty-three millions, from 283,870,000 in 1901, to 336,798,000 (preliminary) in 1931. This bewildering increase, however, represents a growth of only 18.6 per cent. in thirty years, compared with 61.6 per cent. in the United States during the same period. The nineteenth century is said to have seen a more rapidly growing population; but the extraordinary rate of increase shown by early census totals is largely due to the inclusion of new areas and to improvements in methods of enumeration. Growth during the twentieth century has been very irregular, as is shown by the following tabulation.

The figures for 1921 reflect the severity of the influenza epidemic which in 1918-19 struck India with peculiar force and was, it is believed, the direct cause of between ten and twelve million deaths. This wiping-out of the normal increase of a decade was followed in the decade just

INDIA

POPULATION OF INDIA, EXCLUDING BURMA
(Data from the Census)

Year	Population	Percentage of Increase
1901.....	283,870,000	
1911.....	303,041,000	6.8
1921.....	305,730,000	.9
1931.....	336,798,000	10.2
30 years' increase.....	52,928,000	18.6

ended by a rapid recovery—a net increase of 31,000,000 persons, or 10.2 per cent.

As a later study of birth-rates and death-rates will bear out, none of the basic factors in India seems of more importance to the agencies working here than this pressure of population, which continuously offsets any improvement in the means of subsistence.

The peoples of India are as diverse as the contrasting features of the country's physical geography. Their diversity is owing to differences in race, in climate, and in cultures. India has been described as an obtrusion from one side of Asia much like Europe from another side, and settled, like Europe, by Aryan stocks from central Asia. At the time of these Aryan invasions the earlier inhabitants of India, chiefly a Negroid mixture and Dravidians, were driven toward the southern end of the Deccan or were submerged within the Aryan group as outcastes. Semites entered through the northwest gateway by gradual infiltration and by successive Mohammedan invasions. Along the northeast border there is a wide fringe of Mongolian peoples. The continent of Europe cannot produce types as strikingly contrasting as those of Sikh, Maratha, Bengali, Pathan, Gurkha, Madrasi, Deccani, and the forest aborigines. Each type presents its own problems and constitutes an effective obstacle to any unified policy for India, economic, political or missionary.

An especially difficult problem is that of language barriers. The Census of 1921 lists eighty-six languages, each spoken by more than 5,000 persons; and the various dialects of these languages are known to exceed 500. Hindi and Urdu are the outstanding languages in point of wide distribution, yet they are of little or no use in immense areas such as the Tamil, Telugu or Marathi fields. A missionary who must work years to acquire a local language or dialect is thereby limited to a relatively narrow area and can seldom wisely transfer to another locality. The resulting localization of thought and influence is unfortunate. The Commission often had difficulty in finding American or Indian workers familiar with conditions in more than one Province.

The 1921 Census reported little more than 6 per cent. of the population, or about 19,000,000 out of 305,000,000 persons, as literate; the

percentage of literacy being 10.7 for the male population, and 1.45 for the females. The 1931 Census will undoubtedly indicate some improvement; but any appreciable change will come slowly and must overcome the problem of the large numbers that lapse into illiteracy after an inadequate term of schooling.

The 1921 Census recorded only 2,500,000 Indians as speaking English; and the rapidly spreading agitation to carry on education in the vernaculars is enhancing the language difficulties. The extended use of vernaculars renders less feasible the establishment of educational institutions drawing students from all parts of India. While the preference for vernaculars is understandable, the barriers are thereby strengthened against many broadening influences.

Summing up these primary factors, the mission agencies working in India operate in a setting of illiteracy and over-population. In addition to the problem of the mere size of this subcontinent is the diversity of racial stocks intensified by the diversities of altitude, climate, occupations, density and distribution, languages and dialects. India cannot in the nature of the case be a homogeneous mission field.

RELIGIONS

Religion in India is a vital issue with increasing political significance. In considering this subject one becomes involved in problems of race consciousness, race antagonisms and political struggle which tend to take the discussion out of the religious plane.

Religious adherence plays so large a part in politics that the Government census tabulates the populations by religions where other countries tabulate by race. Seventy-one per cent. of India's population was reported in the 1921 Census as Hindu, 22.5 per cent. as Moslem, 3 per cent. Animist, and 1.5 per cent. Christian. The relative size of these groups is shown in the figures on page 12.

It does not seem likely that the 1931 Census will appreciably alter these relationships. It is said in certain places that attempts to align adherents for political reasons have resulted in incorrect reporting in the 1931 Census; but the extent to which this is true cannot be estimated.

More than seven-tenths of India's population are Hindu. The religion is believed to have been brought into India by the Aryans and to have incorporated the cruder indigenous gods and cults. The pastoral culture of the Aryans was based on respect for the cow. The early position of the Brahmins, their priestly caste, is reminiscent of the position of the Levites among the Hebrew tribes.

Because of its synthetic origin and the multiplicity of its forms, but few definite statements can be made covering Hinduism as a whole. Prof. J. J. Cornelius, formerly of Lucknow University says: "Hinduism itself is less a dogmatic religion than a way of life; hence it is capable of the utmost elasticity of doctrine, though extremely rigid in its cus-

INDIA

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION REPORTING RELIGIONS SPECIFIED
(Data from the Census of 1921)

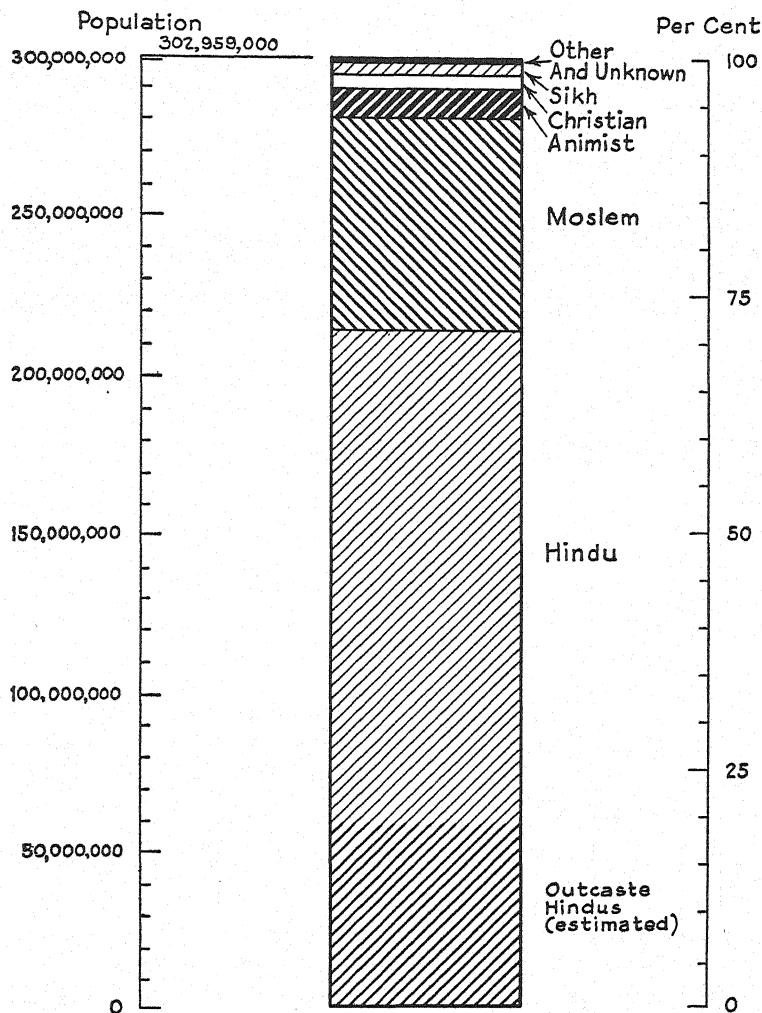
<i>Religion</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per Cent.</i>
Hindus.....	216,249,000	71.4
Moslems.....	68,235,000	22.5
Animists.....	9,072,000	3.0
Christians.....	4,497,000	1.5
Sikhs.....	3,234,000	1.1
Jains.....	1,177,000	.4
Buddhists.....	369,000	.1
Parsis.....	101,000	—
Total.....	302,934,000	100.0

toms." A supreme being may be recognized, worshiped in many forms or incarnations. The worship of different aspects of the supreme god as the many deities are theoretically designated, tends to be localized; these deities are readily recognized as adaptations of local tribal deities of the pre-Aryan period. Through the centuries Hinduism has readily absorbed the gods, faiths and superstitious cults of the primitive races it encountered until it is now an unwieldy system of customs and practices with, at its head, the Brahmin priesthood and the rigid caste plan giving it a certain unity. With the blood-thirsty goddess Kali, who demands blood sacrifice, was connected the rite of suttee,—or the immolation of widows on their husband's funeral pyre, abolished by the British Government in 1829, though sporadic cases of suttee occurred down to 1895,—of infanticide and thuggee. Tracing Hinduism from its baser forms to the ethical standards of reformers like Mr. Gandhi, there is now found wide adaptability and absence of prescribed or rigid orthodoxy. Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, probably the foremost living Hindu philosopher, with this flexibility in mind, emphasized his belief that Hinduism is more closely attuned to the modern spirit of relativity than is possible in the case of more dogmatic systems.

Under its manifold cults and practices the basic conception of Hinduism is that of karma or reincarnation and the attendant conception of dharma, or duty. The present existence of each person, in fact of each living thing, is believed to be determined as reward or punishment for conduct in previous lives; the aim of present existence is to fulfill nobly the duties of the position to which each is born and thereby to qualify for an improved status in the next existence. The importance of these conceptions in Hindu life, especially their social significance, cannot be overemphasized; a realization of the different outlook to which they condition the Hindu mind can be appreciated only gradually. The most striking evidences of it arise in connection with the inferior position of women and of the outcastes. The status of these and of all unfortunates is considered decreed by a superior justice with which man should not

interfere. On the other hand, the emphasis given to duty has meant the development of many admirable human characters and qualities within Hinduism. The doctrine of karma teaches a sure justice, and develops

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS



the sense of moral responsibility in the individual. It emphasizes a moral law within the universe vastly more important to man's happiness than is his material condition.

Claiming, as it does, that the positions in life are ordered and just,

Hinduism is incompatible with the outstanding Western idea of progress. The Hindu points out that to the individual of the West, progress becomes linked with an increase in material comfort and that it develops greed and hate, that the Western system of industrial progress has brought on the revolt of the masses, as in Russia, and the horrible competition of the World War.

While the missionary must explain the participation of the Christian nations in the World War, the Hindu points to the great Indian political revolution being carried on by ahimsa, the doctrine of non-violence. Under the direction of Mahatma Gandhi this doctrine has become a weapon of extraordinary power. It was enunciated by Buddha, is a doctrine of Jainism, and is found in Christian teachings if not in Christian practice. The Hindu contends that India practices many of Christ's teachings forgotten or underemphasized by the West. Hindu pride, especially sensitive just now, continually reminds the Westerner that Christ was an Oriental and is better understood in India than in the Christian Church of the West. The spiritual teacher, known as a guru, who, like Buddha, draws a group of disciples to whom he gives his message, is still a familiar type throughout India. The Hindu ideal of a religious man is one who practices self-denial and who lives in poverty. Elements of this ideal are found in the Gospels, but numbers of intelligent Indians feel that these are not practiced by the Christian missionaries.

It is impossible to go into detail concerning the manifold, ancient customs and subsidiary beliefs of Hinduism. Because of its social significance in a land where the family is still the unit and the tradition of the joint-family systems operates economically, one of the most important is the insistence that a son is necessary in order to perform family religious ceremonials. Marriage becomes obligatory, and as caste rules so delimit the possible candidates, early betrothal and infant marriage were developed. The subordinate position of widows, especially child widows, has been pitiable; but, as Miss Woodsmall brings out in her Indian report on "Women's Interests and Activities," conditions in this regard are improving.

From the point of view of Christian missions, a most important aspect of Hinduism has been the degraded position of some sixty millions of the population, the outcastes who are considered by the majority of Hindus as persons whose previous lives have warranted their present degraded status and their exclusion from Hindu temples. It is among these outcastes that Christian missions have chiefly spread.

The Mohammedan community of India numbered in 1921 sixty-eight millions, 22.5 per cent. of the population. The bulk of this forceful minority is made up of Semitic or partly Semitic stock, with a psychology of superiority to the overwhelming Hindu majority, drawn from a background of conquest and domination, and with differences in language and culture that further separate it from the Hindu community. Two

religions could scarcely be more fundamentally opposed and have less in common. The Moslem is intensely monotheistic, abhorring all idols, effigies or even symbols; he kills animals, and eats the meat of the cow, the animal sacred to Hindus; Islam constitutes a democratic brotherhood without caste; the codes of Islam are uncompromising and are clearly cut in the letters of the Koran. But, aside from the tension that arises when Hindu music disturbs the Moslem at prayer, or when the Moslem kills cows for sacrifice, or, during processions, similarly disturbs the Hindu temple, there is a political and economic basis for animosity between the two communities in the struggle for power gradually being relinquished by Britain. The political force of the Moslem minority is strengthened by a more warlike heritage, by greater natural virility, and by the urge of a fighting missionary faith. Indian Islam cannot forget the Mogul Empire to which the British succeeded in India. The position of the Moslem, under a weaker government than the British, may become a vital issue in Indian affairs.

Moslems are largely grouped in the provinces of their original conquest; in Baluchistan and in the Northwest Frontier Province, they account for more than nine-tenths of the population; in Kashmir they constitute about three-quarters of the inhabitants, while in the Punjab and in Bengal they are in the majority. Everywhere else they are in the minority.

As a group the Moslems tend to be backward in education. With a martial heritage they have not availed themselves of educational advantages to the same degree as the Hindus, and, being in a minority, have not entered the government administration in proportion to the Hindus, a fact that assumes political importance in the present crisis. The system of purdah, of seclusion and veils, which their upper classes share with the Hindu, is more rigid. Conversion to Christianity is rare. To the Moslem, Christianity still bears the stain of the inhumanities of the Crusades; to the Pan-Turanian, or believer in a world-empire of Islam, it is coupled with rival empires.

Following the Hindus and Mohammedans, the Animists constitute the next largest group of religious believers. In the 1921 Census they were enumerated as 3 per cent. of the total population; but their beliefs are extremely vague and unsystematic, involving various forms of primitive spirit and demon worship.

The Christian community, which constitutes 1.5 per cent. of the total population, will be discussed later under the heading "The Missionary Force at Work"; but in this connection it is interesting to note that out of 4,497,000 Christians reported by the 1921 Census, 96,000 were Eurasians that are known in India as Anglo-Indians. The position of these people is a difficult one; they constitute a group apart from either the Europeans or the Indians. Moreover, the rise of nationalism and the present world-wide economic depression are increasing the problems con-

fronting these Christians. While their allegiance is divided among the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Methodist bodies, apart from the Methodist, no denominational strategy is directed towards this small Christian nucleus in India.

The rest of the population of India, numbering about as many persons as the Christian community, is divided among a variety of religions —Sikhs, Jains, Buddhists, Parsis and minor or undesignated groups.

AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

India is overwhelmingly an agricultural country. More than seven out of every ten persons get their living directly from the soil, while nine out of ten live in villages. In all probability agriculture has been growing in importance in the economic life of the nation during the last few decades. The recent rise of the factory system has scarcely kept pace with the progressive decline in handicraft industries, with the result that the proportion of the population engaged in farming is thought to be greater now than the proportion a generation ago.

The immense significance of agriculture in the life of the country is hard to comprehend. Great centers like Bombay, Calcutta, Madras and Delhi, are far from typical. The vast majority of the people live amid the poverty and squalor of village life. Rural conditions are thus characterized on page 16 Vol. I of the *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*:

Almost everywhere in India it would appear that, from time immemorial, the rural population has lived in small villages, the mud or bamboo houses of which are huddled together in a more or less compact area situated in the midst of the fields which provide the means of livelihood to their occupants. The farms and farmsteads which are so prominent a feature of the rural life of Western countries are almost entirely absent.

. . . Each village tends to be self-contained; in each will usually be found some persons with permanent title in land, either as owners or tenants with hereditary occupancy rights; of these, some cultivate all they hold, others with larger areas at their disposal rent out to tenants, on a yearly agreement, a part or the whole of their lands; below these in the scale are agricultural laborers, frequently of different castes from the actual cultivators; some of these have acquired small plots in proprietary right or permanent tenure; some have a field or two on rent; many are members of the depressed classes; some work in the fields only at times of pressure, and are mainly engaged in crafts such as leather work, or in tasks regarded as menial. The vast majority of the peasants live in debt to the moneylender, who is often established in their midst. Included in the village population will be certain village officials, generally hereditary, such as the headman, the accountant, the watchman—persons carrying different titles in different provinces, but representing the traditional organization

of village life. In all but the smallest villages, there are one or more skilled artisans, carpenters or ironsmiths, who provide and repair the simple agricultural implements, bullock gear, and water lifts. Household requirements are supplied by a shop or two, whose owners frequently provide the first market for village produce and add to their earnings by engaging in moneylending. Almost invariably there is a religious building: a temple, shrine or mosque.

The rural aspects of missionary work in India are discussed in the report of Dr. J. L. Hypes. It is significant that mission agencies and institutions are disproportionately concentrated in towns and cities. The 1921 Census found only 31,184,000 persons, or about 10 per cent. of India's population, living in urban areas; while nearly 20 per cent. of the Christians are urban dwellers. In any revised program for Christian missions it might be well to consider the desirability of increasing the emphasis on rural work. Certainly the problems of her villagers constitute one of the greatest unmet needs of India.

Although, in general, modern industry has not developed far or rapidly in India, nevertheless there are a number of centers like Ahmedabad, Bombay and Calcutta where the factory system has been introduced on a large scale, and where the resulting disorganization of life has become acute. These and similar issues are discussed in Dr. Paul F. Cressey's report, which shows that as yet missions have done relatively little to develop social settlements and similar agencies for helping to meet industrial problems.

EMERGENCE OF WOMEN

One of the most striking changes that has recently occurred in India has been the awakening of women. Within a period of ten years, the vast female population of the country has commenced to emerge from its age-long seclusion. As early as 1921, the Madras Presidency started a move, since followed by other provinces, enfranchising about one adult female in a hundred; and a few women are now deliberating with men in the legislative councils of India. There has also been a gradual weakening of the purdah system, that ancient institution which, among Hindus and Moslems, requires young girls from the time they attain puberty to live isolated and apart. The evils of Hindu child marriage have been attacked through the so-called Sarda Act; and even though the provisions of this law are being disregarded in many places, its passage indicates an aroused public conscience.

This breaching of ancient barriers, already undermined by the social and economic pressure of the West, has been hastened by the unprecedented share of women, chiefly of the intelligentsia, in the nationalist movement. A generation ago it would have been considered fantastic to imagine that young girls could take their places with men as picketers of

toddy (liquor) shops and polling booths, in boycotts and agitations against tax payments—yet this is just what has been happening in various sections of India.

Of course these changes have as yet been confined primarily to a comparatively small group of intellectuals living in cities. The great mass of women in villages live virtually the same drab lives as their mothers did.

These considerations are dealt with in Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall's report on "Women's Activities and Interests," which is of peculiar interest to this Inquiry because of the large amount of mission work that has been conducted for women. For example, out of a total of 400 female doctors with registerable qualifications working in India, roughly a half are employed by mission societies.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The classes in Hindu society are rigidly defined in a system unique to India, known as the caste system. In its original Sanskrit form the word for caste means "color." The institution is probably based upon the efforts of an Aryan immigration to maintain its racial characteristics by imposing social, religious and economic restrictions upon the earlier occupants of the country whose religions were gradually absorbed by a flexible, all-embracing Hinduism. Within this elastic, variegated religious system, social and occupational groups have been kept static under the Brahmin hierarchy. The inherent fatalism of the Hindu religion is an important factor helping to maintain this system.

That the earlier caste divisions were the four larger ones of priest, Brahmin; warrior, Kshatriya; merchant, Vaisya, and laborer, Sudra. These have been further divided and subdivided into castes made up of small groups of families usually engaged in similar occupations. With the spread of Hinduism more than two thousand castes have come into existence. The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas are designated by Hindus as twice-born. The classification of Sudra is less distinct, and in Northern and Northwest India the grade next to the twice-born is occupied by a number of castes from whose hands the Brahmins will take water and certain kinds of sweetmeats. Below these are groups from which some castes will take water, while farther down the social ladder, status depends upon the nature of occupation and habits of diet. There are castes whose touch defiles the twice-born Brahmin but who are not so degraded as to eat beef. In South India the idea of ceremonial pollution has been developed to such a point that some castes are believed to contaminate only by touch, some at a distance of 24 feet, some at 30 feet, etc. This elaborate system testifies to the paradoxical rigidity and flexibility of Hinduism. Outside this system of custom and practice are the pariahs or outcastes.

The size of the various castes is only roughly known. The Census

of 1921 found only about fourteen million Brahmins in all India, less than 5 per cent. of the total population; yet the power of this comparatively small group is very great. A Hindu from South India made the somewhat extreme but significant statement that, "You have been told that the English are the rulers of India but in reality it is not the British but the Brahmins who control the destiny of our land." The 14,000,000 Brahmins reported by the 1921 Census constitute 6.5 per cent. of the 217,000,000 Hindus; 143,000,000, or 66 per cent., were given as non-Brahmin caste Hindus, and 60,000,000, or 27.5 per cent., were recorded as outcastes.

Throughout the period of foreign missions the number of converts to Christianity from either the Brahmin or the other castes has been small. The vast majority came originally from the depressed classes which make up less than 20 per cent. of India's population.

The position of the outcaste has been deplorable for centuries. Although nominally a Hindu, he is denied access to the temples. He is limited to the most menial occupations and to the most unfavorable living quarters; he is frequently denied access to the wells, and his children are usually excluded from the schools. There are several indigenous movements working toward the breaking down of caste barriers or the amelioration of the condition of the outcastes, but changes in traditional attitudes cannot be made easily, and progress is slow.

The fact that the overwhelming majority of Christians in India are of depressed-class origin is considered by many to be a great source of weakness to the Christian enterprise. The psychology of inferiority has been so ground into the consciousness of the outcastes that many of them seem incapable of initiative or self-expression. In this connection it is interesting to recall that in the days of the Roman Empire Christianity was for a time propagated largely by slaves.

Indian society is further subdivided by the power of its family organizations. The strength of the family group has had important effects on mission activity. The Indian family is a unit ruled by father or grandfather or the oldest male. All property is pooled, and the earnings of the group are often collected by its head. In return for subjection to the head of the family, a subjection which extends to minute details of action and opinion, the members obtain their livelihood even when out of work or when ill or incapacitated. As a result, orphanages, old people's homes and the like are less needed under this system than under the Western scheme of individualism. The Indian family protects its weaker members, yet tends to dull the initiative in the stronger.

The traditions of the family system are deeply engrained in the Indian mind, and the family exercises powerful pressure socially, economically, and religiously. Since the member of a family does not own any property individually, he stands to lose his all if he is excluded from the group,—and this is often what happens when a Hindu, particularly a

caste Hindu, embraces Christianity. The family system also helps to explain the attitude of some converts toward the mission. Many Indian Christians adopt toward the mission the same attitude of dependence that they have long been accustomed to hold with regard to the family.

A further social factor of great importance to missions is the organization of the Indian village. Each village tends to be an economic unit in which the different services, such as pottery-making, carpentry, tanning, or shoemaking are hereditary occupations and performed without pay, but in return for complementary services from the rest of the village group and is best exemplified in the ancient form of village government known as the Panchayat, where the five elders or leaders appointed the officers of the village and paid them "in kind" instead of money. Thus the village has long been self-sufficing. The organization thus tends to be closed to any newcomer such as a Christian carpenter trained by a mission school. The whole problem of getting jobs for Christians, and of providing vocational training for them, is greatly complicated by such considerations. Moreover, the adoption of Christianity by an entire family frequently involves the serious difficulty of earning a livelihood when the family is excluded from the village organization. Certain missions have found this problem so insoluble that they will not receive families into the Christian church unless all the families in the village can be enrolled.

It is against this background of caste, family, and village organization that the mass movement in India must be considered. The adoption of Christianity or Islam by all the outcastes in a village in order to secure freedom, has for decades been a familiar phenomenon in India.

Missionary opinion about the mass movement is quite divided. Some are most enthusiastic about its possibilities; others take the position that conversion is, in the very nature of the case, a highly personal matter, and cannot be conducted *en masse*. This whole issue is unusually complicated; but, at all events, virtually everyone is agreed that it takes several generations for mass-movement converts of depressed-class origin to become really Christianized.

GOVERNMENT

Since India is part of the British Empire, the Government is at least nominally Christian. Not all of the country, however, falls directly under British rule. According to preliminary estimates of the 1931 Census, the independent Indian States and Agencies include virtually 81,000,000 inhabitants, while 256,000,000 live in British provinces, exclusive of Burma.¹

¹ Data for Burma, it will be recalled, have been treated in a separate section of this report, both because of the decision of the Round Table Conference to separate it from the rest of India, and because conditions there are quite different from those in India proper.

Madras, Bombay and Bengal are the three oldest Governor's provinces and are officially known as Presidencies. The other five Governor's provinces, in addition to Burma, are (1) the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, generally referred to merely as the United Provinces; (2) the Punjab; (3) Bihar and Orissa; (4) the Central Provinces; (5) Assam. The Fact-Finding Commission visited all of these areas except Assam.

The six minor provinces are (1) the Northwest Frontier Province; (2) the Province of Delhi; (3) British Baluchistan; (4) Ajmer-Merwara; (5) Coorg; (6) the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. These divisions are administered, not by Governors, but by Chief Commissioners.

The independent Indian States number 563 and represent a wide variety of geographic, social, economic, political and religious conditions. At the one extreme is Hyderabad, with almost 14,400,000 inhabitants and an area of 82,700 square miles, while at the other end of the scale are States so tiny that in reality they are only small estates. As a rule each State manages its own internal affairs; but there is generally a British Resident or Agent who offers advice to the Ruler and who keeps the British authorities informed of developments within the State. Members of our group visited Gwalior, Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore, Travancore and a number of other native States.

Outstanding, in the recent political life of India, has been the wave of nationalism which, under the direction of the Congress Party, has swept the country. Through the leadership of Mr. Gandhi the movement in some quarters has assumed the fervor and intensity of a religious revival.

In a report of this character it has seemed unnecessary to summarize recent political history; instead, the Appraisal Commission is referred to such a book as Edward Thompson's *The Reconstruction of India*.²

Under the Government of India as now constituted, American missionaries have a significantly different status from the British missionaries. Not only are American missionaries required to take a pledge of "neutrality," but all non-British societies that are "recognized" by the British Government have agreed to certain important provisions. The document signed by the individual American missionary reads:

I, _____, hereby undertake to do nothing contrary to or in diminution of the authority of the lawfully constituted Government in the country to which I am appointed by _____ (Board or Society).

The pledge taken by the mission society itself is more elaborate and states:

- (1) That the organization recognizes that all due obedience and respect should be given to the lawfully constituted Government of the country where it is conducting mission work.

² *The Reconstruction of India*, E. Thompson (London; Faber and Faber, 1930)

(2) That while carefully abstaining from political affairs, it is the desire and purpose of the Board or Society that the influence of the Board or Society, in so far as it may be properly exerted, should be so exerted in loyal coöperation with the Government. . . .

(3) That this Board or Society will exercise the greatest care in selecting its missionaries with a view to employing only those who will work in this spirit and:

(4) That this Board or Society will make every effort to facilitate the efforts of its missionaries to work in this spirit.

This document, officially known as *Memorandum A*, was originally put into force at the close of the Great War.

It is easy to understand why the Government has insisted upon a "neutrality" pledge from non-British missionaries; but this promise is considered by certain individuals to have a hampering effect upon the work of the American missionary. For example, in an interview, Prof. S. Radhakrishnan, the Indian philosopher, maintained that the most powerful forces of social regeneration now operating in India are associated with the nationalist movement, and that the pledge of neutrality has prevented the missionary from allying himself with these forces. Moreover, in the present period of tension, many Indian nationalist leaders have taken the position that "he who is not for us is against us," and on this basis the American worker is classed as an anti-nationalist.

There are those who feel that in the circumstances India, being a British country, should be left to British missionaries; but it is well to remember that American workers are said to have certain distinct advantages in that they are less intimately connected with the Government.

II

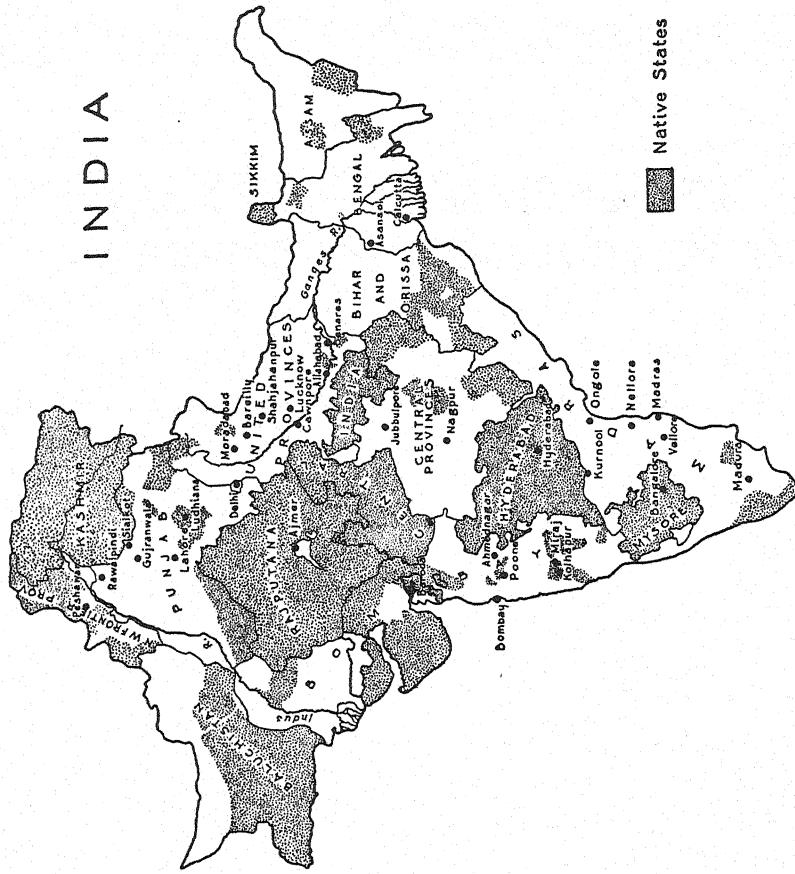
THE MISSIONARY FORCE AT WORK

Christian missions, Catholic and Protestant, in India constitute an enormous enterprise that ramifies into many phases of the country's thought and life. A force of more than 6,000 foreign missionaries, associated with well over 50,000 Indian workers, preaches in every province, conducts over 12,000 "recognized" schools, operates more than 200 hospitals, and in addition maintains a host of other institutions such as dispensaries, leper asylums, tuberculosis sanatoria, orphanages, homes for women, and the like.

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

The foreign staff, which was originally responsible for initiating this vast undertaking, is now composed of 5,049 Protestant missionaries;

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while in 1925 the number of Roman Catholic priests of European origin working in India, Burma and Ceylon was 1,494.¹ The mere fact that more than 6,000 representatives of the West are living in India with the avowed purpose of passing on their religious and cultural heritage is, in itself, a most striking phenomenon.

Of the 5,049 Protestant missionaries, 44 per cent., or 2,222, are Americans of whom 1,250 belong to the boards officially coöperating in this study. The six denominations specifically included in this inquiry have, therefore, virtually a quarter of the Protestant foreign missionaries in the country.

The great majority of Americans in India are missionaries. According to reports made to the American Consul General from all areas except Madras there were in India on December 31, 1930, a total of 2,715 American citizens and 2,041 of these were missionaries. This means that three out of every four citizens of the United States living in India are missionaries. It is significant that the representatives from America in India are mainly missionaries.

American missionaries have been increasing in numbers less rapidly than those of British and Continental societies. Between 1923 and 1928 the total number of Protestant foreign missionaries increased from 4,685² to 5,049, or 8 per cent., while the American staff remained virtually stationary, being 2,218 in 1924 and 2,222 in 1930.³ So far as the six denominations coöperating in this study are concerned, their foreign force actually declined slightly from 1,265 in 1924 to 1,250 in 1930.

The present political conflict in India raises two supremely important issues for these missionaries. Will the government of India continue to be stable or will there be a period of disorganization that may affect mission work? What would be the attitude toward missions of a strictly Swaraj government?

So far as the stability of the Government is concerned the consensus of opinion seems to be that anything may happen. As one high English official put it:

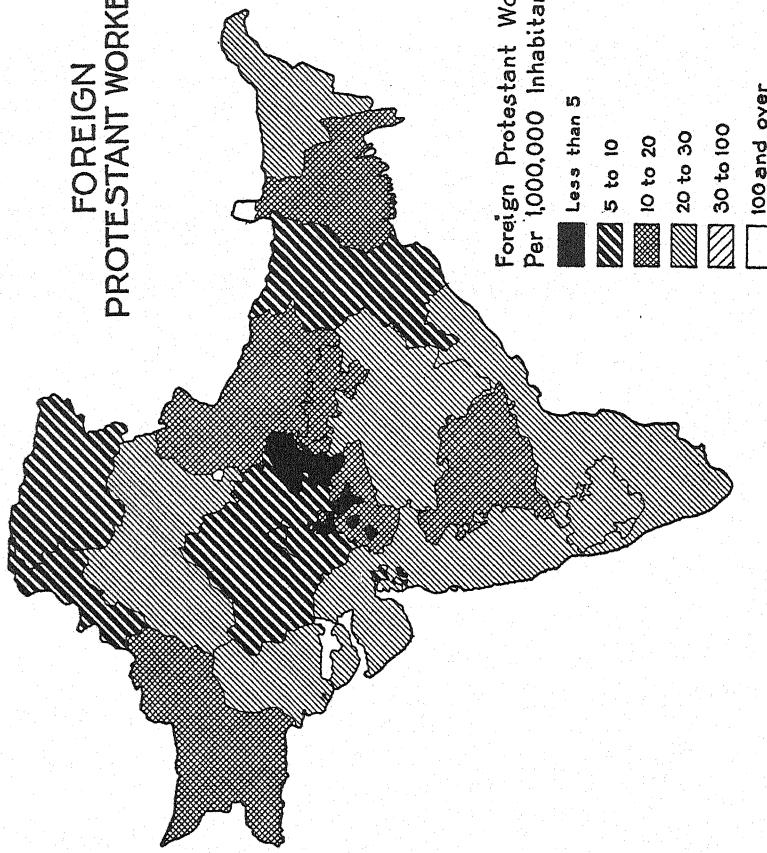
For better or for worse, the British have embarked upon the policy of rapidly turning over the reins of government to Indians. At this juncture no one can be sure how the new scheme will work. Hindu-Moslem differences alone may wreck the whole plan. It will take years before one can pass judgment upon the adequacy of the methods of government proposed. Meanwhile, American foreign mission societies would be very foolish to undertake large new capital investments in India. The conservative policy is to wait and see what happens.

¹ *Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon, 1928-29*, pp. xxvi and 244.

² *Op. cit.*, p. xxi.

³ From a special computation made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research.

FOREIGN PROTESTANT WORKERS



Foreign Protestant Workers
Per 1,000,000 Inhabitants

- Less than 5
- 5 to 10
- 10 to 20
- 20 to 30
- 30 to 100
- 100 and over

On the other hand, there are Americans who feel that this is the very time "for a gesture of good will" from the United States. In the words of a mission executive:

This may not be the time for large new capital investments in India, but it is a propitious moment for investing in men. American missions have the chance to gain a place of unusual importance in Indian affairs and the way to do so is to send out now a group of able young men who will learn the Indian languages and customs in order that they may be equipped to take advantage of the rare opportunities that lie just ahead.

Without minimizing the uncertainties of the present political outlook in India it seems reasonable to expect that, under the general supervision of Great Britain, Indians will come more and more to control their own destinies: and then what? How will missionaries fare when Hindus and Mohammedans, not British, are in the positions of authority?

There are many who feel that the result will be in many ways disadvantageous to missions. They point, for example, to the large grants-in-aid that mission schools are receiving from the Government, and prophesy that under a nationalist régime these appropriations will be decidedly cut if not discontinued. On the other hand, there are competent observers who take the position that Christianity will not have a fair hearing in India until Home Rule is an accomplished fact. Writing recently on the subject of "Christianity and Self-Government in India," Dr. E. Stanley Jones, who understands the nationalist mind exceptionally well, said in part:

There are a good many nervous Christian hearts in India and in the west over the question of what will happen to Christianity when India gets self-government. That India will get self-government is a foregone conclusion. It is as inevitable almost as the dawn. . . .

What, then, is to be the position of the Christian movement when this event takes place? Many, looking at the backing in the way of government grants-in-aid to mission schools and the general security and even-handed protection of the British Government in India, are very fearful lest with Swaraj or self-government this will all drop away and Christian missions will suffer a severe handicap. My own personal view is that only with the coming of self-government will Christ have a fair chance before the soul of India. At the present time everything is colored by the political and racial clash between East and West. No question is raised that does not raise this question. It is the ever-recurrent undertone to all of the thinking of the East. . . .

India does not dare to confess a need. She is making a case for Swaraj, and to confess a need would give away that case. She must insist that she has everything and is self-contained, having no need of the West in anything. Blocked in her political self-

expression, she turns more tenaciously to the past. Her religion is the one thing in that past. She identifies that religion with patriotism. To touch that religion in criticism is to touch the one thing to which the national patriotism clings. . . .

India will be very loathe to change things as long as the foreigner stands in her midst dominant. While the foreigner is there she must explain and explain away and save many customs by torturing history and sacred texts—anything to save her face before the unsympathetic scrutiny of the foreigner. But let her once be free, hence sure of herself, she will be free to let go things that block her life and be free to take from other nations. "No nation can afford to be proselytized by its conquerors," said an Indian nationalist to me, and he spoke the truth. It means a giving up of one's national soul. At least the nationalist feels so. And it is difficult to appeal against national feeling.⁴

One of the issues that is likely to become increasingly important under Swaraj is the question of proselytizing. Antagonism to it is widespread among Hindus. Many of those interviewed by the Fact-Finders protested against this method of gaining converts.

As employed by most Indians, the term proselytization has a unique connotation. It is used by them to refer to the process of gaining converts by means of special favors. The phrase "rice Christian" is an extreme illustration of the method. It has undoubtedly been true that in times of famine certain Indians have claimed to embrace Christianity in order to obtain free doles of grain, but, as Mr. Gandhi pointed out in talking with the Director of the Fact-Finders for India, pressure of this type can be applied in more subtle ways than merely feeding the starving. A school or a hospital may also be used as "bait" to induce people to become Christians.

Late in the spring of 1931, Mr. Gandhi's attitude on this question was widely misquoted in the press, and he prepared a release setting forth his considered judgment on the matter. In part it read:

Correspondents angry or curious have sent me clippings from the press on their comments on what has been ascribed to me by interviewers on the subject of foreign missionaries. . . .

This is what the reporter has put into my mouth:

"If instead of confining themselves to humanitarian work and material service to the poor, they do proselytization by means of medical aid, education, etc., then I would certainly ask them to withdraw. Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually."

I have given so many interviews that I cannot recall the time or the occasion or the context for the statement. All I can say is that it is a travesty on what I have always said and held. My views on foreign missions are not secret. I have more than once

⁴ *The Christian Century* (November 3, 1930), p. 1058.

expounded them before missionary audiences. I am therefore unable to understand the fury over the distorted version of my views. Let me retouch the statement as I should make it:

"If instead of confining themselves purely to humanitarian work such as education, medical services to the poor and the like, they would use these activities of theirs for the purpose of proselytizing, I would certainly like them to withdraw. Every nation considers its own faiths to be as good as that of any other. Certainly the great faiths held by the people of India are adequate for her people. India stands in no need of conversion from one faith to another."

Let me now amplify the bald statement. I hold that proselytizing under the cloak of humanitarian work is, to say the least, unhealthy. It is most certainly resented by the people here. Religion after all is a deeply personal matter, it touches the heart. Why should I change my religion because a doctor who professes Christianity as his religion has cured me of some disease or why should the doctor expect or suggest such a change whilst I am under his influence? Is not medical relief its own reward and satisfaction? Or why should I whilst I am in a missionary educational institution have Christian teaching thrust upon me? In my opinion these practices are not uplifting and give rise to suspicion if not even secret hostility. The methods of conversion must be like Cæsar's wife, above suspicion. Faith is not imparted like secular subjects. . . .

I am, then, not against conversion. But I am against the modern methods of it. Conversion nowadays has become a matter of business, like any other. . . . All faiths are equally dear to their respective votaries. What is wanted, therefore, is living friendly contact among the followers of the great religions of the world and not a clash among them in the fruitless attempt on the part of each community to show the superiority of its faith over the rest. Through such friendly contact it will be possible for us all to rid our respective faiths of shortcomings and excrescences.⁵

This statement is important because it is believed to represent a widespread attitude among Indians. Rabindranath Tagore expressed much the same point of view in these sentences of a famous letter to a young English missionary:

Do not be always trying to preach your doctrine but give yourself in love. Your western mind is too much obsessed with the idea of conquest and possession, your inveterate habit of proselytism is another form of it. . . . The object of a Christian should be to be like Christ—never to be like a coolie-recruiter trying to bring coolies to his master's tea garden. Preaching your doctrine is far more dangerous than all luxuries of material living. It breeds an illusion in your mind that you are doing your

⁵ *Young India* (April 23, 1931).

duty—that you are wiser and better than your fellow beings. But the real preaching is in being perfect, which is through meekness and love and self-dedication.

These opinions are felt to represent a deep-seated conviction among Hindus and raise the issue, directly suggested by Gandhi's statement, whether under a Swaraj government missions might be asked to give up proselytizing or to leave the country. The fact that a number of provinces have recently passed what is known as "Conscience Clauses" which make it illegal to impart religious instruction to a child in school if the parents object,⁶ and the further fact that there have been references in the press suggesting that India adopt toward the missionary the methods employed in China, might seem to presage the same developments in India that have actually occurred in China and Turkey; but it should be recognized that in several important respects India is unique.⁷

The Hindus pride themselves on being a religiously tolerant people. However, the diversity of the religious communities in the country makes it unlikely that anti-Christian legislation will be enacted. The Moslems are accused of proselytizing no less than the Christians; they would therefore be almost sure to object to any general anti-proselytizing legislation. Indeed, the press comments of certain Moslems show clearly that they are not in sympathy with Gandhi's general position. Lastly, certain indigenous institutions, Moslem and Hindu, are likewise aided by government funds.

It is needless to proceed further with this line of reasoning, since all discussions of this character must of necessity enter the realm of speculation. The main point is that, in considering the future of missions in India, it is unsafe to take for granted the political *status quo*.

From the point of view of the future of Christian missions in India, nothing is more pertinent than the character and qualifications of the missionaries themselves. This issue, which is discussed in Mr. Fennell P. Turner's report on "Personnel"⁸ becomes doubly important because conditions in India have so changed during recent years that a person who was adapted to the social and intellectual environment of a generation ago may be unsuited to the existing situation. It is important also that

⁶ See Mr. L. B. Sipple's Report, *Mission Education in India*, this Volume.

⁷ An open letter by Manilal C. Parekh, published in the *Indian Social Reformer* on February 21, 1931, contained these sentences: ". . . the question naturally arises, should the public give money for institutions [mission] over which they have no control and in the management of which they have practically no voice? This question becomes all the more important when these institutions belong to a system which is out to subvert the national religions of the people. These questions are being faced today in a very proper manner by the Chinese people and the Government there in regard to Christian Missions and we too need to do the same, even more so, especially as Christian Missions in India are far more imperialistic than they have been in China or anywhere else."

⁸ Home Base and Missionary Personnel (Vol. VII Supplementary Series).

many American missionaries are not technically qualified for their tasks. Large numbers are engaged in various types of educational work for which they have never had specialized training.

One of the criticisms frequently voiced by Indians is that the missionary is more and more insulating himself from the life of the people. It is claimed that the early missionaries rubbed shoulders with the masses but that those of the present generation live aloof. The fact seems to be that the schools and other institutions established by the missionaries have increased to such an extent that they absorb much of the missionaries' time and energy, with the result that personal, friendly contacts with Indians have suffered. Many missionaries hold several jobs. This situation has unfortunate consequences, especially at this time when Indians are particularly sensitive to the treatment accorded them by the Westerner. As one Hindu put it, "It is not fair that the tallest Indian should be made to bow before the smallest white man." The more intelligent and alert missionaries are aware of the problem, and take the time for the personal friendships and the social amenities so valued by Indians. In the future, all missionaries sent to India should be willing to work with the people on terms of equality.

INDIAN CHRISTIAN WORKERS

Associated with the foreign missionary undertaking is a large group of Indian workers. Figures for 1927 show that, among Protestant bodies alone, there were 33,481 men and 16,158 women classed by the latest edition of the *Indian Mission Directory* as "Indigenous Christian Workers." This total of nearly 50,000 workers in 1927 compares with 45,000 in 1922—a growth of 11 per cent. in five years.

The relationship between the foreign and the Indian worker raises one of the most complicated and delicate problems confronting the mission enterprise.

In the early days, missionaries as a group were benevolent despots. The Christian community, which from the beginning has been largely of depressed-class origin, looked up to the white gurus from abroad with veneration. This missionary was "*ma-bap*" (mother and father) to his flock and a respected representative of the ruling race. But today the situation is rapidly changing. The educational advantages given to Indian Christians have made many of them increasingly independent and self-assertive. In addition, the spirit of nationalism, that at present is such a dominant element in Indian thought, has reacted upon the Christian enterprise. The tendency to condemn the Government has been followed by the criticism of mission policies and institutions. Westernism and Imperialism have virtually become synonymous.

Indian Christians are more and more demanding control in the conduct of the missions. This process of Indianization, sometimes called

devolution, is taking different forms and proceeding at varying rates of speed in the denominations.

The status of the situation in most of the India mission fields of the coöperating boards will be found in Dr. Orville A. Petty's study, while the opinions of mission workers about certain aspects of Indianization are given in a later section of this report. In general it can be said that, despite the conservatism of certain reactionary missionaries on the one hand, and the unreasonable demands of radical Indian Christians on the other, devolution is making progress, but at a less rapid rate than one might infer from official pronouncements. The unfortunate disagreements of the various Round Table Conferences in London, the last of which Mr. Gandhi attended, indicate a postponement of definite policy or action.

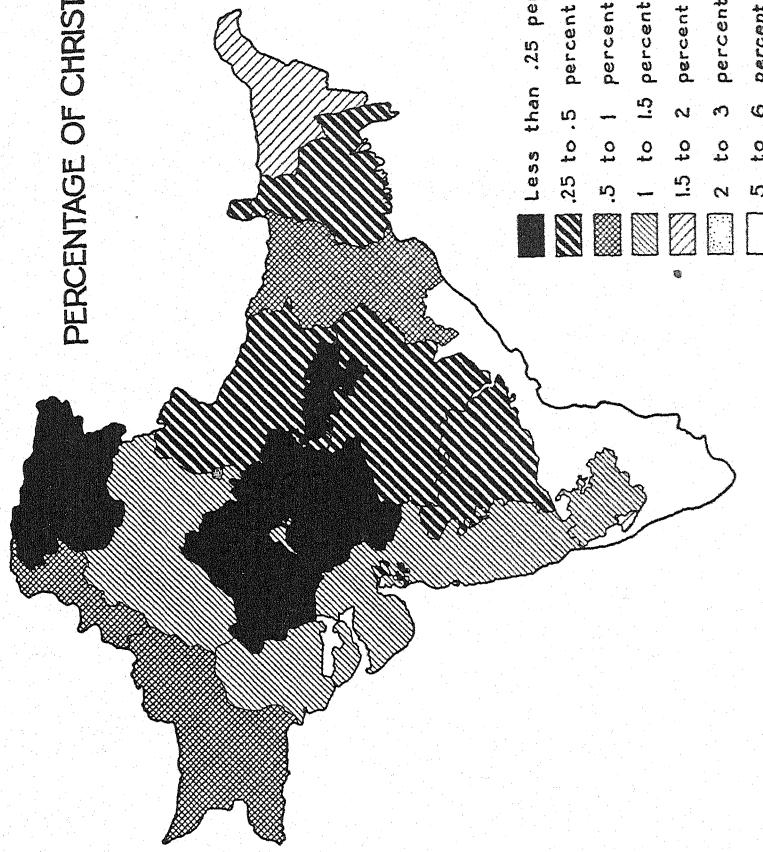
In the last analysis, the final test of any scheme of devolution is whether it enables Indians of character and ability to develop a self-directing, self-supporting, self-propagating Church in India. This fact gives peculiar significance to the National Missionary Society, which is one of the most important indigenous evangelistic organizations of the country. Started a quarter of a century ago as an interdenominational enterprise to do Christian missionary work in unoccupied areas, this Society has grown until today it is operating in about fifty places in eight provinces. From the beginning, financial help was not sought from foreign mission boards, yet in 1929 the budget was Rs.83,000, most of which came from voluntary gifts from Indians. The whole undertaking is of, by and for Indians. A generation ago when the Society was launched, both Indians and missionaries coöperated in the enterprise; but gradually the foreigners are becoming less and less active. According to Mr. Paul Appasamy, the President of the organization, this is an illustration of the ideal relationship that should exist between the missionaries and the Indians.

The National Missionary Society is by no means the only indigenous Christian effort in India. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church has a Christian Evangelistic Association, that was established as early as 1888 to convert the non-Christians of this area. The annual income of the organization is now about Rs.25,000. These and similar agencies are described in a *Report on a Survey of Indigenous Christian Efforts in India, Burma and Ceylon*, published in 1928 by the Scottish Mission Industries Company.

THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The Christian community in India long antedates the coming of the modern missionary. Before England became Christian, Christianity had established itself in Cochin and Travancore. Legend has it that St. Thomas himself brought the Gospel to these shores, and even so eminent an authority as Prof. J. N. Farquhar has contended that this tradition

PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIANS



is not impossible.⁹ Be that as it may, the evidence is clear that probably by the fourth century Christianity had been planted in India, and a Syrian Christian community has existed through the centuries. Today one finds that the Christians comprise more than a quarter of the total population of Travancore and Cochin. However, it was not until the coming of the modern missionary that Christianity became an active force throughout India.

The distinction of starting foreign mission work in India belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. Early in the sixteenth century Portugal combined political penetration with religious propaganda; and under the leadership of able missionaries like Francis Xavier many Indians embraced Christianity.

Protestant missions began in 1706 when Ziegenbalg and Plutschau, two great German missionaries, commenced work under Danish private auspices in the Danish settlement of Tranquebar.

Protestant work on a large scale did not start until 1813, when mainly through the influence of William Wilberforce, the charter of the East India Company was modified to allow missionaries to enter the country. Even before this date William Carey had gone to India as a missionary; and he was followed by a host of others, not only from Europe but from America.

According to the Census of 1921 the Christians in India, 4,496,958 in number, formed 1.5 per cent. of the entire population; 167,000 were Europeans, 96,000 were Anglo-Indians, and 4,233,000 were Indian Christians. As is but natural in a country with so many British residents, the majority of European Christians belonged to the Anglican Communion, the number being 104,000 or 62 per cent. Among Anglo-Indians, slightly more than half—48,500—were Roman Catholics and 32,000 were Anglicans.

By far the largest church group of Indian Christians were Roman Catholics. Indeed they accounted for 1,672,000, or 40 per cent. of the entire number; while the Syrian Christians, more than half of whom are united with Rome, and who are so numerous in Travancore and Cochin, aggregated 791,000, or 19 per cent. of the total. This means that all other groupings combined totaled 41 per cent.

Among Protestant denominations the Anglican Communion claimed the largest group of Indian Christians, with 377,000, while the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations came next with 280,000 and 243,000 respectively. Detailed figures, showing for 1921 the Christians in India by race and denomination, are given in the accompanying table.

Census data for 1921 also make it possible to compare the literacy of the Protestants, Syrians, and Roman Catholics in South India; and show that the Syrians reported by far the highest proportion of literate

⁹ See *The Apostle Thomas in North India* and *The Apostle Thomas in South India*, the "John Ryland's Library Bulletin," January, 1926, and January, 1927.

INDIA

CHRISTIANS IN INDIA BY RACE AND DENOMINATION*
1921

	<i>European and Allied Race</i>	<i>Anglo- Indian</i>	<i>Indian</i>	<i>Total Returned</i>
Abyssinian.....	0	0	1	1
Anglican Communion.....	104,198	31,858	376,714	512,770
Armenian.....	1,096	19	124	1,239
Baptist.....	2,043	1,421	280,359	283,823
Congregational.....	347	414	122,252	123,013
Greek.....	145	17	28	190
Lutheran.....	398	337	239,686	240,423
Methodist.....	5,871	2,664	198,176	206,711
Minor Protestant denominations.....	443	409	25,631	26,483
Presbyterian.....	8,626	1,288	243,416	253,330
Protestant (unsectarian and unspeci- fied).....	7,244	3,650	62,909	73,803
Quaker.....	20	0	1,016	1,036
Roman Catholic.....	30,630	48,455	1,672,053	1,751,138
Salvationist.....	196	52	88,653	88,901
South India United.....	179	111	65,457	65,747
Syrian.....	124	134	791,298	791,556
Chaldean.....	0	0	1,928	1,926
Jacobite.....	3	20	252,966	252,989
Nestorian.....	97	0	0	97
Reformed.....	0	0	112,017	112,017
Romo-Syrian.....	1	114	423,853	423,968
Unspecified.....	23	0	536	559
Sect not returned.....	5,547	5,554	64,803	75,904
Total.....	167,107	96,383	4,232,578	4,496,068

* Data from *Census of India, 1921*, Vol. I, Part II—Tables.

Christians, while the Protestants had a slightly smaller percentage than the Roman Catholics. Explanation is probably to be found in the fact that Protestants are working with illiterate Christians of depressed-class origin to a greater extent than are the Roman Catholics.

The number of Christians has been growing more rapidly than any other religious community in India. Census data for all India, including Burma, show that the Christians increased 33 per cent. between 1901 and 1911 and 23 per cent. between 1911 and 1921. During the latter decade, the number of Moslem converts rose only 3.1 per cent., while the Hindu community remained virtually stationary.

Census returns for 1931 are not yet available, but there is evidence to show that during recent years the growth of the Christian community in India has continued. Between 1921 and 1926 the Roman Catholics reported an increase for India, Burma and Ceylon of 272,000 Christians, or 9 per cent. in five years; while for India alone the Protestants recorded a gain of 264,000 between 1921 and 1927, or an increase of 12 per cent. in six years.¹⁰

¹⁰ *Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon, 1928-29*, pp. xxi. xxxii and 244.

COMITY AND COÖPERATION

The Christian missionary force is divided into a large number of separate organizations. The *Missionary Directory* lists no fewer than 175 Protestant mission societies at work in India.¹¹ As a rule, these agencies function without friction; but there are outstanding exceptions, such as the Seventh Day Adventists.

A description of cases of active competition among mission societies is likely to give a distorted impression of the customary relationship among boards. The great majority work together without friction, although in a number of places visited by the Fact-Finders there was a noticeable lack of knowledge on the part of the missionaries regarding the work of Christian organizations other than their own in the same area. However, the spirit of comity and coöperation is decidedly on the increase. A generation ago there were no provincial Christian councils; at present there are eight in India, and one each in Burma and Ceylon.¹² The National Missionary Council, now known as the National Christian Council, was not formed until 1911; today it is an increasingly effectual coördinating agency.

The number of union mission ventures has also been growing during recent years until now there is a whole series of them, including the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium opened in 1912 at Aragyavaram, South India, and operated coöperatively by fourteen societies; the Women's Christian College, Madras, started in 1915 under the joint management of twelve societies; Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, which since 1919 has been a union institution supported by five bodies; St. Christopher's Training College, Madras, started in 1923 and now supported by eleven missionary societies.

Possibly the most significant index to the increasing spirit of comity is the growing interest in church union. Early in the century the South India United Church was formed by the organic union of churches located in South India and Ceylon. This organization has expanded until it now includes churches that were originally established by mission boards of the Reformed Church in America and of the American Board (Congregational) as well as by those of several British and Continental societies.¹³

In North India there has recently come into being a union body called the United Church of India (North), which is little more than a loose federation of churches connected with Congregational and Presbyterian missions.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² The eight provincial councils located in India are: (1) Bengal and Assam; (2) Bihar and Orissa; (3) Bombay; (4) Madras; (5) Mid-India; (6) Punjab; (7) United Provinces and (8) Andhra (Telugu).

¹³ Data from *Proposed Scheme of Union* prepared by a Joint Committee, The Christian Literature Society for India, 1929. See also Dr. Orville A. Petty's Report, this Volume.

EDUCATION

Missions attempt to spread Christianity not only through churches but through schools. They are, in fact, responsible for maintaining an appreciable proportion of the total educational system of India. Government figures for the school year 1926-27 showed that all missions, Catholic and Protestant, combined operated 12,282 recognized schools with 595,725 scholars. This is 6 per cent. of the schools and of the scholars coming under the category of "recognized schools."¹⁴

The vast size of the recognized school system operated by foreign missionaries in India is revealed by the fact that the different societies operate 55 colleges, 712 middle and high schools, 11,158 primary schools and 357 other schools including 100 normal schools known in India as teacher-training institutions.¹⁵ The number of students in the colleges alone totals 16,000, while there are 421,000 primary-school pupils.

These figures, however, fail to indicate the extent of the contributions that missions are making to so-called "higher education," and particularly to the education of women. More than one of each ten high-school students in India, and nearly one of each five college students, attend missionary institutions. Among certain types of girls' schools these proportions are much higher. In 1927 forty-five of every hundred pupils attending high schools for girls went to an institution under mission auspices, while 806 out of 1,436, or more than half, of the women attending female colleges were in mission institutions.

Recognized mission schools are naturally concentrated in those provinces that were first brought under British rule. Indeed, about 8,000 of the 12,000 mission schools of India, are in the province of Madras, where 7,718, or nearly seven of every ten, mission primary schools are located.

In 1929 the six denominations coöperating in this study operated 4,032 schools with 163,702 scholars. These numbers, which include both recognized and unrecognized schools, compare with national totals for the same year of 232,444 schools having 11,460,661 pupils. Thus the boards directly involved in this study control 1.7 per cent. of the schools and 1.4 per cent. of all the scholars in India, or about a quarter of the educational work of all missions.

One of the chief considerations regarding mission schools seems to be that as a group they are losing their position of leadership in education in India. A conference of principals of mission colleges held at Agra in January, 1929, came to the conclusion that the competition of Government and other colleges, the increasing strain upon the resources of the

¹⁴ By a recognized school is meant one that has met certain minimum Government standards.

¹⁵ Data for the year 1926-27 taken from *Progress in Education, 1922-27*.

mission, and the growing stringency of Government and University control demand a "prompt, comprehensive, thorough and even radical reconsideration of Christian educational policy." The Lindsay Commission on Higher Education, after spending the cold season of 1930-31 in India, studying the situation, reached the verdict that "this pronouncement has been challenged as extravagant, but we desire after our survey of the past four months and with a full sense of responsibility, to endorse the judgment expressed in the resolution."

The criticisms of the Agra Conference and the Lindsay Commission relate particularly to Christian colleges, but the conclusion reached by both groups that "the choice before the Christian colleges in India is a very grave one; either they must recover initiative and leadership and the inspiration which they bring with them or they must be prepared to suffer a progressive decline in usefulness, significance and esteem" are applicable to other types of schools, especially to boys' secondary schools.

A generation or two ago mission boy's high schools were pioneer ventures of great significance and value. The Fact-Finding group, in its tour through India, found in city after city that the first high school had been started by missionaries. But the work begun by Christian workers has been taken up by others so that in a number of places mission high schools find themselves in virtual competition with non-mission institutions.

The tendency for Government institutions to increase much faster than those of the mission is brought out by official data showing that between 1922 and 1927 the number of pupils in recognized mission secondary schools and colleges increased from 155,000 to 175,000, or 13 per cent., while the number of scholars in Government and non-commission schools rose from 1,132,000 to 1,894,000, or 67 per cent.¹⁶

Some missionaries maintain that the function of mission schools is primarily to train Christian leaders—not to operate pioneer institutions—but reports from Protestant schools show that the great majority of boys attending mission secondary schools and colleges are non-Christians and that few of these Hindu and Moslem boys are converted to Christianity while attending these institutions. Figures published in the latest *Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon* show that of every hundred boys in secondary mission schools, only thirty-four are Christians; and of every hundred in mission colleges, only fourteen.

Secondary mission schools for girls have not been slipping from their place of preëminence in India's educational system to nearly the same extent. The conducting of a middle school or of a high school for girls is still a pioneer venture. Government returns for 1928-29 show that the entire country, including Burma, had only 278 recognized high schools for

¹⁶ Data from *Progress in Education, 1917-22 and 1922-27*.

girls, compared with 2,556 for boys; while girls' middle schools numbered 743, in comparison with 9,010 for boys.¹⁷

In short, there are not a tenth as many secondary schools for girls as for boys. This is one reason why mission girls' schools are still performing a most important function, particularly since predominantly they train Christian women. Data for all Protestant institutions in India show that in secondary schools for girls 70 per cent. of the pupils are Christians, while in colleges this proportion is 73.

In the field of primary education the number of scholars in mission schools also increased much less rapidly than those in Government and non-mission schools. The total number of pupils in recognized primary schools conducted by missions grew from 407,000 in 1922 to but 421,000 in 1927, or 3.5 per cent.; while the number of scholars in other classes of elementary schools jumped from 5,703,000 to 7,597,000, or 33 per cent. These figures reveal, therefore, that the students in non-missionary primary schools have been increasing about ten times as rapidly as those in mission institutions.

Obviously, the conclusion of the Agra Conference that "the leadership of Indian education which Christian colleges once exercised and have not entirely lost, must in a short time finally disappear if it depends upon the volume of the contribution which they make" is applicable to other classes of schools besides colleges. In the opinion of the Director of the India Fact-Finders, mission boys' high schools are distinctly in need of reëvaluation.

MEDICAL MISSIONS

Christian missions are also making a noteworthy contribution to the health-needs of India. No other phase of mission activity appears to be so widely appreciated by non-Christians.

The health problems of a country so densely populated are difficult enough at best, but in India the situation is complicated by such factors as the tropical climate and the poverty of the people.

Christian missionaries are making a valuable contribution to the fight against disease. Protestant societies alone are conducting 173 hospitals, while the Roman Catholics have forty-six. The six coöperating boards have thirty-two, or less than a sixth, of the total number of Protestant mission institutions.

The figures fail to include dispensaries, which are of special value in India, not only because of the reluctance on the part of many Indians to enter a hospital, but also because dispensaries are often located in districts that are poorly provided with medical facilities. Among mission bodies as a whole, dispensaries are somewhat more numerous than the hospitals themselves. Since the latest Government report lists virtually

¹⁷ Data from *Education in India, 1928-29* (Government of India Press), 1931.

5,000 hospitals and dispensaries in India, it follows that missions conduct more than a tenth of the total number.

In certain specialized fields missions are doing much more institutional work than the Government. In all India there are only eighteen tuberculosis sanatoria, ten of which are conducted by missions; and missions operate all but seven of the sixty-four leper asylums in the country.

The medical service rendered by missions should not conceal the fact that their chief contribution has been palliative rather than preventive. Medical missionaries have devoted their main energies to caring for the sick rather than to the elimination of disease. For instance, many mission leper asylums have numbers of incurable inmates. At first thought it might seem inhuman to limit the patients to those persons who offer a prospect of cure; but for the purpose of eliminating leprosy from India, this policy would certainly be desirable, particularly as the incurable "burnt-out" case is not likely to pass on the disease to others.

There are people who feel the missions should supplement their remedial health work by a program of preventive medicine and research. They point out that the Christian enterprise has unusual facilities for carrying on such a campaign, especially through its schools. Mission normal schools would undoubtedly do a great deal to spread health education among the masses if they were to train teachers to be "germ conscious" and to pass on their acquired information when they go out to teach.

One of the great obstacles to any program of preventive medicine is the apathy of the people, who have never been imbued with the importance of scientific methods of healthful living.

The Director General of the Indian Medical Service, in discussing the possibilities of a preventive health program for missions, pointed out that such a program would accomplish but little good in the long run unless Indians adopted a new attitude toward life. "Suppose," he said, "that infant mortality is cut in half, it will only be a few years before the pressure of population upon food supply will produce a recurrence of present conditions unless, of course, the people could at the same time be made to change their mores." Fundamentally what is required is some form of birth-control.

FINANCES

The annual expense of operating the great enterprise conducted by missions in India is not known; but Government reports for the year 1926-27 show that mission schools¹⁸ alone cost Rs.26,085,000 (approximately \$9,400,000) but it does not follow that this amount is contributed by the missions. The greater part of the operating expenses of these institutions is met by the fees of the pupils and by Government grants. In fact only Rs.8,568,000, or slightly less than a third of the cost of

¹⁸ Including Hindu and Moslem mission schools.

running the schools, came out of mission funds, while fees accounted for Rs.7,638,000 and Government grants for Rs.7,912,000. It is highly significant that three-tenths of the expenses of running mission schools are met by grants; and this is another evidence of the close relationship existing between missions and Government in India.

One contingency, that the Appraisal Commission may well keep in mind, is the possibility that in the future Government grants to mission institutions may be reduced. The present economic depression with its concomitant of Government budget deficits in several provinces would of itself be sufficient cause for such action, while the increasing control over appropriations by Indians might tend in the same direction. At all events such a development would be most embarrassing to the missions.

To ascertain tendencies during recent years in the financial contributions of the coöperating boards to their work in India, Mr. Trevor Bowen, the Controller of the Institute of Social and Religious Research, obtained directly from the treasurers of nearly all the denominations associated with this Inquiry, a statement showing, for the last ten years, the amount of their regular "appropriations" to India. The items covered by the term "appropriation" are not uniform among the boards; nevertheless it was felt that these data would probably show tendencies in missionary giving during the last decade. The figures themselves follow:

BOARD "APPROPRIATIONS"** TO MISSION WORK IN INDIA

Denomination	Year									
	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930	1931
	(In Thousands of Dollars)									
Baptist										
Men's board.....	304	296	306	330	265	296	291	295	310	308
Women's board....	75	57	57	57	57	54	47	47	49	54
Methodist										
Men's board.....	854	822	936	880	681	703	744	756	704	690
Women's board....	686	711	604	731	785	708	724	689	675	
†Presbyterian (U.S.A.)	168	183	204	188	198	198	205	200	212	
Reformed.....	98	98	110	106	110	107	118	114	118	
†United Presbyterian..	143	166	171	201	204	214	185	173	155	146

* Data submitted by the treasurers of the coöperating boards. But the term "appropriation" is not comparable among the boards.

† Does not include the item of missionary salaries.

These data indicate very different trends among the boards. Apparently the appropriations of the Reformed Church and of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. to their India stations are greater now than ever before, while the figures for the Baptist men's board, after reaching a peak in 1925, declined sharply but later gradually recovered. The appropriations of the Women's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society fell off abruptly between 1921 and 1922 and then, after a further decline between 1927 and 1929, slowly began to increase.

The Methodist Episcopal and United Presbyterian denominations saw a steady rise in appropriations from 1921 to the period between 1924 and 1927, and then suffered a sustained decline.

Although useful from the standpoint of showing trends these figures are not satisfactory as a basis of making financial comparisons among boards, because the term "appropriation" does not mean the same thing from denomination to denomination. For example, some boards include the salaries of missionaries among their "appropriations" while others do not.

To obtain more comparable figures, the Institute of Social and Religious Research compiled data from denominational yearbooks showing the reported amount of money devoted to India through the board treasuries of the coöperating societies. The results of this analysis are given in the following table:

REPORTED AMOUNT OF MONEY DEVOTED TO INDIA BY COÖPERATING BOARDS

Denomination	Year									
	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
(Figures in Thousands of Dollars)										
Baptist.....	384	411	397	436	383	*	392	350	362	395
Congregational.....	220	238	260	278	338	311	319	323	284	280
Methodist										
Men's board.....	875	842	953	897	694	727	765	771	717	702
Women's board....	619	686	711	604	731	785	708	724	689	675
Presbyterian (U.S.A.)	521	538	722	600	586	651	701	676	708	809†
Reformed.....	104	87	101	115	125	138	130	142	132	140
United Presbyterian..	297	303	310	336	362	360	361	348	323	353
Total.....	3,020	3,105	3,454	3,266	3,219		3,376	3,334	3,215	3,354

* Comparable figure not available owing to change in fiscal year.

† Includes a special bequest of approximately \$100,000.

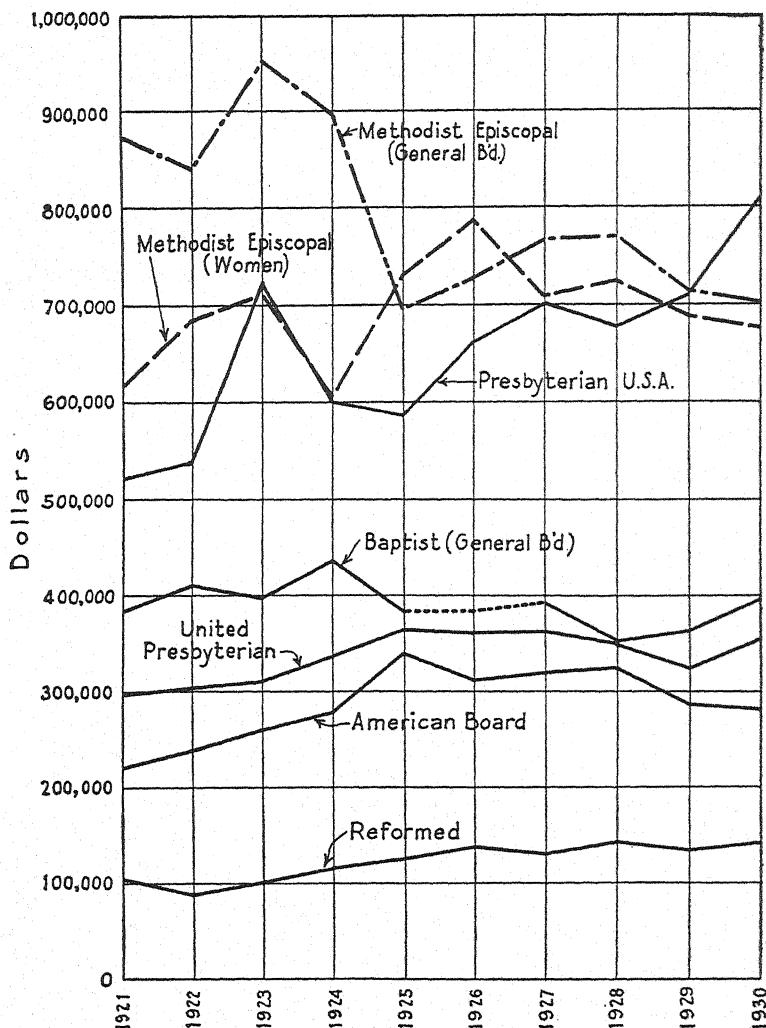
In general, the figures show the same trends as were recorded by the data on appropriations, but it is worthy of special mention that the reported expenditures devoted to India by the United Presbyterian mission declined much less than might be inferred from the data on appropriations.

According to these figures, the total amount of money contributed from the United States through denominational channels to the work in India of the six boards affiliated in this Inquiry amounted, in 1930, to \$3,354,-000. Even this total does not represent the entire contribution from America, because certain donations are made directly to missionaries on the field, and do not pass through board treasurers. Neglecting these unreported items, the known contributions represent the interest at 5 per cent. on a sum in excess of \$67,000,000.

Figures showing the amount of money contributed, through denomina-

tional channels in the United States, to mission work in India are of value in showing the conditions in this country, but they are not necessarily a

AMOUNT OF MONEY REPORTED DEVOTED TO FIELD



measure of the funds available for the use of local missionaries in India. Many factors serve to complicate the situation. In addition to the donations from home, the mission enterprise in India secures comparatively

large sums locally. As already indicated, Government grants to mission institutions, as well as school and hospital fees, are very considerable items in mission budgets. Then, too, the missionary on the field thinks of the money available in terms of rupees, not in dollars, and there have been significant fluctuations in the dollar value of the rupee during the last decade. Variations in salaries of missionaries and of local indigenous workers have been another complicating factor. Obviously, any increases in the annual amounts paid to Christian workers tend to reduce the actual money available for work on the field. Finally, there are a whole series of special considerations. For example, the Methodist Episcopal denomination, a few years ago, materially increased its indebtedness in India, with the result that interest payments are comparatively large just now. As a result even less money is available for the regular work of Methodist stations than might be inferred from the declining American contributions.

Had opportunity permitted, it would have been of value to analyze in detail the field budgets of the coöperating missions, but unfortunately this was not possible. However, the figures and testimony collected on the field clearly indicate that, computed in terms of purchasing power, the funds available for most stations in India have shrunk appreciably in recent years.

The question of finances brings up a suggestion that was made by Mr. Gandhi and by other leading non-Christian Indians; namely, whether it might not be desirable for certain contributions from America to be devoted to the support of worthy Indian philanthropic enterprises. This plan would have the advantage of training Indian leaders who could do the things that missionaries now do for them. It was also pointed out that such an arrangement would help to convince the rank and file of Indians that the philanthropic activities of the missions were conducted primarily for their benefit, and not primarily as "bait," to induce Hindus and Mohammedans to become Christians.

III

RESULTS OF MISSIONARY ENDEAVOR

The results of missionary endeavor can be grouped under two main heads—the direct and the indirect.

Some of the more obvious direct results have already been indicated. The 5,000,000 Christian converts, the 12,000 recognized mission schools, the hundreds of hospitals and dispensaries are largely outcomes of missionary efforts. The higher rate of literacy among Christians than among non-Christians is mainly the result of mission work.

In the last analysis, however, the change brought about in the life

of the individual convert is the real test of the direct influence of missions.

There have, undoubtedly, been many Indians who have adopted Christianity from economic motives; but one cannot listen to the stories of the persecutions and hardships suffered by some of the converts without being convinced of the depth and sincerity of their beliefs. For example, in Northern India the Director of the Fact-Finding group met a Mohammedan boy who had been abandoned by his family and socially ostracized because he had embraced Christianity. In this case the boy's father actually conducted a funeral service, indicating that so far as he was concerned his son had ceased to exist. This is not an isolated example. Under such circumstances it is not surprising to find that there have never been many converts to Christianity from the

LITERACY OF INDIA CHRISTIANS AND NON-CHRISTIANS

MALE

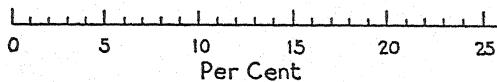
Non-Christians	10.9	
Christians	25.6	

FEMALE

Non-Christians	1.3	
Christians	14.1	

TOTAL

Non-Christians	6.2	
Christians	19.9	



Mohammedan community, or from the highest-caste Hindu groups. It is noteworthy that there are believed to be appreciably fewer at present than there were fifty years ago. However, very recently, there has been a movement among certain lower-caste people to become Christians.

There are many people who believe that the indirect results of missionary effort are more important than the direct. This has been urged especially to justify the work of mission schools and colleges that have not been able to report many converts to Christianity.

In considering the indirect effects of missions in India, the difficulty at once appears of distinguishing between the effects of the Christian enterprise and of Western civilization. It is easy to fall into the error of attributing to missions results produced by a number of causes. At best, the problem of isolating the indirect effects produced by missions is

difficult; but the present political situation in India has further complicated it because many Indians are at this time loath to admit any values from Occidental contacts.

The followers of Mohammed have reacted to Christianity quite differently from the Hindus. In India, as elsewhere, missionaries have failed to obtain Moslem converts to Christianity on any large scale. In fact, one of the chief results of work of missionaries seems to have been to strengthen the opposition against Christianity. The writings of Western skeptics have been culled in order to obtain ammunition for a counter-attack against missions. In spite of the witness of the Koran, Christ's miracles are explained away; His teachings are declared to be impractical; His supernatural birth and resurrection are denied. Since He did not die on the cross there was no atonement and so, in the words of one of them, "the preaching of the Christian missionary is in vain." These and similar views are being widely disseminated through an active and extensive press.

So far as Hinduism is concerned, Christian influences have shown themselves in two ways—in social reform movements and in the modification of doctrines.

One of the most important social reform movements that Christianity has helped to bring about is the raising of the level of the depressed classes. Missions have been a factor in improving the status of the whole group of more than sixty million depressed-class people. The work of early missionaries among the depressed classes led large numbers of these outcastes to embrace Christianity. The converts thus gained a higher social status, and obtained the active assistance of missionaries in fighting their battles. The movement toward Christianity on the part of the depressed classes was followed by a tendency within Hinduism itself to take the equivocal position that untouchability was merely a social custom, not a basic religious tenet. As already explained, Hindus are concerned at the large inroads made upon the outcastes of their faith by Christianity and Islam. It seems reasonably obvious that Christian missions were an important factor helping to create this new attitude.

Now there is at work within Hinduism a whole series of forces that are tending not only toward the elimination of untouchability but toward the modification of caste. Organizations have become active in Hinduism, like the Arya Samaj, the Servants of India Society, the Self-Respect Society, which take the position that the abuses of the caste system must go. And they are slowly going. For example, a missionary builder in Poona testified to the fact that, whereas formerly he had to hire a large number of persons from many castes in order to put up the simplest building, he is not now hampered to nearly the same extent. Caste distinctions will undoubtedly persist for a long time, but they are unques-

tionably being materially modified. Missions have indirectly been an important factor in bringing about this change.

Missions have helped to raise the level of women as well as that of the depressed classes. It is again impossible to weigh precisely the influence of missions and to compare this contribution with that of other agencies; but beyond question Christian missionaries have played an important part in bringing about the new status of women which is now such a striking feature of Indian life, at least in towns and cities. Certainly the emphasis of missions upon the educating of women, and upon improving the lot of Indian widows, has been followed by similar movements by Hindus. As Mr. R. S. Wilson points out in his book, *The Indirect Effects of Christian Missions in India*:

The Social Reform Movement . . . has done a great deal to commend re-marriage in all parts of the country. Marriage bureaus have been established and widows' homes provided; and in consequence a certain number of such marriages now take place yearly in all ranks of Indian society. The movement has done much to alleviate the hard lot of the Indian widow and to lighten her burden of suffering. The provision of widows' homes is surely a direct imitation of the similar Christian Mission organization.

The latest edition of the *Directory of Christian Missions in India* lists fifty-four Protestant mission homes for women.

Christian missions have not only been a factor in raising the level of the depressed classes, and in improving the status of women, but they have helped to stimulate social service agencies. Every important city or town now has its social service organizations. It is true that in certain cases the work is pushed with little energy, but there is much talk about it, and in a number of places results of great value are being achieved.

One of the most important of these agencies is the Servants of India Society founded in 1905 by the late C. K. Gokhale to train men prepared to "devote their lives to the cause of the country in a religious spirit." Originally the main emphasis of the society was political; but, since Mr. G. K. Devadhar became its head, the chief purpose has been social service; and several members of the society freely admit that their social program has been largely inspired by Christianity. Indeed the Right Honorable Srinivasa Sastri, a former president of the society, has stated that, although the principles of the society have long been familiar to the Indian mind, Mr. Gokhale himself frequently avowed his indebtedness to Christian sources. Moreover, Mr. S. S. Vaze, the editor of the society's publications, said definitely that the social service program of the organization has been taken from the example of Christian missions.

Christian missions have helped to modify Hindu thought as well as action. The missionaries brought with them certain religious emphases which have influenced Hinduism. Christianity has, one Bengali writer puts it, "given us Christ and taught us noble moral and spiritual lessons

which we have discovered anew in our own scripture."¹ The result is that there is a tendency for Hinduism to more nearly approximate the Christian positions than was formerly the case.²

Dr. Farquhar maintains that Christianity has been the dominant factor in bringing about this change; but many Hindus would deny this. However, there can be little doubt that it has been one of the important contributing causes which followed the nineteenth century translation and critical studies by western scholars of the Sanskrit texts.

Another important indirect effect of Christian missions is the making of the name and teachings of Jesus widely known in India. Members of the Fact-Finding group were struck by the number of Hindus who seemed well acquainted with the Bible. Dr. Murray Titus has thus summarized the situation:

People of all castes and creeds express great reverence for Christ and admire His teachings. But Hindus want to adopt Him and make Him one with Ram and Krishna in the Hindu pantheon. They are ready to regard him as a Savior, not *the* Savior. A strong tendency is noticeable to Hinduize Christianity. At the same time there are men like Ghandi who have been deeply influenced by Christ, and the best way to describe them is to call them Christian Hindus.

When considering the effects of Christian missions it is well to remember that certain Indians consider some of these results to be definitely harmful. It is maintained that, by creating a Christian community, the missionaries have introduced a further divisive element into Indian life. This attitude has been accentuated because Indian Christians have, as a rule, been slow to affiliate themselves with the nationalist movement that has been sweeping the country.

Many a man, when he became a Christian, abandoned Indian ways—often he adopted a Western name. Thus today, despite the great wave of nationalism, large numbers of Christians are Western in name, thought, manners, and outlook.

Indians also charge the missionary with maligning the good name of India before the American public; and it is unquestionably true that missionaries, in their talks and writings, have emphasized the dark side of Indian life. Indeed, the effect of such publications as Katherine Mayo's *Mother India*, and the passage by the United States of the immigration exclusion act prohibiting Indians and other Asiatics from entering our country, have appreciably lowered the prestige of America in India. It would seem that in the present state of Indian supersensitivity to adverse criticism, missions could accomplish more by allying

¹ Quoted from "Action and Reaction of Christianity and Hinduism in India," Nicol Macnicol, *Hibbert Journal*, Vol. VI, p. 73.

² See J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India* (New York; Macmillan, 1924).

themselves with the constructive forces of Indian life than by a direct attack upon social evils.

The whole subject of the indirect effects of missions is necessarily nebulous and intangible; nevertheless it is felt that these imponderable influences are among the most important results achieved by mission work.

IV

REPLIES TO PROBLEMS QUESTIONNAIRE

Thus far, the discussion has attempted briefly to describe the basic social and economic factors that set limits to the Christian missionary movement in India; to show the work of the coöperating boards in relation to the whole missionary enterprise in India, and to indicate some of the direct and indirect results of missionary effort.

To supplement the factual data secured by the Research Staff, a number of American missionaries and Indian Christian workers were asked frankly to express their opinions about the laymen's problems. In a letter explaining the purposes of the Inquiry, a list of issue questions was sent through mission secretaries to Christian leaders associated with the six coöperating denominations. These persons were requested to "carefully consider these problems in the light of their intimate knowledge and experience" and to submit "any data, comments or suggestions" about them. In response to this inquiry, replies were obtained from eighty-eight individuals, not including the answers from mission workers in Burma.

The seventy-three men and fifteen women that responded were all connected with the coöperating denominations. With few exceptions, they were persons who have seen many years of missionary service. Indeed, their average length of experience on the field was slightly in excess of twenty years.

Since people were asked to respond only to those questions that seemed to them especially significant, the number of replies to each problem is a rough measure of the importance attached to it by these workers. It is illuminating to find that the questions eliciting the greatest response cluster about two central problems: first, the desirability of concentration and of shifts in emphasis in mission work; and second, the need for Indianization and for training national leaders. On the other hand, the issues that received the least attention have to do with the benefits that American Christians can derive from the fellowship of Orientals, and also, "What lines of further research or experimentation are called for in order to meet *unsolved* problems confronting the missionary movement?" Apparently the use of research methods, as a means of solving mission problems, has not seriously entered the thinking of these mission leaders. This fact gives special significance to the recommenda-

tion of the Lindsay Commission that certain mission colleges in India should become centers of social research, with the avowed aim of helping the missionary enterprise more intelligently to plan its work.¹

CONCENTRATION OR DIFFUSION

The question of concentration vs. diffusion was answered by 66 workers of whom 32, or virtually half, came out squarely for concentration and only 5 for diffusion. The remaining 29 felt that the policies of concentration and of diffusion should be combined in varying proportions.

Since Methodist missions are widely scattered over India, it is but natural to find that this issue interested especially the workers of this denomination. Indeed, a third of the replies on this subject were from Methodists.

The responses pointed out that a policy of concentration would probably afford the opportunity for securing larger numbers of converts, since a more limited program would permit mission workers to select geographic areas and population classes for intensive cultivation. It would also make possible a concerted drive to reach caste Hindus. So far as institutional work is concerned, the operating of fewer agencies would allow the missions to improve appreciably the quality of their schools, hospitals, dispensaries, etc. In short, concentration would better enable the missions to produce a body of well-informed intelligent Christians, "strong in the Faith" and equipped to "carry on" through their own unaided efforts.

As arguments in favor of diffusion, it was mentioned that too much concentration results in "stagnation" and in the loss of the "passion for souls."

I believe that the biggest thing and the most important and the most difficult thing that we can do is to live out the life of Christ day by day, just to represent Him. If we do this the more scattered out we are the better.

However, the majority of missionaries definitely favor greater concentration. One Presbyterian missionary in the United Provinces on the basis of twenty years' experience says:

We have tried the *diffused method in the North India Mission*. A mere handful of missionaries and our Indian workers are attempting to bring Christ to such masses of people scattered over such a wide area. And the effort seems even more hopeless, when the obstacles of prejudice, superstition and the social and economic degradation of large sections, are taken into consideration; all knit together as they are by the strong hand of caste. . . .

Experience shows that one of the *gains* of our present diffused system, has been the bringing into the Church of . . . 25,000

¹ *The Christian College in India: Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1931).

Christians, i.e., the mass-movement. But have converts counted by numbers been altogether a gain? Has there not been a loss also?—the fact that many are not true Christians?

Writing on the same issue question, one of the ablest woman missionaries in South India says:

I believe that we have no right at present to carry on a piece of work, unless we are doing it better than similar work is being done by non-Christian agencies.

For example, in village schools, as compulsory free education comes in, and as the Christian community increases, it will obviously become impossible to maintain the old idea of a school for every Christian village.

Yet Christian education will still have two great functions to perform,—first the training of Christian teachers to work in Board (Government) schools; and second, the maintaining of certain carefully placed model Christian village schools, which can demonstrate to the whole area what rural education can be.

Likewise among high schools and colleges, we need quality rather than quantity. I believe we should scrap our less efficient educational institutions, for the sake of concentrating personnel and money in a way that will be first class from the standpoint of educational efficiency and spiritual tone.

SHIFTS IN EMPHASIS

Closely related to the issue of concentration and diffusion is the matter of shifts in mission emphasis. This question was answered by fifty-eight individuals. As might have been inferred from the previous discussion, there was quite general agreement that changes in mission policy are called for, but with this statement diversity begins. One person feels that it would be profitable to place "more emphasis upon the education of Christian children and less upon the secular education of non-Christian children." Another holds that there is a need for missionaries "who can make the approach of friendship and complete identification with Indian life and thought, and who can have time for unburried contacts and friendships." One worker says that "Industrial centers need more social service work of the type of the best settlement house work at home." Another affirms that the "one great outstanding need is for such a revival as will send the young, educated men and women of the India Church out into the hardest, loneliest places if only Christ can be made known to India."

In spite of wide diversity, several recommendations recur. Apparently numbers of missionaries are convinced that more emphasis should be placed upon vocational education. As one individual put it:

The feeling is that many of our educational institutions are not providing the right type of education. . . . There seem to be many who feel that more money should be spent training boys

for "shirt-sleeve" jobs, than for "neck-tie" jobs, and I heartily agree.

RURAL WORK

There is a widespread conviction that greater stress should be placed upon rural uplift.

Space does not permit discussion of this subject but it is well to remember a point developed by Dr. J. L. Hypes that mission uplift work among village Christians is beset by serious difficulties.² It is doubtful whether these obstacles are adequately appreciated by most missionaries. Interest in rural reconstruction work is widespread, but ways and means of harnessing this enthusiasm largely remain to be worked out. It would seem that the experience of such an organization as the Jeans and Slater Fund in the United States, which has helped to improve conditions among Negroes in this country, might be of value in suggesting methods applicable to mission conditions in India. Certainly the Christian teacher in village schools has an unusual opportunity to stimulate rural improvements.

INDIANIZATION

Another major topic, that constantly recurs in the responses of mission workers, has to do with Indianization. This problem arises in connection with a number of different issue questions, but the general confusion in Western opinion about it can be shown by an analysis of the problem that reads, "How far are missions reproducing the sectarian divisions and theological standards of the West rather than fostering a movement that is faithful to the lessons of Christian history, but freely adapted to the genius and cultural heritage of the Indian people? With what effects?" This issue was discussed by fifty-eight missionaries of whom forty-six were American men, seven were American women, while only five were Indian nationals. The replies, therefore, reflect predominately the attitude of Western missionaries.

It is surprising to find that on this issue opinion is almost equally divided. For instance, twenty-two workers took the position that the "Churches are not Sectarian," while twenty claimed that they are.

On the other hand a score of workers state flatly that sectarian divisions have been reproduced:

It is unfortunately true that the sectarian divisions and theological standards of the West have been reproduced among us, which for the most part perpetuate divisions among Indians who have no real comprehension as to the significance of them. Our sectarian divisions are meaningless to even the average educated Indian, and to the common Indian Christian utterly absurd. . . .

The curious thing, however, is that many Indians, without

² See Dr. J. L. Hypes's Report, this Volume.

knowing why, have really adopted attitudes of extreme conservative sectarianism far more strongly than some of the missionaries of the same churches! At the same time it is commonly said that if Indians were left to themselves they would very soon wipe out all differences and distinctions, and achieve Church Union in an incredibly short time.

A number of missionaries feel that the adapting of Christianity to Indian conditions is beset with many difficulties:

As to "the genius and cultural heritage" of the Indian people, the folks I know best have not any. We are exposing them to the only culture they have ever seen. I have spent most of my life among the low caste people, although at the same time I have always also worked among all castes as well, but the caste Hindus have seen to it that the low castes have no consideration.

We are in danger when we imagine that India has a conscious agreement as to its genius or cultural heritage. More diverse elements it would be difficult to imagine. The cultural heritage of India includes the thing and its opposite at the same time.

Western opinion on the issue of Indianization is divided.

V

CONCLUSION

India is so vast, so complex and so rapidly changing, that it undoubtedly represents one of the greatest social, religious, economic and political laboratories in the world. The fundamental diversities of race, of climate, of religion, of custom and of rapid social change have been further complicated by the acute political struggle between the British Government and the Indian Nationalists. As a result of a "war psychology," many Indians are unable at this time to discuss dispassionately either the contribution of the British Government or of Christian missions.

NATIONALISM AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

For better or for worse, the enormous enterprise conducted by missions in India is involved in the outcome of the great nationalist movement that is sweeping the country. Missions are intimately associated in many ways with the present Government. As a rule the English official and the Christian missionary both profess the same religion. Until very recently, the Anglican Church in India was supported in part by money collected from Hindu and Mohammedan taxpayers; and, during the school year 1926-27, Government grants-in-aid to mission schools alone aggregated approximately \$2,286,000. These and similar links have tended to make many Indians think of organized Christianity as an

adjunct of "Imperialism." This feeling has been accentuated because numbers of converts to Christianity have abandoned their Indian customs and traditions, and have become Western in name, language, dress and thought.

American missionaries are prevented by pledges of neutrality from taking any part in the present political struggle. Moreover, many of the building-grants contributed by the Government to mission agencies are given with the definite understanding that the school, or other institutions thus aided, will not be used in any way as a center for political agitation. This position of neutrality has certain obvious advantages, but, in the present state of tension, Indian nationalist leaders are likely to class the missionaries, even the American missionaries, among their opponents. This attitude is important because it seems probable that, under the general supervision of Great Britain, Indians will increasingly control their own destinies.

PROSELYTIZING

Hindus object especially to the proselytizing activities of the missionaries and Mr. Gandhi has recently gone so far as to say that if, under a Swaraj Government, Christian missions should continue to proselytize he "would certainly like them to withdraw." On the other hand, the forceful Moslem minority, after five centuries of active "proselytism," is not likely to submit to any legislation that would in any way interfere with this basic principle of its faith namely conversion of all idolators. Should any legislation be directed against Christian proselytism, automatically it will apply to the Moslems who share with Christians the same objective and employ a similar strategy. This whole issue is extremely intricate, but at all events it is unsafe to assume that Christian missions will operate in the future under the same political or social conditions as they have in the past.

THE THREE MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF MISSIONS

The chief activities of missions as conducted at present fall under three main heads: Evangelism, medical work and education. Evangelistic efforts have borne fruit in a rapidly growing Christian community, but the overwhelming majority of those who embrace Christianity are of depressed-class origin. If appreciable numbers of the most uneducated class of labor in the United States were to embrace Hinduism, partly for economic motives, the resulting situation would be faintly comparable to that actually existing in India. There are those who feel that India can never be Christianized unless caste Hindus are also converted in large numbers, but on the other hand a concerted missionary drive to convert the upper strata of Hinduism would probably tend to increase the opposition to Christian missions.

Medical work is the phase of Christian mission activity most heartily

welcomed by Indians. Thus far missions have devoted their main energies to healing the sick rather than to the more basic problem of preventing illness. A mission program of preventive medicine, however, should be embarked upon with caution because of the danger of merely preserving the lives of weaklings who would further complicate the problems of an already overpopulated land.

The major institutional work of missions in India is educational. Christian organizations conduct more than 12,000 recognized schools and in addition thousands that are not recognized. Most of this work was started at a time when there were far fewer schools than is now the case. With the very rapid increase in the number of institutions being conducted by Government and indigenous agencies the need for mission boys' schools of the conventional type is growing less and less. Missions might well consider the desirability of conducting fewer but better schools, and of placing greater emphasis upon vocational and rural work.

THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF CHRISTIAN MISSION WORK IN VILLAGE INDIA

by

J. L. HYPES

I

THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF INDIAN VILLAGES

AN ADEQUATE grasp of the Christian missionary enterprise among Indian villages calls for a knowledge of the economic status of these villages and of the standards of living maintained by their inhabitants. This knowledge seems especially pertinent in the consideration of the financial ability of these villages to support the work now being done among them by Christian missions; in the determination of the future policies of missions in village uplift; and in other social programmatical work.

The most important economic fact regarding India which every non-Indian missionary must first realize is that it is a land of villages. There are huge cities, congested industrial centers and big towns in this sub-continent; but 90 per cent. of the people live in villages, of which there are nearly three-quarters of a million scattered over the country. In this respect India presents a striking contrast to some of the countries of the West. In the United States of America, 49 per cent. (1920 Census) of the people live in rural areas; in England, only 21 per cent.; in France, 51 per cent., and in Germany, 54 per cent.¹

A typical Indian village is a compact aggregation of small mud houses surrounded by agricultural lands. It seems that even in the remote past, the people of India lived in villages; and they continue to do so even today. In the past, the villages were economically self-sufficient units; the same is largely true now.² The following lines from the writings of Sir Charles Metcalf are often quoted in this connection:

The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they want within themselves, and almost independent of foreign relations.

¹ Census of India, 1921.

² From ancient times, down to the erection of centralized administration by the British, the Indian village governed itself. Its Panchayat, or council of five, elected by the community, regularly met under its headman to order the life and welfare of the village. Today the Panchayat survives only in a restricted administrative capacity.

This self-sufficiency and independence have been slightly disturbed in some places where big cities and easy methods of communication have sprung up; but the statement is still true of by far the largest part of India.

NATURAL LIMITATIONS TO AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

As a further brief introduction to this report, we should pay some attention to the natural factors and conditions that broadly determine many of the social and economic problems of India. India is a country of physical and climatic contrasts. Probably in no other large geographical division of the world has the climate moulded the life and progress of a people as it has here. The history of agriculture in the West is a long story of how man has conquered nature and made her yield her forces and secrets for the betterment of mankind. Heroic stories are told about the reclamation of land from the sea, the draining of vast marshes, the construction of huge irrigation reservoirs, and the application of modern science to agricultural production and distribution. The history of Indian agriculture, on the other hand, is the story of a backward people struggling feebly against the uncertainties of a hostile climate, and even more against the handicaps of a traditionalism and fatalism that make them poor champions of their own best interests.

The Monsoon: From the point of view of agriculture, the most important climatic factor is rainfall. The productivity of the soil is highly limited by the monsoon; and the monsoon in India is one of the most unreliable things in the world. The monsoon decides whether the teeming millions of Indians shall eat or starve. There are large tracts of the country where the monsoon has not been known to fail; but in these regions, "the Rain God" often destroys by floods. But over most parts of India, and for the great majority of the people, the months of June and July constitute a period of severe suspense, for upon the quantity, timeliness and distribution of the monsoon, depends the prosperity of misery of millions of people. Truly it has been said that Indian agriculture is a gamble on the monsoon; and this is true of both the khariff, or rainy season crops, and the rabi, or winter crops.

Irrigation: The extremely uncertain character of the rainfall in most parts of India makes irrigation an important factor in agricultural development; but the economic and the social conditions in India generally are not very favorable for the construction of irrigation works; hence the progress of irrigation has been slow. In 1925, out of a gross sown area of 257,000,000 acres, slightly less than 51,000,000 acres, or only 19.8 per cent., were irrigated.³ Nearly one-half of this area is irrigated by private wells and tanks, and the rest by Government canals. Over large tracts of Madras, Bombay, and the Central Provinces, the growing of crops without irrigation is extremely precarious, so the Gov-

³ *Agricultural Statistics of British India*, pp. 351-352.

ernment began to concentrate there. By 1925-26, the Government had invested 99.8 crores of rupees on irrigation, and was getting a net return of 7.41 per cent. on the capital outlay.⁴

The introduction of canal irrigation has brought serious problems in its train in many parts of the country. Under canal irrigation, cultivators always have had a tendency to use too much water, and this interferes with the aeration of the soil and makes crops more susceptible to diseases like rust, mildew, etc. The use of too much water in certain areas also leads to the concentration of injurious salts in the soil, which ultimately makes the land unfit for growing crops. Alkali lands have in this way become common in many parts of the United Provinces, Punjab, Sindh, and Northwest Frontier Provinces; and large tracts of land in the Nira Valley in the Deccan have become useless on account of salt deposits. Moreover, irrigation often introduces malaria into communities through the agency of the mosquito. It also requires the learning of a new type of agriculture; hence the adoption of new food habits and the promotion of new patterns of social behavior. Frequently also the irrigation of an area previously dry causes roadbeds to soften so that they have to be reconstructed; sometimes it raises the water level so as to drown out indigenous pasture grasses, and make necessary the building of storage bins above ground. Thus it appears that irrigation is frequently attended by special problems and should be introduced with great caution.

In spite of the vast land surface of the whole subcontinent, it must be said that unoccupied good agricultural land is scarce. It is estimated that more than one-third of the total acreage of India is unfit for cultivation; nearly one-fourth is culturable but unoccupied; while the remainder is arable and almost entirely occupied. The further extension of cultivation is hardly possible without a heavy outlay of capital.

Economic Loss: Ever-recurring outbreaks of diseases and pests of crops are sources of considerable loss to the farmers. It has been calculated that in India, insects alone destroy annually about 10 per cent. of the crops raised; and crop diseases add another 10 per cent. to the loss. The rice caterpillars, the swarming locusts, and the potato moths, are together responsible for the loss of several crores of rupees annually. Furthermore, fully as heavy annual losses are caused by fungoid diseases like rust of wheat and smut of jowar. Similar losses occur among the domestic animals, which are discussed later.

Health: Over large tracts of territory, at present densely populated and intensively cultivated, the conditions are not suitable for the growth of a healthy race of men. All along the valleys of the Himalayas, and in Bengal, Assam and Burma, malaria is a terrible scourge, taking its toll by thousands every year and impairing the labor efficiency of many more thousands. Thus this disease is threatening the utter depopulation of

⁴ *Ibid.*

many districts of Bengal; while in many parts of Assam the occupation of new land is almost impossible. Hookworm is another disease that is standing in the way of the efficiency of labor in India. From 60 to 80 per cent. of the peasantry in Bengal, the United Provinces, and Behar, and 100 per cent. in some districts of Madras, are suffering from this disease.⁵ Withal, the tropical climate prevailing over most parts of this subcontinent is very enervating to the human system, and makes people dislike long-continued exertion. The human system constantly craves rest and ease; hence the productive effort of man is constantly limited and his output is proportionately small.

TRENDS IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

The Increasing Dominance of Agriculture: As in the past, agriculture in Indian villages is practically the only important occupation. Moreover, recent trends have been toward an increase in the importance of agriculture and the concentration of the people upon the land. The following figures collected from the census reports of India will illustrate this point:

Year	Proportion Directly Dependent upon Agriculture to Total Population Per Cent.
1891.....	61.0
1901.....	66.0
1911.....	71.0
1921.....	72.8

The increasing predominance of the agricultural population of India can also be seen from the extremely slow growth of its urban population. During the thirty years between 1891 and 1921, the city population has increased by less than 1 per cent. A few big cities have sprung up, it is true, but largely at the expense of smaller cities; the villages have not been touched by migration to any significant extent. In some of the Western countries, this period has witnessed a revolution in the distribution of population between urban and rural areas. For example, in Germany, in 1890, about 90 per cent. of the people lived in villages; today, the rural population is only 46 per cent. of the total. In Austria, in 1843, about 91 per cent. of the population was rural and only 9 per cent. urban; by 1910, the figures were 72.8 per cent. and 27.2 per cent. respectively.⁶ In most countries, the rapid growth of manufacturing industries has attracted its followers from agriculture; but in India, agriculture has been gaining at the expense of the industries of the past. One important effect of the construction of railroads was that the urban

⁵ Mukerjee, R., *Rural Economy of India* (New York; Longmans, Green, 1926), pp. 139-140.

⁶ *Statistical Abstracts of British India*, 1922.

industries of India were brought into severe competition with those of the West, particularly of England; as a result, the indigenous hand-crafts could hardly stand against the mass production of the factories. Thus, by thousands, Indian artisans were forced to give up their traditional skilled occupations and retreat to agriculture as unskilled laborers; and thus also the pressure on the land has been increased.

Population Pressure upon the Land: According to the Census of 1921, the total population of India, including Burma, was 319,000,000; but of this, 231,000,000, or 72.98 per cent., was found to be following pursuits that may be described as agricultural.

The amount of cultivated land, available per head of agricultural population, has steadily fallen since 1891 as follows:⁷

Year	Cultivated Area per Capita of Agricultural Population Acres
1891.....	1.44
1901.....	1.29
1911.....	1.24
1921.....	1.17

However, the total cultivated area, when divided by the total population, amounts to only 0.86 acres per capita.

India imports very little food and, on the other hand, exports very large quantities of jute, cotton, rice, wheat and oil-seeds. But improvements in communication linking the country with the markets of the West, have given a stimulus to the growing of commercial crops, like cotton and jute, at the expense of the food crops, as shown by the following table:⁸

INDEX NUMBERS SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF:

Year	Popula- tion	Cultivated Area	Area under Food Crops	Area under Non-Food Crops
1891.....	100	100	100	100
1901.....	105	102	102	110
1911.....	110	111	114	137
1921.....	111	109	109	133

Therefore, "Subtracting the land thus utilized for supplying foreign markets from the total area under cultivation, we find that what is left does not represent more than two-thirds of an acre per head of the total population. India, therefore, feeds, and, to some extent, clothes its population from what two-thirds of an acre per head can produce. There is

⁷ Agricultural Statistics for British India.

⁸ Wadia and Joshi, *The Wealth of India*.

probably no other country in the world where the land is required to do so much."⁹

The predominant position of agriculture is one of the weakest points in India's economics. Leaving out of account improvements in transportation, increase in industrialization, etc., the growing pressure of population upon the land intensifies the dangers of famine and makes the need for the extension of irrigation more urgent. Recognizing this fact, the commission appointed by the Government of India to report on the famine that devastated the south of India between 1876 and 1878 observed that:

At the root of much of the poverty of the people of India and the risks to which they are exposed . . . lies the unfortunate circumstance that agriculture forms almost the sole occupation of the masses of the population.

Much has since been written on the supreme necessity of remedying this uneven vocational distribution of the population by developing manufacturing industries to employ the surplus population now pressing on the land; but, after fifty years, it still remains as a pious hope. There are several obstacles which we shall point out more fully later, to the rapid industrialization of India; in the meantime, as far as one can see, agriculture will continue for a long time to come as the principal occupation of a vast proportion of the people.

Total and Relative Yields of Crops: The average annual yields of some of the important crops of India reach very high figures.¹⁰ Rice, which is the leading crop, gave an average annual yield of 30.75 million tons during the period between 1920-1921 and 1924-1925. During the same period wheat gave an average yield of 9,000,000 tons, cotton nearly 5,000,000 bales of 400 lbs. each, and jute over 6,000,000 bales. India also produces large quantities of oil-seeds, tea and coffee.

Low Yields: Although the total production reaches high figures, the average yield of crops per acre is extremely low. The following table compares the average per-acre yield of some of the important crops of India with those of some of the other countries of the world.¹¹ It will be noted that in most cases India has the lowest yield, particularly in the chief commercial crops of the world like wheat and cotton.

Various causes are responsible for the extremely low crop-yield in India. Long-continued cropping without sufficient regard to the maintenance of permanent fertility has brought the soil to a very low level of production; and due to excessive subdivision and fragmentation, the

⁹ Holderness, *Peoples and Problems of India* (New York; Henry Holt), p. 140. There is a certain amount of fallacy in this statement, since some of the imports are food stuffs.

¹⁰ From *The Agricultural Statistics of British India; Indian Cotton Facts* (1929), and other sources.

¹¹ For detailed analyses, see especially *The Agricultural Statistics of British India*.

TABLE SHOWING THE ANNUAL YIELD PER ACRE, IN POUNDS, OF
VARIOUS CROPS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES—AVERAGE FOR 1919–
1920 AND 1920–1921

(From *Wealth of India*, Wadia and Joshi)

<i>Country</i>	<i>Wheat</i>	<i>Barley</i>	<i>Maize</i>	<i>Rice</i>	<i>Tea</i>	<i>Cotton</i>	<i>Lin-seed</i>	<i>Rape Seed</i>	<i>Jute</i>	<i>Tobacco</i>
United Kingdom....	1,861	1,550	—	—	—	—	429	1,274	—	1,390
France.....	1,185	1,015	882	534	—	—	463	—	—	887
Italy	900	775	1,354	3,500	—	—	330	—	—	784
U.S.A.	775	1,077	1,684	1,755	—	151	321	—	—	980
Canada.....	748	1,077	3,046	—	—	—	347	—	—	1,007
Australia.....	775	802	1,425	—	—	—	401	882	1,719	1,479
Japan.....	1,318	1,496	1,487	3,232	640	347	294	1,033	—	—
Egypt.....	1,496	1,425	2,013	2,610	—	—	255	392	1,077	—
British India.....	677	994	1,163	1,336	518	89	—	—	—	—

standards of cultivation have suffered. Pests and diseases, poor quality of seed, and more especially the ignorance and the conservatism of the cultivators, all contribute toward low crop-production.

Fluctuation in Yields: One feature that marks the yield of crops in India is its extremely fluctuating character. The yield varies from year to year, depending upon the rainfall, particularly its distribution during the season. If the monsoon is normal and gives timely rains, then a bumper crop will be reaped; if the monsoon fails, even the seed will not be recovered. The experience in India is that out of five successive crop-years, two will be very poor, two indifferent, and one good.

Crop Improvements: The question has often been asked, whether to any extent, as a result of the researches and propaganda of the Government Agricultural Departments which have now been active for more than a quarter of a century, the yield of crops per acre has been increased. We have collected data on this subject, but they do not seem sufficient to enable us to make any bold general statements.¹² Cotton in the Punjab and Madras, and sugar-cane in the Punjab and the United Provinces show distinct increases in yield. The figures for some of the other provinces, however, show a suspicious constancy; while in some cases there is a distinct fall. It is probable that, where the fields are large and improved varieties are used, per-acre yields have increased; but doubtless the increasing subdivision and fragmentation of land over most of the country have lowered the standard of cultivation, and consequently, the yield as well.

In most countries of the West, botanical science has made valuable contributions to agriculture. By the production of improved varieties of crops, through processes of breeding, selection, acclimatization, etc., cotton, wheat, rice, sugar-cane—in short, all crops of any commercial importance—have been made to improve their yield and their resistance to disease, and to attain other desirable qualities. In India, the crops which the majority of the cultivators grow are not only not improved, but many have positively degenerated. Most of them are hopeless mix-

¹² See, especially, *The Agricultural Statistics of British India*.

tures of several varieties; for this reason their market value is considerably reduced. However, a certain amount of pioneer work toward improving crops has been done by the various Provincial Agricultural Departments and the Imperial Agricultural Institute at Pusa. For example, the varieties of wheat known as Pusa 12 and Pusa 4, are very popular over many parts of North India for their heavy yields and resistance to rust. In Berar, the local variety of cotton known as jari, which was a mixture of four different varieties, was replaced fifteen years ago by a pure strain known as roseum, which produces a much higher yield; more recently roseum has been replaced by another variety known as verrum 264. This new variety has already obtained a high reputation in the markets for its superior lint, and secures a premium of Rs.15 the bale over the older local varieties. Likewise, the improved varieties of sugar-cane produced at the Cane Research Station at Coimbatore are spreading rapidly to all cane-growing sections of India.

The following figures taken from the *Review of Agricultural Operations in India* for 1926-1927 show to what extent improved varieties of crops have spread:

Crops	Area under Improved Varieties (1,000 acres)	Percentage to Estimated Total Area of Crops
Cotton.....	3,587	22.7
Wheat.....	2,894	11.9
Rice.....	882	1.1
Jute.....	505	14.1
Groundnut.....	380	10.3
Sugar-cane.....	208	7.2
Gram.....	120	0.8
Jowar.....	100	0.5
Barley.....	25	0.4
Other crops.....	114	—

The increased value accruing to the cultivators annually from these improved varieties will amount to several million of rupees, but as yet, only the fringe of the problem has been touched. The crops that have received most attention are the commercial crops like cotton, wheat and jute. The staple food crops of the country, like rice, jowar, the millets and pulses, have been sadly neglected. Greater attention should be devoted to these crops, which, alone, will give the masses the food they need more than anything else.

To secure the full value of these crop improvements, the whole system of farming throughout the country needs to be improved, and in attaining this, certain social factors are involved. An improved variety of crop, to attain best results, must have a well-tilled land and plenty of manure; moreover, it should be protected from mixture with the local varieties and from pests and diseases. These demand a certain

amount of intelligence, skill and coöperation on the part of the cultivators. The problem of improving varieties of crops is a highly specialized one requiring great skill and expert knowledge. It involves the expenditure of large sums of money, as well as the performance of long and tedious processes of uninterrupted experimentation, so is beyond the scope of most mission agencies, or of the ordinary farmer or other agencies working for immediate economic profit. Such experimentation is peculiarly the function of Government and of universities having as their aim the common good of all; but in the work of propaganda, Christian missions and similar agencies may well assist; for next in importance to the making of helpful discoveries is their wide acceptance and use on the part of the people.

The Contribution of Cattle to Agricultural Production: The importance of cattle to the rural economy of India can scarcely be exaggerated. From time immemorial cattle have been the source of motive power on the farms, and will probably continue to be so for a long time to come. The cultivators' small and scattered holdings in India make the adoption of power-farming an impossibility. For ploughing, sowing, interculture, water-lifting, threshing, transport—in short, for every agricultural operation where cattle can be utilized, they are used in India. Cattle are also the principal source of manure; and buttermilk and *ghee*, or clarified butter, constitute an important portion of the food supply. Thus one can understand the profound veneration with which the Indians in general look upon the cow and worship her as mother; for, as Darling says, "Without them (cattle) the fields remain unploughed, store and bin stand empty, and food and drink lose half their savor."

The Low Efficiency of Cattle: Under these circumstances one would logically expect the cattle of India to be fairly efficient, but they are almost the worst in the world. It is true that there are a few excellent breeds of cattle such as the Montgomery breed of the Punjab, the Malwi of Central India, and the Amritmahal of the south; but, as a class, the Indian cattle are diminutive in size and inefficient in performance. Over many parts of India the draught animals are so weak as to be unable to pull ordinary implements of cultivation; thus their deterioration has resulted in the lowering of the standard of cultivation. In Bengal and Chhattisgarh, much of the ploughing can now be done only when the soil is soft after receiving rains; and over many parts of the Central Provinces, vast tracts of land once cultivated have now become so overgrown with perennial weeds that their reclamation will be impossible without the use of motor power.

Moreover, the cow as a dairy animal is a ridiculously low producer, the average milk production per diem being estimated at about two or three pounds. Indian cows are also very irregular in their fecundity, which makes their lactation periods less frequent and less productive. Because of these facts, some people prefer buffaloes for milk production;

but as these animals are almost useless for draught purposes, their all-round value is questioned. It is wasteful for the average small holders to have different kinds of animals for work and milk.

The Distribution of Cattle: Because of pressure of live stock on existing low-grade grazing lands, cattle must depend more and more upon cultivated crops for subsistence.¹³ Moreover, since there is an increasing dependence of the population on agriculture, competition between man and beast for subsistence on the land is growing keener, so that naturally the beast, as well as man, suffers. Writing on the conditions in the United Provinces, which are fairly typical of most parts of India, Prof. R. Mukerjee says:

We are witnessing today the gradual ascent of cultivation to the mountains, the transformation of hill slopes into red laterite desert, and the almost complete conversion of pastures into tilled lands. The reduction of open grazing lands and the inability to devote any but a mere fraction of the holding to fodder crops have resulted in the impoverishment of cattle and the reduction of their numbers.¹⁴

As to whether India is overpopulated with cattle is a question of considerable controversy. Undoubtedly, India has at present more cattle than can be efficiently maintained by the available sources of grazing and fodder. For example, in the five districts of Gorakhpur, Aligarh, Jaunpur, Gonda and Meerut of the United Provinces, there are on an average 382 head of cattle per 100 acres of waste land, or 3.82 head per acre. For England the figures are 4 head to 3 acres, or 1.33 head per acre.¹⁵ The following extract from the *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture* summarizes the situation in India:

For British India as a whole, we estimate that for each 100 acres of net area sown there are ninety-two acres of uncultivated land available for grazing to which should be added twenty-one acres of fallow, and that, on this total area of 213 acres, there are supported twenty bullocks, seventeen cows, sixteen other cattle, three male buffaloes, six she-buffaloes, and five young buffaloes, a total of sixty-seven cattle in addition to twenty-seven sheep and goats and some other stock. Having regard to the very poor quality of the grazing available and to the fact that it fails to afford adequate maintenance for cattle at the season of the year when fodder grown on the cultivated land is scarce, we are of opinion that this number of cattle is a heavy stock for land to carry.¹⁶

The following figures show that in proportion to population India has fewer cattle than some of the other countries of the world. The

¹³ See *Agricultural Statistics of British India* (1913-1914) for data on the forest area.

¹⁴ Mukerjee, R., *The Rural Economy of India*, pp. 189, 193-4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Jalhar and Bero, *Indian Economics*, Vol. 1.

<i>Country</i>	<i>No. of Cattle per 100 of Population</i>
Australia.....	259
New Zealand.....	150
Canada.....	80
United States of America.....	79
Denmark.....	74
India.....	61

figures for India do not seem very high when viewed in the light of the fact that in India cattle supply the power required for all agricultural operations, while this function is performed by horses and tractors in the other countries. However, it must be observed that automobiles, motor-buses and railways are rapidly developing their way in India, so that within a few years they may largely reduce the number of bullocks needed for highway transportation, hence reduce the total number now used in the country.

Cattle Mortality and its Effect upon Agriculture: Indian opinion, particularly Hindu sentiment, is very indulgent toward cattle-life, and this is responsible to a certain extent for the existence of so large a number of inefficient and useless animals; but, looking at the extreme insecurity of cattle-life in India, because of famine and epidemics and the relative inability to combat these successfully, some people are inclined to take a lenient view toward the preserving of all cow-life, however worthless. They argue that out of a large number of cattle, at least a few will survive. However, most of those who have anything approaching a scientific grasp of the situation, will likely argue for fewer cattle, for the elimination of the diseased and otherwise uneconomic animals, for better feeding and breeding, and for other steps leading toward the securing of better live stock for India.

Cattle mortality in India from epidemics and famines is appalling. The following figures indicate the recorded deaths from three widespread diseases between the years 1923-24 and 1926-27.¹⁸

	<i>1923-24</i>	<i>1924-25</i>	<i>1925-26</i>	<i>1926-27</i>
	<i>(In 000's)</i>			
Rinderpest.....	93.4	155.5	275.9	202.2
Haemorrhagic septicæmia.....	41.2	32.7	38.8	36.4
Foot and mouth disease.....	9.4	12.9	19.9	13.6

Also "In times of famine, thousands of cattle die or are sold for a few rupees a head. In 1918, the Bombay Presidency alone lost one million cattle, or one-ninth of its whole stock. In the famine of 1918-19, in one part of one district of the United Provinces, in the Buhtah Tehsil of Agra . . . no fewer than 200,000 cattle of the agricultural classes were lost."¹⁹ To the poor cultivator, cattle represent by far the largest part

¹⁸ Report of The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India.

¹⁹ Mukerjee, R., The Rural Economy of India.

of his productive capital. The necessity to replace them causes him considerable embarrassment and is one of the principal reasons for his indebtedness to the private money lender and the coöperative credit society.

Cattle Improvement: In view of the important position which cattle hold in the economic life of India, no effort should be spared to improve their quality. The problem, though serious, is not disheartening. The example of Europe shows that, if started on right lines, the quality of cattle can be considerably improved within a relatively short time. Whenever feasible, local breeders should be encouraged by being provided special facilities for grazing, and coöperative cattle-breeding societies should be encouraged throughout the country. The Agricultural Departments of the various Governments and of the universities should lead in these improvements by establishing a larger number of cattle-breeding centers equipped with the necessary funds and scientific staff. These cattle-breeding centers should also be centers of intensive propaganda, for dinging into the ears of the cultivators of the land the necessity for maintaining better and fewer animals. In this work of propaganda, the agricultural schools of Christian missions may well assist; but it is a serious question whether any of these schools, with the exception of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, and possibly for limited work one or two other mission institutions, should engage in experimental work in the breeding of cattle or goats. As in the improvement of field crops, the improvement of animals through breeding, selection, and methods of maintenance, calls for the outlay of large sums of money, long and uninterrupted experimentation, and the work of specially trained men. Institutions with changing policies, shortage of funds, and a lack of properly trained research workers should not attempt this.

Withal, the improvement of cattle in India will not be possible until more and better fodder is grown. The setting aside of a larger proportion of the present cultivated area for fodder crops, however, will require a more intensive cultivation of the area remaining under non-fodder crops. Thus, the problem of securing good types of fodder crops, or crops that will meet the requirements of both man and beast, is one that needs investigation, and is a line of work in which the research agronomist can make a valuable contribution.

Much pioneer work in the direction of improving cattle has been done already, however, and some of the splendid animals produced at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, in military dairies and Government farms stand forth as examples of what might be achieved in India generally by careful breeding, feeding and selection; but, as yet, only the fringe of the problem has been touched. There remains to be done a vast amount of original investigation in the breeding and the maintenance of cattle suited to Indian conditions, and *pari passu*, there remains to be

done a vast amount of educational work in order that facts of demonstrated value may be accepted and used by the farmers.

FARM INCOMES AND STANDARDS OF LIVING

Farm Income: In a country like India, so vast and so diverse in its climatic, agricultural and social conditions, any attempt to estimate the total production, or to calculate per capita income, is necessarily artificial. Moreover, the collection and publication of agricultural statistics in this country are so defective that any calculations based on them must necessarily be more or less inaccurate. Nevertheless, in the present case, it is important to get a fair idea of the financial ability of Indian villages to support their necessary social institutions, particularly the Christian churches. The ability of a people to support social and religious institutions of any kind depends ultimately upon the surplus available after meeting all legitimate production and subsistence expenditures.

The Findings of Certain Authorities on Income: In presenting data upon farm incomes it is not proposed at this time to set forth original information secured by the present writer, but rather to present a summary of the findings of a few outstanding students of Indian economics and to compare them with the results obtained by others who have made intensive village studies of a fairly representative character.

The earliest attempt to calculate the production and the per capita incomes of India seems to have been that of the late Dadabhai Naoroji, toward the close of the last century. On the basis of the official figures published by Government for the years 1867-1870, he calculated a year's agricultural production of British India to be £277,000,000. Deducting 6 per cent. for seed, the balance available for human consumption and other use was put down at £260,000,000, or Rs.2,600,000,000. In 1882, Earl Cromer (then Major Evelyn Baring) and Sir (then Mr.) David Barbour estimated the agricultural income of British India as Rs.3,500,-000,000. Later, a number of other similar studies were made. The results of these investigations are given below in tabular form, based upon the rural population for the different periods.²⁰

These figures for the annual per capita income of the agriculturist tell a woeful tale. Even the most favorable of these estimates show that the average income of the Indian agriculturist is very low. This average income is an index of his capacity to purchase and consume, and hence of his standard of living as well. After calculating per capita income for British India for the period of 1867-70, Mr. Naoroji went on to show that on the basis of the standard set for prisoners, this income is too low even for bare subsistence. He figured that for the bare subsistence of criminals confined in jails, a sum of Rs.34 was required per-year, while the average income of agriculturists was only Rs.23 per

²⁰ Shah and Khambata, *The Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, Part II (London; P. S. King, 1924), especially chapters 2, 3 and 4.

TABLE SHOWING ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL INCOME OF BRITISH INDIA

<i>Estimated by</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Agricultural Income in Rupees (Gross Income)</i>	<i>Population Dependent upon Agriculture</i>	<i>Per Capita Income of Agriculturists (in Rupees)</i>
Dadabhai Naoroji.....	1867-70	2,600,000,000	110,914,903	23-0-0
Lord Curzon.....	1880-	4,500,000,000	119,127,228	38-0-0
Mr. Digby.....	1898-99	2,850,000,000	161,700,000	17-0-0
Earl Cromer and D. Barbour.....	1875-1911	3,500,000,000	116,723,400	30-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata.....	1900-14	9,948,000,000	216,550,000	46-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata.....	1900-22	12,321,000,000	220,100,000	56-0-0
Professors Wadia and Joshi	1913-14	10,035,029,260	173,084,698	58-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata.....	1914-22	16,515,000,000	232,000,000	71-0-0
Findlay Shirras.....	1920-21	17,149,400,000	190,312,403	90-0-0
".....	1921-22	19,834,100,000	190,312,403	104-0-0
Professors Shah and Khambata.....	1921-22	20,978,000,000	232,870,000	90-0-0

capita, and Rs.20 for all classes of Indians in general, out of which must be provided food, shelter, clothing, little luxuries, the satisfaction of all social and religious wants, all expenses of occasions of joy and sorrow, and provision for bad seasons! More than four decades later Prof. Shah in estimating the food supply of India, found that the total net supply of cereals produced in this country available for human food was only 48.7 million tons, while there was a total cereal requirement of 81 million tons. This leaves a deficit in food supply of 40 per cent.²¹ He also showed that the cost of nourishing a human being on an acceptable minimum maintenance-level approximated Rs.90 per annum against a gross per capita income of Rs.75. According to his calculation, even this low per capita income of Rs.75 is not all available for consumption; a deduction of Rs.18 is made for the political and economic drain upon the resources of India and for paying Government revenues of all kinds. This leaves to the citizen the net income of Rs.57 per capita per annum from which to secure food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and amusement.

Data presented by Prof. Vakil indicate that from 1870 to 1921 the per capita income showed a tendency to increase; and this might lead to the conclusion that the economic condition of the cultivator is fast improving. However, between 1871 and 1921 commodity prices increased in the proportion of 100 to 378 while incomes increased in the proportion of 100 to 370. Thus, with the passing of time, the economic condition of the cultivator seems to be growing worse.²²

This opinion is confirmed by the conclusion of various investigators

²¹ Shah and Khambata, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-2.

²² In an article contributed to *Young India*.

of village economy. For example, Mr. R. Mukerjee in his book, *Fields and Farmers of Oudh*, has shown the economic conditions of three typical middle-class families for 1924-25 to be as follows:

		<i>I</i>	<i>Family II</i>	<i>III</i>
Net profits of cultivation.....	Rs.	288. —. —.	65. —. —.	199. —. —.
Income from other sources.....		150. —. —.	200. —. —.	60. —. —.
Total income from all sources.....		438. —. —.	265. —. —.	259. —. —.
Total expenditure.....		321. —. —.	414. —. —.	275. —. —.
Net result.....	Rs.	117. —. —.	149. —. —.	16. —. —.
		Saving	Deficit	Deficit

In 1921, Dr. Mann estimated that in a Deccan village (Jategaon) the average return from a farm was Rs.5-12-0 per acre of cultivation.²³ Taking into consideration all sources of income, he calculated the average annual income of a family to be Rs.167-13-0, and the per capita income Rs.33-12-0. It should be mentioned in passing that the average debt per capita of this village was Rs.39-12-0, bearing an interest rate varying from 12 per cent. to 75 per cent. Dr. Mann furthermore estimated that 85 per cent. of the villagers were insolvent.²⁴ In 1921, the census superintendent of the Bombay Presidency directed an inquiry into rural incomes and came to the conclusion that the most common level of per capita income was about Rs.75, and that most of the families with this income were in debt.²⁵ Mr. Rushbrook Williams writes:

Where rainfall is precarious and uncertain and the soil shallow and poor the income from all sources per head in a typical village has been calculated at Rs.33-12-0 per annum, as against an expenditure of Rs.44 necessary for real needs in respect of food and clothing.²⁶

In a Gujarat village, it was found in 1924 that the per capita income was Rs.70, expenditure per capita Rs.68, and debt Rs.43.²⁷ In a Bengal village about 1915, Mr. Jacks found that 49 per cent. of the families were living in comfort on an average income of Rs.365, and the remainder were living in varying degrees of distress. This village was in the rice-area, and evidently was fairly prosperous.²⁸ Studies by Lucas, Saunders, Darling and others, while demonstrating that standards of earning and living vary somewhat among the different climatic and crop areas, also show rather conclusively that the economic status of average village life in India is distressingly low.

²³ Mann, H. H., *Land and Labor in a Deccan Village* (Second Study), p. 95.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 133.

²⁵ Mukerjee, R., *Rural Economy of India*, p. 25.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Mukhyar, M. D., *A Brief Survey of Rural Conditions in British Gujarat*.

²⁸ Jacks, J. C., *The Economic Life of a Bengal Village*, p. 81.

INCOME PER INHABITANT

Having examined in some detail the per capita income of the agriculturists, we will turn to a brief consideration of the per capita income of the people in general, both agriculturists and non-agriculturists. The following table represents the results of inquiries undertaken from time to time by investigators, some of whom we have already mentioned.

TABLE SHOWING THE ESTIMATED PER CAPITA ANNUAL INCOME OF INDIANS, BOTH AGRICULTURISTS AND NON-AGRICULTURISTS

<i>Investigators</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Income per Inhabitant</i>
Dadabhai Naoroji.....	1870	Rs. 20. -.-
Baring-Barbour.....	1882	27. -.-
Digby.....	1898-99	18. 9. -
Lord Curzon.....	1900	30. -.-
Digby.....	1900	17. 4. -
Atkinson.....	1875	25. -.-
Atkinson.....	1895	34. -.-
Wadia and Joshi.....	1913-14	44. 5. 6
Shah and Khambata.....	1921-22	67. -.-
Findlay Shirras.....	1922	116. -.-

In examining these figures we should again point the reader's attention to the data on price levels already quoted. In view of these and other data, Prof. Vakil of the Bombay University, in a series of articles on the poverty of India, in *Young India*, arrives at the conclusion that this country is distinctly poorer today than it was fifty years ago. This testimony is also borne out by Prof. Saunders and a number of investigators who have made intensive inquiries into village life. Almost everywhere they find progressive subdivision and fragmentation of holdings, deterioration of agriculture, and increased debt.

It will be interesting to compare the figures for the per capita income of India with those of some of the other countries of the world. The following table taken from a paper by Sir Josiah Stamp, on the *Wealth and Income of the Chief Powers*, is interesting.²⁹

INCOME OF THE CHIEF POWERS

<i>Country</i>	<i>Income per Capita in 1914</i>
United States of America.....	£72
United Kingdom.....	50
Australia.....	54
Canada.....	40
France.....	38
Germany.....	30
Italy.....	23
Spain.....	11
Japan.....	6
India.....	3

²⁹ Wadia and Joshi, *Wealth of India*.

In 1926, the per capita income of the United States was estimated to be Rs.1,925 and that of Great Britain Rs.1,000, while the estimate for India varies from Rs.67 to Rs.116. Numerical comparisons between two countries are often misleading, because conditions vary from country to country and consequently requirements and standards also vary. However, the tremendous differences between the incomes of the more favored nations and that of India lead to only one conclusion, and that is, the masses of India, when compared with the people of certain other countries of the world, are undergoing a grinding poverty.

The Standard of Living of Agriculturalists: The survey of per capita incomes made in the previous pages gives the key to the subject of consumption. We shall now proceed to examine some of the details of consumption, but before doing so, we must draw the attention of the reader to the fact that in a country so vast and so varied in climatic, economic and social conditions, generalizations are likely to be misleading, so should be accepted with caution.

The following table is taken from Dr. Mann's study of the village of Pimpla Soudhagar, near Poona, and represents the standards considered necessary by the people themselves in that region.³⁰

	<i>Man</i>		<i>Woman</i>		<i>Child</i>		<i>Family of Five Persons</i>	
	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
Food.....	37	8	30	0	22	8	135	0
Clothing.....	12	0	12	0	6	0	42	0
Other expenses.....							10	0
Total.....							187	0

But, of 103 families investigated in that village, only 36, or just under 35 per cent., could pay their way on the standard they themselves laid down; the others were living below that standard. As a group, these 103 families had a total income of Rs.22,459, and made expenditures amounting to Rs.25,093, of which Rs.2,592 were interest on debt. Saunders made economic studies in Sholavandan, a village situated in a very excellent agricultural section near Madura, and presents typical costs of living schedules. In each of three family-income budget studies presented, there were savings respectively of Rs.92-8, Rs.10-0 and Rs.31-0.³¹ We likewise gain from Darling's studies among the canal colonies of the Punjab, the best farming section perhaps in India, that though the standards of living there at present are rather favorable, they are likely to recede in the near future, owing to increasing debt and tenancy. Withal, the costs of lawsuits, interest on debts, bribes, etc., are items of expense not always mentioned in such studies as these, but they are,

³⁰ *Op. cit.* (Study Number 1), pp. 129-139.

³¹ Saunders, A. J., "Village Economic Surveys," *Journal of the Royal Economic Society*, Vol. XXVII (1916), pp. 548-558.

nevertheless, known to amount to a great deal for a large percentage of the families throughout village India.

The table below has been worked out by Prof. Mukerjee of the Lucknow University and is thought by him to be representative of the distribution of family budgets of the rural classes all over India.

	<i>Day Laborer</i>	<i>Agricul- turist</i>	<i>Carpen- ter</i>	<i>Black- smith</i>	<i>Shop- keeper</i>	<i>Poor Mid- dle Class</i>
	<i>Per Cent.</i>					
Food.....	95.4	94.0	83.5	79.0	77.7	74.0
Clothing.....	4.0	3.0	12.0	11.0	9.0	4.7
Medicine.....	—	1.0	1.5	5.0	5.9	8.0
Education.....	—	—	—	—	1.0	3.3
Religious and Social Cere- monies.....	0.6	2.0	2.0	4.0	5.0	8.0
Luxuries.....	—	—	1.0	1.0	1.4	2.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

It will be noticed from these data that the agriculturist spends 94 per cent. of his income on food alone, and has to be satisfied with the remaining 6 per cent. to meet all the other requirements of life.

The food of the agricultural classes consists mostly of cereals. In Bengal and Malabar, it is merely rice with a little vegetable or fish; in the Tamil country it is chiefly ragi; in the Telegu country it is largely rice with curry to whet the appetite; in the Deccan, it is jowar or bajri; and in the Punjab and United Provinces, it is mostly wheat. In spite of the fact these people spend about 95 per cent. of their income on food, they often do not have enough to eat.³²

Of clothing, except in some parts of North India, the agriculturalist will have only a loin cloth and another piece of cloth to cover his limbs. In the north, where during a good part of the year it is fairly cold, he provides himself with more clothing; but the clothing used is always of the cheapest kind.

The homes of the typical agriculturalists are usually constructed of mud, bamboo or other cheap material and are generally thatched with grass; sometimes they are roofed with a cheap kind of country-made tiles. These huts are generally ill-ventilated and low; sometimes they will consist of one room only, and at the same time give shelter to the cattle during the night.

Costs of Social Occasions: In discussing family budgets of the rural people, there is one point that deserves special mention; namely, the expenditure of considerable amounts on festivals and other social ceremonies. Such expenditures are usually out of all proportion to the income of the family. Most rural folks, whether Hindus or non-Hindus, are slaves to custom and convention, and all festivals and ceremonies

³² Shah and Khambata, *Wealth and Taxable Capacity of India*, p. 253.

must be celebrated with great pomp and show. Every village and class has a certain standard set for these ceremonies, whether there are sufficient resources or not. This is one of the principal causes of indebtedness to the private money lenders.

Marriage is one of the principal occasions of extravagance. It is said that at least one year's income is spent on the average marriage, and that every householder will have to celebrate at least four marriages during his lifetime. Funerals also cost a large sum of money, and people often feel obliged to go on long costly pilgrimages to their family deity in some distant village whence they originally migrated. The following table gives the marriage expenses of a number of castes in a Gujarat village.³³

MARRIAGE EXPENSES OF

Caste		A Boy	A Girl	Re-marriage of a Man	Re-marriage of a Woman
Rajputs.....	Rs.	800-1,000	200- 300	600- 700	100-150
Shoemakers.....		200- 300	100- 150	400- 600	60-100
Potters.....		650- 800	150- 250	1,000-1,100	75-125
Sweepers.....		50- 75	30- 50	30- 50	20- 30
Mohammedans.....		400- 700	150- 250	60- 125	40- 60
Banyas (High Caste Mer- chants).....		2,500-4,000	700-1,500		

In the Malhera village of Oudh, it was found that the Patwari, an official of the village, spent in fifteen years Rs.6,800 on the marriage, and other connected ceremonies, of his two daughters and his two sons. His annual income was Rs.1,371.³⁴ In the same village, a blacksmith with an annual income of Rs.1,595 spent Rs.500 on social ceremonies in 1924-25 alone. The figures for three middle-class families for the same year were as follows:

	Families		
	1.	2.	3.
Total income.....	Rs.438	Rs.265	Rs.259
Total household expenditures.....	321	414	275
Expenditures on social ceremonies.....	100	200	100

This heavy expenditure on social ceremonies is one of the principal causes of the financial ruin of village folk. The investigators of this village study came to the conclusion that there is no doubt that any economic improvement should begin with the reform of social customs and ceremonies, since a very large part of the family earnings is thus improperly and unproductively employed. This is one of the main causes of indebtedness. In fact, it is largely because of this round of festivals and ceremonies that old debts are never wholly cleared off.

³³ Mukhyar, M. D., *A Brief Survey of Rural Conditions in British Gujarat*.

³⁴ Mukerjee, R., *Fields and Farmers of Oudh*.

II

ECONOMIC FACTORS INFLUENCING VILLAGE WELFARE

We have seen that agriculture is the most important occupation of the great majority of the people of India; that the per capita share of agricultural production in that country is almost the lowest in the world; that the cultivators have an extremely low standard of labor and consumption; and that natural factors are partly responsible for this low state of economic efficiency. An attempt will now be made to discuss more specifically some of the important economic factors that contribute to the low productivity of agriculture in India, and the consequent low standard of living which the great majority of the people are forced to accept.

SUBDIVISION AND FRAGMENTATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND

Agricultural land is, in certain respects, the most important form of private property in India; but its value and its earning power are lessened to a large extent by the normal functioning of certain social customs. For example, according to custom and the laws of inheritance, the property of a father is divided equally among all his sons at his death. It thus follows that the size of the family holdings becomes smaller with every division of the ancestral property. What is worse, for the purpose of insuring equality in the shares, each piece of land is divided so that each son gets a share of the different qualities of land comprising the holding. This leads to fragmentation to an absurd degree. The situation produced as a result of this pernicious custom is extremely serious and extends to all parts of the country.

The holdings, as a rule, are so small and consist of such a large number of fragments that most of them are uneconomic to cultivate. In Bengal, the average holding of cultivated land is only about 3.12 acres, in Assam 2.96 acres, in the United Provinces 2.51 acres and in the Punjab about nine acres.¹ The average size of holding for India as a whole has been estimated to be only about five acres. In the village of Pimpla Soudhagar, Dr. Mann found that 146 holders of the village had among them 560 plots of which no fewer than 178 were less than one acre.² Dr. Mann further shows that since 1771 the size of holdings has been diminishing progressively. In 1771, it was forty acres; in 1915 only seven acres. Darling, Calvert, McDougall, and others who have made economic studies in Indian villages, have arrived at comparable results, and all agree that fragmentation is one of the most serious handicaps to village

¹ *Census Report, 1921.*

² *Op. cit. (Second Study)*, p. 44.

economy. Thus, Dr. Mann sums up the evils of this pernicious subdivision of land in the following words:

It destroys enterprise, results in an enormous wastage of labor, leads to a very large loss of land owing to boundaries, makes it impossible to cultivate holdings as intensively as otherwise would be possible, and prevents the possibility of introducing outsiders with more money as tenant farmers or as purchasers of good agricultural property.³

We might also add that it discourages the use of labor-saving machinery, manures and good seed; it also discourages the digging of wells and the adoption of other good cultural practices.⁴

RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

Rural unemployment is one of the most serious economic problems now facing India. There are more men clinging to the lands than are actually required to cultivate them; and the majority of cultivators and agricultural laborers have a great deal of spare time during which they have no opportunities for employment and thus have to remain idle. The tendency toward seasonal idleness is especially true of dry areas where there is but one important cropping season a year, and is strengthened by the semi-pastoral type of farming prevailing in much of India and by the age-old folkways of the people. This spare time varies from place to place, "But it may be assumed as a broad generalization that by far the greater number of cultivators have at least from two to four months absolute leisure in the year."⁵ Some kind of part-time occupation to supplement their incomes is one of the greatest present needs of Indian agriculturalists.

Village Industries: While certain primitive cottage industries have existed in Indian villages from early days down to the present, no serious attempt has thus far been made among agriculturalists to expand these industries as a form of coöperative enterprise or as the beginnings of a factory system. Of late, much has been said about the need for combining farming and small industries so as to strengthen the income of farmers and to utilize their leisure time; but it is estimated that not more than .03 per cent. of the agriculturalists of India are thus employed.⁶

In most of the agricultural countries of Europe, cultivators supplement their chief farming enterprises with fruit growing, market gardening, dairying, poultry raising and stock breeding, as sideline specialties to employ their spare time. The development of hydro-electricity and the

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 54.

⁴ See McDougall's *Economic Survey of a Village in Chhattisgarh* for further illustrative data on fragmentation.

⁵ *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, p. 70.

⁶ *Ibid.*

electrification of rural areas have also enabled the agriculturalists in many parts of Germany, France and Switzerland to establish small factories for the making of lace, hosiery, pencils, toys, watches and jewellery; and in Japan more than one-third of the cultivators produce raw silk. In Bengal and Punjab, sericulture is practised as a supplementary cottage industry; and in the Punjab especially raw silk production helps the cultivators to procure the necessary funds for current expenses.⁷ There are ample opportunities for the development of the fruit industry in many parts of India, and many think that poultry farming as a part-time employment should be widely adopted. Christian missions, Government and other social agencies will be doing a signal service to the poor agriculturalists of India if they can help them to develop successfully some useful forms of subsidiary industries which will add something to their meagre incomes.

However, in much of the discussion taking place with regard to part-time employment, either in small factories or at home, there is much wishful thinking that does not take into account suitably the economics of production and commerce. It must be remembered that but a small part of India's population is urban, so that beyond village consumption there is not a large demand within the country for a great amount of many farm products. Moreover, goods of Indian manufacture, to find a market abroad, must compete successfully in quality and in price with the machine-made goods of Western countries and Japan. This they can hardly do for a long time to come.

UNECONOMIC METHODS OF FARMING

Throughout India, much of the farming appears to be lacking in operative efficiency and in long-term planning; and on the whole to be weighted with the traditions of past centuries. Over most of India the land is occupied with crops for only a few months of the year; and there seems to be too much land fallow for varying periods. It is estimated that about 50 millions of acres are fallowed annually, thereby being taken out of active production. Catch-crops are seldom grown; manures are rarely used; and labor-saving tools, machines and methods are only infrequently employed. Consequently labor is generally done by the slow, grinding methods of handwork. Moreover, women do a great deal of the heavy labor, and are therefore unable to give proper attention to their homes and their children.

In discussing the general inefficiency of labor in India, Saunders, quoting from Stuart Chase in *Men and Machines*, presents a comparative table on labor efficiency, showing India's relative position among a number of countries. The table follows:⁸

⁷ Report of the Department of Agriculture, Punjab, 1924.

⁸ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 89.

RELATIVE WORK OUTPUT

China.....	1.0
British India.....	1.25
Russia.....	2.5
Italy.....	2.75
Japan.....	3.5
Poland.....	6.0
Holland.....	7.0
France.....	8.25
Australia.....	8.50
Czecho-Slovakia.....	9.5
Germany.....	12.0
Belgium.....	16.0
Great Britain.....	18.0
Canada.....	20.0
United States of America.....	30.0

The seasonal demand for labor in most agricultural operations limits the extent to which the operations can be carried on. For example, in Berar, the excessive demand for labor and its comparative scarcity during the picking season, sets the limits to the area that can profitably be put in cotton; and custom, which slavishly ties people to residence in their ancestral villages, prevents any large number of them going very far in search of part-time or permanent employment.

The smallness of the holdings, and other difficulties in the way of adopting more economic methods of farming, limit the opportunities of men who have received education in agriculture and who are otherwise capable of conducting farm operations on a commercial basis. This is at least partly responsible for the failure of many vocational agricultural schools which the Government opened in several places; and nearly all the students going out of the agricultural schools and colleges seek service in the Government Agricultural Departments or other business rather than farm for themselves. Unless holdings can be combined and farming made more remunerative than at present, farming will probably continue to be a pauperized, traditional, self-sufficient sort of occupation, and future farmers will not care for an expensive type of agricultural education. On the whole, there seems to be but limited usefulness for strictly vocational education in agriculture on secondary school and college levels, and outside of the agricultural bias work being done in some of the middle schools, very little of the direct results of vocational education in agriculture gets back to the herd and the field of the average small-holder.

ECONOMIC WASTES

If the cultivator would only visualize his losses and try to prevent the wastes that are taking place around him every day, considerable saving could be made. For example, the annual loss to the fertility of the land caused by the burning of cow dung will likely amount to several crores of rupees. Hardly a fraction of this most effective fertilizer is

returned to the land because most of it is burnt in the kitchens; and furthermore, the land is burdened with worthless animals kept chiefly for the production of this form of fuel. If the cultivators could be supplied with cheap fuel, and if they could be induced to use all the cattle dung as manure, the productivity of the land would be considerably increased. This, however, involves problems of afforestation, cheaper transportation costs on the native coal supply, and the remaking of certain folkways reaching far back into the centuries. Thus, we see how complex the socio-economic problems of India are, and that this reform, among many others needed in India, will likely be a long time in coming.

We have already referred to the large amounts that are being squandered annually on social ceremonies and religious festivals. If only a part of these expenditures were saved and wisely invested in improving agriculture and the homes, the socio-economic conditions of Village India would be greatly improved in a few years.

Another waste is the large quantity of gold and silver that is being converted into jewelry to decorate the persons of the women. The total value of jewelry of India must be several hundreds of crores of rupees; but in vindication of this practice it is said that owing to customs of inheritance the ornaments of the average woman are her only material wealth. However, much of this wealth might well be converted into fluid bank credit for uses of greater social value.

On account of the scarcity of fluid capital in the countryside, and the monopoly of it by a number of unscrupulous money lenders, the cost of credit is excessively high. Interest rates vary from 24 to 75 per cent. in the villages; in no other part of the world are they so high. Agriculture can never pay such heavy rates and prosper. At present, all the profits of many cultivators go toward paying interest to money lenders, so that the accumulation of agricultural capital is effectively prevented.

We have already referred to the extremely low productivity of the domestic animals, the poor yield of crops, the wastage of labor caused by malaria, hookworm and general inefficiency, and the losses arising from diseases of animals and plants. We shall later show other losses resulting from lawsuits, ignorance, and lack of coöperation. The total loss arising from all these sources must be tremendous, and is mostly preventable. These losses are direct challenges to the Christian mission and other similar agencies whose purposes are to strengthen the moral fibre of the people and to enlighten them.

INDEBTEDNESS

One of the most important causes of the economic demoralization in which we find the peasantry of India is their crushing burden of debt. The extent of rural indebtedness can hardly be exaggerated. The various provincial banking inquiry committees recently appointed by the Gov-

ernment have gone into the question and we give below in tabular form some of their estimates.⁹

Province	Total Debt	Debt per Cultivated
	Rs.	Acre Rs.
Punjab	135 crores	27-0-0
Bombay	81 "	20-0-0
Bihar and Orissa	155 "	
Central Provinces and Berar	30 "	9-5-0
Madras	150 "	

The total rural indebtedness of the whole of India is not definitely known. Ten years ago it was variously estimated at from 300 to 600 crores of rupees, and no doubt debts have considerably increased since that time. For example, the rural debt of the Punjab was estimated at 90 crores of rupees in 1921; by 1930 it had risen to 135 crores; and in the same period the number of those indebted increased about two million.¹⁰

Debt in itself may not be bad. What makes the situation so serious is that much of the debt in India has been incurred for unproductive purposes. In the Punjab, it was found that only 5 per cent. of the debt was incurred for land improvements, the rest of it being incurred largely in extravagant expenditures on compound interest, marriage festivities, lawsuits, etc.¹¹ Likewise, McDougall, in his study of a Chhattisgarh village, estimated that seven-eighths of the debt was for unproductive purposes; and Dr. Mann, in his study of a Deccan village, estimated that 27 per cent. of the total annual income of the village was expended as interest on debt.¹² While Sir Frederick Nicholson and others who have made a study of Indian indebtedness find that payment of prior debt is the largest item in new indebtedness, an analysis of this item would likely show that it is largely *compound interest* and not a substantial reduction of the principal. Furthermore, an important part of the debt of the average individual is inherited and is otherwise due to chicanery on the part of the money lenders.

In reflecting the point of view of those who have studied the indebtedness of Indian villagers, the following causes of indebtedness may be summarized in topical form:

1. The small size of holdings and their fragmentation, combined with the vagaries of climate and the occasional onslaughts of disease and pestilence. These keep the average farmer near the poverty line.
2. A constantly recurring loss of cattle from drought, disease, and the

⁹ Data assembled from the printed reports of the various provincial banking inquiry committees.

¹⁰ Report of the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee.

¹¹ For example, Darling estimated that in the Punjab from 33 to 50 per cent. of the debt is due to compound interest alone. (*The Punjab Peasant*, p. 18.)

¹² *Land and Labor in a Deccan Village* (Second Study), p. 127.

negligence of the owners. The semi-pastoral system of farming in vogue in most parts of the country augments these losses.

3. The ingrained improvidence of the ryots, greatly aggravated by the insecurity of crops.

4. Extravagant expenditures on jewelry, marriages, funerals, religious festivals, pilgrimages, lawsuits, interest on indebtedness, and other non-productive things.

5. Borrowing made easy by the money lender.

6. A desire for luxury. For example, the increased prosperity given to the canal colonies of the Punjab through irrigation soon led the farmers to increase greatly their indebtedness and the amount of tenancy.¹³

7. Custom requires the son to assume his father's debts at his father's death.

8. A quirk in the psychology of the peasant, causing him to regard his ability to incur a large debt as a compliment to his social status.

The percentage free of debt varies from province to province. In Multan, in 1925, only 20 per cent. of the families were free of debt, while in Lyallpur 51 per cent. were free. A settlement officer in one of the other rural tehsils of the Punjab reported only 10 per cent. of the people free of debt, and remarked that these were too poor to borrow. In Bihar and Orissa less than 30 per cent. of the families were free of debt, and in the Central Provinces, 46 per cent. of the cultivators and 45 per cent. of the landlords.¹⁴

A large percentage of those in debt are inextricably involved and can never hope, on their own resources, to get free. They are perpetually in the grip of the money lenders, handing over to them the most of what they produce, and living on the small allowance left for their subsistence. Evidently, the Government will have to extricate them by legislation; but legislation will probably meet a stubborn opposition on the part of the money lenders and of some of the borrowers as well. The Commission on Agriculture recommended a Rural Insolvency Act. Many students of Indian affairs think that such an Act should be passed immediately so that all those who have no chance of repaying their debts can be freed and given a fresh start in life. In 1901, the Punjab Government passed a Land Alienation Act which limits the money lender in that he cannot dispossess a landowner for debt longer than twenty years; cannot attach a debtor's cattle or tools; cannot evict a debtor by court decree without the sanction of the revenue officer; and if he takes a debt to court may have interest charges examined and reduced.¹⁵

While the money lender is frequently maligned and, no doubt, needs curbing through legislation, there are things that can be said in his

¹³ Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1928), p. 246.

¹⁴ Report of the Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee.

¹⁵ Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant*, pp. 207-208.

behalf. As a rule, he knows the economic needs of his community very well, as well as the needs of his individual clients; and he helps his clients in times of need, sometimes at considerable financial risk to himself, when, in the words of one writer, "only a philanthropist or a fool would extend credit." On the whole, usurious and unproductive borrowing is as much the fault of the borrower as of the lender; and this is a matter difficult to treat by legislation.

COÖPERATION

The coöperation movement in many countries of the West has grown as the result of initiative and a spirit of self-help on the part of the people immediately interested. In many cases, the Government, without incurring any economic responsibility, aside perhaps from a certain amount of regulation and inspection, has merely granted permission to individuals and groups to organize for self-help. The coöperative movement in India, on the contrary, has been more closely connected with the Government, a Commissioner of Coöperative Societies being in administrative and inspectorial charge.

Coöperative societies, as affairs of Government in India, were first provided by an act of law in 1904, not in response to popular demand, but by a Government anxious to ameliorate the condition of its people. The societies were started essentially to help the cultivators through loans of money on easy terms; consequently credit societies have shown a disproportionate growth over non-credit societies. In 1926-27, there were 65,101 credit societies with a membership of 2,115,746, and only 2,133 non-credit societies with a membership of 154,322; more than 95 per cent. of all these are agricultural societies.¹⁶

With regard to the results thus far, the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India made the following statement:

The results achieved may be said to be the provision of a large amount of capital at reasonable rates of interest and the organization of a system of rural credit, which carefully fostered, may yet relieve the cultivator of that burden of usury which he has borne so patiently throughout the ages. Knowledge of the coöperative system is now widespread; thrift is being encouraged; training in the handling of money and in elementary banking principles is being given. Where the coöperative movement is strongly established there has been a general lowering of the rate of interest charged by money lenders; the hold of the money lender has been loosened with the result that a marked change has been brought about in the outlook of the people.¹⁷

The path of coöperative societies in India is not strewn with roses. The most important problem facing the movement is the problem of

¹⁶ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 5.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 447.

illiteracy and ignorance. The principles of coöperation are generally unknown to the rural folks, and most of them look upon the coöperative society as a charitable institution whose advances need not be repaid. Thus, an intensive propaganda is needed to educate the masses in the elementary principles of coöperation. Withal, in many villages there is difficulty in finding a sufficient number of literate men to act as members of the panchayat.

Another problem of the societies is the unpunctuality in the repayment of loans and the increasing number of defaulting members. This problem has a close bearing on the insecurity of agriculture. In years of crop failure, the farmers are unable to meet their payments and thus threaten the security and the credit of the society to which they owe money. Furthermore, the coöperative structure was set up before the groundwork was ready and has not drawn to it people of wealth.¹⁸ Thus these societies are largely made up of the poverty-stricken classes and are seriously in need of the healthy influence of men of wealth and business experience.

Saunders also points out in these words two other difficulties specially applicable to the non-credit societies:

Indian ryots are individualistic . . . and there is not confidence and faith in each other; there is still too much fear and suspicion. Another difficulty in the way of organized buying and selling is the smallness of the average ryot's needs, and the little that he has to sell.¹⁹

It is the writer's belief, supported by the statement of certain Government officials connected with the coöperative movement, that coöperative credit societies in India have had a mushroom growth, and that many new societies should not be encouraged until the people have a better understanding of the principles of economics and ethics upon which successful coöperation is based.

The contribution of Christian missions toward the organizing of coöperative societies has thus far been important, but not very great so far as numbers are concerned. According to the *Directory of Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon, 1928*, Protestant missions have organized in this country one or more coöperative societies in ninety-two districts. Some of these societies, such as that at Bulsar in the Church of the Brethren Mission, have been very successful; but the average missionary, even though possessing the good will of the Government, does not know enough about banking and credit to foster successfully such enterprises. Moreover, the rigor usually required to make collections often alienates his friends in the coöperative from participation in the other usual mission activities. In fact, it is a question in the minds of many careful

¹⁸ Mukerjee, B. B., *Coöperation and Rural Welfare in India*, pp. 32-33.

¹⁹ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 110.

observers whether missions should engage at all in the organization and conduct of coöperative societies unless they do so through laymen specially trained as bankers and assigned to the mission as business experts free from all other duties. But most observers agree that missions may do much to popularize the coöperative idea, not only in matters of economics, but also in community sanitation, adult education, etc. Missions may also render considerable service to coöperative effort by educating the people in the principles of economics and ethics involved in making members good members and the societies worthy of confidence.

LAND COLONIZATION

It has been, and now is the policy of many provincial Governments in India to settle poverty-stricken people upon unoccupied land; and the supervision and administrative control of such settlements is vested in a Board of Revenue, Land Revenue and Settlement.

Experience has shown that many social and moral factors are involved in land colonization, and the Government has therefore been inclined to seek the assistance of Christian missions, the Salvation Army, or even of philanthropic individuals, in establishing needy people upon the land. Thus according to the *Directory of Christian Missions in India, Burma and Ceylon, 1928*, Protestant religious mission bodies are in charge of agricultural and industrial colonies in India alone, as follows:

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number of Settlements</i>
Bengal.....	1
Bihar and Orissa.....	2
Bombay.....	37
Central Provinces.....	13
Hyderabad.....	1
Madras.....	11
Mysore.....	1
Punjab.....	10
Rajputana.....	6
United Provinces.....	8
	—
	90

All of these, with but few minor exceptions, are agricultural settlements, and eleven are designated as settlements of criminal tribes.

Data as to the amount of land included in these and other settlements were not easily available; but judging from a statement received from the Office of the Board of Revenue, Land Revenue and Settlement of the Madras Presidency for the year 1929 the acreage is large.²⁰ According to this statement, the Madras Government has assigned land for settlement by the depressed classes in twenty-five different districts, and of all the

²⁰ Letter from Secretary, A. R. MacEwen.

land so assigned, official inspection for that year had been made of 156,677.99 acres, of which 104,599.47 acres were found to be under actual cultivation. We infer from this statement, and from data gleaned from the *Directory of Christian Missions*, that while Protestant Christian missions have been intrusted with much of the colonization work of the Madras Presidency, other agencies are also working here in this field of service.

The Problems of Colonization: Many serious problems accompany land colonization in India. In the first place, while roughly one-fourth of the land may be classified as culturable and unoccupied, considerable initial capital is required to clear off brush, to provide irrigation, and to give the settlers working capital. It must be remembered that virtually all of these settlers are poverty-stricken and entirely without funds for any of these purposes.

In some cases, as at Gosaba, philanthropic citizens have provided the initial capital for such enterprises; in some cases, coöperative credit societies have attempted to render this aid; in others, Christian missions have provided the funds; and, in a very large number of cases, the Government has at least provided the irrigation. But, as a rule, men who have behind them the traditions and the personal experience of crushing pauperism, are not good subjects upon which to make large investments of money, even if colonized upon highly productive land.

Then too, an indiscreet and unwise selection of settlers has often been made. For example, in one settlement enterprise, city loafers and beggars were gathered into an agricultural colony; but these men were not only ignorant of the processes of farming and the kind of life imposed by farming, but were unwilling to continue in the colony to learn how to farm. The enterprise failed with considerable loss of funds.

In another instance, farm laborers were placed upon very good farm land; but, because of their own lack of experience in management, and because of dishonesty and laziness, soon involved the whole enterprise hopelessly in debt. In another case, improved seed was loaned the colony, but at harvest time the colonists refused to reap the crop and repay the borrowed seed.

In another colony, the settlers sold their bullocks bought with funds loaned by a coöperative credit society, but reported that the animals had died, and thus not only wanted the original debt forgiven, but also wished to "borrow" more money with which to purchase other bullocks. This sort of dishonesty is common, and a disinclination on the part of the settlers to do a full day's work, or honest work is generally reported.

In many cases, it was reported that the settlers assumed the attitude that they were accommodating someone by occupying the new colonies, and were constantly threatening to return to their ancestral villages, if easy money or some other gratuitous advantages were not given them freely.

Even in the Irish Presbyterian Mission in Gujarat, where mission colonization has had a long history and is probably at its best, the colonists are granted rental privileges for but one year at a time to prevent their attaining inheritance rights to their occupancy; and in the canal colonies of the Punjab, where there is a certain measure of prosperity, farm tenancy and debt are increasing at a rapid rate.

Possibly the colonies at Gosaba, founded and run under the aegis of Sir Daniel Hamilton, are among the most successful in India; but even here, the economic and civic responsibilities of community life rest rather paternalistically in the hands of a few men answerable more or less directly to Sir Daniel.

Another serious problem connected with land colonization in India is the securing of adequate management. As has been previously stated, the Government, because of certain social and moral considerations, is inclined to intrust the management of these colonies to Christian missions; but this form of management is usually inadequate, because those in charge are often sentimental, and usually are not specially trained in economics and the principles of social organization and social control fundamentally involved in the enterprise.

Withal, it is a fine point to determine how much self-direction should be permitted the sort of people available for land colonization; and it is equally as great a problem to determine whether, in the long run, most of such colonies are worth the trouble involved. It seems that the type of settlers usually available are so devoid of the inclination or the ability to undergo sustained industry, have such a poor social discipline, and are so short in other socio-moral qualities requisite for a continuous and responsible social order, that movements toward colonization are likely to be but little more than a great care to their sponsors and of only temporary advantage to the colonists themselves. Possibly, the torrid climate is the ultimate cause of these conditions and tendencies; but the quality of the population itself is probably the more immediate, hence the more important, cause.

III

SOCIAL AND PSYCHICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING COMMUNITY WELFARE

Christian missions are social agencies whose purposes are to save life, to ameliorate and improve the conditions of living, and to evangelize the people; they are therefore primarily educational, and to some extent regulatory and service institutions. Their activities should therefore be guided intelligently by the tested principles of pedagogy; which is to say, that if they are to change beliefs and behavior for the better, they must take

suitable account of the economic status of the people they are seeking to influence, of their health and general cultural level, and of the various social and psychical factors in their lives that accelerate or that impede the processes of thought and habit formation. After all, the people of Village India must solve their own problems and the missions can do but little more than facilitate the processes. This leads us, then, to set forth some of the more salient social and psychical factors that condition the success of Christian missionary work in Village India.

THE POPULATION AND THE LAND

How does the population in its relation to the land become a matter of importance to Christian mission work in Village India? In answering this question in part, we shall present certain statistical data that will throw light upon the natural increase of population, population densities, and population movements, and will show how great the pressure of population is upon the land; moreover, we shall show some things Christian missions are doing that may eventually influence population trends.

The Natural Increase of the Population: By this heading is meant the increase due to excess of births over deaths.¹ The salient facts regarding the natural increase of the population which are of interest to Christian mission work are presented in the following data from *The Statistical Abstract of British India*:

Census Periods (Averages)	Ratio of Births per 1,000 Population	Ratio of Deaths per 1,000 Population	Natural Increase per 1,000 Population
1885-1890.....	35.83	27.44	8.39
1891-1900.....	35.43	31.31	4.12
1901-1910.....	38.18	33.94	4.24
1911-1920.....	36.93	34.13	2.80

While we are not quite sure what omissions or additions have been made to these figures that might vitiate their values, they appear on their face to present some tendencies and conditions of interest to this inquiry. For instance, with a minor drop for the period 1891-1900, there appears to have been a gradual increase in the birth-rate up to 1920, a slight drop occurring in the period 1911-1920, due perhaps to the effects of the Great War and the famine of 1919. By further reference to *The Statistical Abstract of British India* (1922), we note that among a number of European and Asiatic countries, India has a very high birth-rate, in fact the highest of all the countries listed except European Russia, Hungary and some of the Balkan States. Moreover, during the period 1881 to 1910, the birth-rate in many of the more populous countries, such as Germany,

¹ Since it is estimated that 90 per cent. or more of the population of India is village population, we may, without great violence to our treatment of the subject, ascribe our discussion of the entire population as especially applicable to the villages.

Austria, England, Wales, European Russia, Netherlands, and Italy was falling, while in India and Japan it was rising.²

It is to be noted also, that during the period from 1885 to 1920, the death-rate of India increased greatly, rising without a drop from 27.44 per thousand population in the census period 1885 to 1890, to 34.13 per thousand population between 1911 and 1920. This latter period included the years of the terrible influenza epidemic that ravaged India with special violence.

Thus, to state the differences in their simplest, unanalyzed terms, the margins between the birth-rate and the death-rate seem to have narrowed between the periods from 1885 to 1890, and 1911 to 1920, the margin for the former period being 8.39, and for the latter period 2.80, per thousand of population. Not only does India's death-rate seem to be increasing, but for the period 1901 to 1910 she had the highest death-rate of any of the twenty-three countries listed in the *Statistical Abstract*. European Russia was her nearest competitor, with a death rate of 29.9 per 1000 inhabitants.

According to data found in the same reference, the mortality of Indian infants under one year of age seems very high. However, in the use of these data, one is inclined to suspect that the actual death-rate is understated rather than overstated. In 1911, of 100 males born, 21.4 died before reaching one year of age; and of 100 females born, 19.6 did not live a year. At no one time since 1911 has the ratio of deaths under one year of age per 100 births fallen significantly below these figures. Compared with Sweden, Scotland, England and Wales, France, Germany, and Hungary, India's mortality rate of children under one year of age, for the period 1902 to 1912, was by far the greatest, her nearest competitor being Hungary with a mortality rate of only 20.7; that of Sweden was only 8.4.³ Thus it is obvious that India's birth-rate and death-rate, both, are very high, the margin between them gradually decreasing.

As indices of economic status and social welfare, it would appear that the struggle for existence under current conditions is becoming more severe. Unless conditions change, this throws some light upon India's future economic ability to carry on, without foreign support, the work now being done by Christian missions. Moreover, it calls for a thorough examination of the problems of increasing the food supply, of birth control, of giving mothers more leisure and more education for child-rearing, and of the improvement of health conditions in the home and village. These call for educational treatment and for social service such as Christian missions and similar agencies may supply.

² As will be pointed out later in our discussion of population densities, an advanced sectional report of the results of the 1931 Census shows a marked increase of Indian population within the decade just ending.

³ It might be pointed out that the time factors in these comparisons are not quite identical; but it seems unlikely that this vitiates our comparison to any appreciable extent. See *Wealth of India*, by Wadia and Joshi.

Population Movements: The residential and the vocational shifting of the population becomes of public interest when matters of health regulations, such as quarantines, vaccinations, etc., are involved, or when adjustments to better economic employment are considered. Also from the viewpoint of continuity and effectiveness in religious or any other form of education, the mobility of the population becomes a matter of importance. Thus we may, with profit, examine the population movements of India.

Dependable data were not readily available to show the extent of emigration and immigration; but it is a general belief that these movements, so far as the relative numbers involved are concerned, are negligible. But as to movements from place to place within India, we are able to present certain data. By reference to *The Census Report of 1921* we note that slightly more than 90 per cent. of the people of India now reside in the same province or state in which they were born. It is of interest to note, also, that certain provinces and states, such as Bihar and Orissa, the United Provinces, Madras Presidency, Rajputana, Hyderabad, Kashmir and Sikkim, have been experiencing an excess of emigration over immigration, the movement having been accelerated from the census periods of 1911 to 1921. The other political divisions, with but three exceptions, showed an excess of immigration over emigration for these two census periods, but in some cases the gains were very slight.

The causes of these movements of the population are largely conjectural, but are supposed to be owing principally to economic pressure or fear of pestilence. Thus, Darling, in writing of the influence of the monsoon upon farming, and consequently upon the minds of the people, states:

The Indian harvest is a gamble on the monsoon. . . . Insecurity dominates everything and profoundly affects the life of the people. In Jhelum, in 1921, the drought was so bad that some villages were almost emptied of their inhabitants, and between 15 and 20 per cent. of the rural population left the district in search of labor and food. The Deputy Commissioner estimates that from 70,000 to 100,000 left the district.⁴

In this connection Mr. Darling did not inform us to what distance the inhabitants of Jhelum migrated, to what extent their transfer of residence was permanent, and to what extent they changed vocations. Further investigation along these lines would prove interesting.

Dr. Mann, in his study of a Deccan village, notes that over a period of thirty years the population was practically stationary as to numbers, while for the period 1914-1916 there had been an average birth-rate of 41.7 and an average death-rate of 27.3 per 1,000 of population; and he concludes that from this village there has been a steady emigration to the

⁴ Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant*, p. 96.

neighboring cities of Bombay and Poona.⁵ It may be assumed from these data that the migration from this particular village was fairly permanent, and that the migrants changed their vocation from an agricultural to a non-agricultural employment.

Vocational stability, strengthened by age-old custom and caste authority, is one of the chief characteristics of Indian economic life. By reference to the census reports we note that the population engaged in farming has increased gradually from 61 per cent. in 1891 to 72.8 per cent. in 1921. On the other hand, the percentage of the population engaged in industry, transport and trade has remained almost stationary for the period 1901 to 1921, at about 18 per cent.; and but a negligible percentage of the population is engaged in public administration, the professions and other miscellaneous employments.

By reference to the *Census Report*, 1921, it will be noted that while 73.15 per cent. of India's population is engaged in farming and mining, 42 per cent. of the population of France, 44 per cent. of the population of the United States of America, and 10 per cent. of the population of England is thus engaged. It is also to be seen that only 17.59 per cent. of the population of India, as compared with 58.16 per cent. of the population of England, is engaged in industry and transport. We must conclude from these rather inadequate data that, in brief, India's population which is so largely agricultural is becoming progressively more so; and that residentially and vocationally her population is very stable. With the extension of cheap means of travel and of education among the masses, we look forward to a time in the future when the population of India may become more mobile than it has been.

Population Densities: The problem of sustenance and that of the ability of the population to carry unaided its own civic and economic loads in a modern society, ultimately lead to a consideration of population densities and population trends. By reference to the census reports we note that population density per square mile of India including Burma steadily increased from 147 in the year 1872 to 177 in the year 1921. While these data do not seem altogether reliable, it is clear that, with few exceptions, the population is becoming more dense in the various provinces and states.

In this connection it may be of interest to compare the density of population of India with that of other countries. *The Statistical Abstract of British India* (1922) sets forth these data for many countries throughout the world;⁶ and in comparison with others India's population density seems rather moderate. For example, while India's population density in 1921 was 177 per square mile, Germany's was 332 (year 1919), Italy's 313 (in 1911), Switzerland's 236 (in 1910), Belgium's 666 (in 1919), that

⁵ *Op. cit.* (Second Study), pp. 110-112.

⁶ Though the dates for these comparisons do not synchronize throughout, for our present purposes it is probable that no error of consequence is introduced.

of England and Wales 650 (in 1921), Japan's 215 (in 1920), and that of the United States of America only 32 (in 1920).

However, these data on population densities may be somewhat misleading without further analysis. Perhaps, among all the countries listed in the foregoing reference, few, if any, are more directly dependent upon agriculture than is India. Data gleaned from *The Statistical Abstract* and other sources present the rather depressing fact that the cultivated area per capita of population is gradually growing less, having been reduced from .88 acres in 1891 to .85 acres in 1921. The reduction of cultivated acres per capita of agricultural population, from 1.44 acres in 1891 to 1.17 in 1921, was even more marked. To offset this tendency somewhat, for a number of decades prior to that ending 1921, the rate of population increase has been greatly lowered; so that in comparison with England and Wales, and the United States of America, it has come nearest to the vanishing point. However, according to preliminary releases of the 1931 Census received at the time of writing this report, India's population during the past decade has increased 32 millions, or 10.2 per cent. over the 1921 Census figures. Owing to the incompleteness of the 1931 Census report it is not possible at this time to make a final analysis; but even assuming these data are only approximately correct, they show a startling and disconcerting increase of the population.

With an increasing population that is becoming progressively more agricultural, with little tendency to becoming commercialized or industrialized, with the production of the chief food crops either stationary or decreasing and their acreage slowly being replaced by non-food crops, what opportunity is there for any lessening of the pressure of the population on the land for subsistence?

By education and other methods of vocational redirection and agricultural improvement, economic conditions may, it seems logical to think, be improved to some extent; but even at best, improvement by these methods in the near future can hardly occur as fast as the increase of the population. Hence we shall examine, as another possibility, the opportunity to expand the acreage of productive farm land. *The Agricultural Statistics of British India* (1913-1914) shows that about 23 per cent., or nearly one-fourth, of the land of the country is classified as *culturable*, yet unoccupied. But, when we examine data on some of the sparsely populated tracts of India, it is obvious that much of this land is either mountainous or semi-desert in nature, calling for the initial expenditure of considerable capital to prepare it for productive farming. The Government has become interested in land reclamation and has done much along the lines of irrigation and colonization; and it is in the use of these lands that there is a great promise of relief. But unless the moneyed classes become interested, not much permanent relief can be expected, because the Government's participation in reclamation and colonization is costly and inclined to be paternalistic.

A certain amount of common grazing land, it is true, might easily be converted into crop land; but age-old custom that makes India a semi-pastoral people will likely prevent such a transfer for a long time to come.

Industrialization is making but poor headway, though it is the most promising relief in sight. Emigration has so far been negligible, and there seems to be no inclination to reduce voluntarily the size of the family. Allowing famine, pestilence and war to run their course unabated is another alternative; but India's foreign friends do not wish to permit this sort of thing. Thus it appears that agricultural science, with the creation of an adequate food supply as its objective, is coming out a poor second in its contest with medical science and the various agencies that are striving to conserve life.

This point of view is strengthened by the following statement of Professor Saunders, in connection with his consideration of food supply in his village studies:

It is, indeed, one of the discouragements, of the Indian situation that every effort to improve the means of subsistence is at once more than offset by an increase of population which defeats every attempt to raise the average standard of living.⁷

And he comes to the disheartening conclusion that the conditions of the villages in South India studied by him are gradually growing worse. In like manner the Royal Commission on Agriculture states:

The security of the harvest only postpones the pressure of the population on the soil; it is prudence and knowledge and practice of thrift alone, which will relieve it.⁸

Mr. Darling, in discussing the agricultural prosperity accruing to the canal colonies of the Punjab through irrigation, says:

Irrigation and attendant improvements have resulted in a softness and a disinclination to labor, which, in turn, is resulting in an increase in farm tenancy. . . . In the decade ending 1921 the numbers of persons living on agricultural rents in these colonies increased from 626,000 to over 1,000,000.⁹

The Influence of Christianity upon Population Trends: As a subject of special interest to this Inquiry, it may be asked what Christian missions are doing, and may do, to regulate population increases in India. Through the promotion of hospitalization and health education, they no doubt are preventing much economic waste that would normally be caused by the loss of wages, the cost of medical care, and death; but they also preserve the lives of weaklings by arresting a natural factor of racial selection.

The Catholic Church and many orthodox branches of the Protestant

⁷ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 129.

⁸ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 20.

⁹ Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant*, pp. 165-166.

Church, have strenuously fought the use of contraceptives or other eugenic measures for controlling the size of families. In this respect, in practice, the Christian churches seem to agree with the indigenous Indian point of view that the reproduction of the race should not be molested by eugenic measures. In commenting upon the fact that Christianity teaches compassion for the weak, and protection for the mentally and physically unfit, thus arresting the normal functioning of the forces of natural selection, Dean Inge declares:

Either rational selection must take the place of natural selection which the modern state will not allow to act, or we shall deteriorate.¹⁰

The writer finds, in his travels throughout mission India, that many of the younger missionaries believe that positive eugenics ought to be taught openly and generally to the teeming Indian population, perhaps as a phase of health education; but such teaching will hardly flourish extensively because of the frowns of the majority of the official home mission boards and the resistance of age-old custom among the Indians.

It seems that indirect measures, such as general education, the inculcation of the desire for personal achievement, the general participation of women in civic and social affairs, and the use of labor-saving devices in travel, labor, and recreation, ultimately may tend to place a self-imposed restriction by the people upon their tendencies toward overpopulation. Some of these movements are going forward rapidly, and it will be a matter of interest in the future to trace their effects upon population increases.

To summarize briefly the relation of population densities and economic trends to the Christian mission enterprise, we may observe that:

1. If, owing to an increased pressure on the land and a disinclination to accept vocational readjustment, the people are becoming poorer, and if mission work continues to be confined largely to the depressed classes, it is obvious that Indian Christians will never be financially able to carry on unaided a very complete or widely extended program of Christian service.

2. Starvation and severe economic distress produce the hungry-child type of mind that is influenced far more by the exigencies of present needs than by future welfare. This explains the lack of restraint, candor and mutual confidence of the Indians in facing their present problems, and the difficulty of organizing them for self-help.

3. Public opinion is very facile and domineering in highly populous and ignorant groups, such as Indian villages, so that many people believe whole villages, rather than single families and individuals, must be converted to Christianity. As was pointed out previously the conversion of

¹⁰ Inge, William Ralph, *Outspoken Essays*, p. 257.

small numbers often brings down upon the converts the disapproval of the village.

These facts should guide missions in their objectives, in the organization of their forces, and in their methodology.

DISEASE AND COMMUNITY CONDITIONS

Village Health Conditions: The key importance of good health to community welfare is generally acknowledged by students of society, and hospitalization and other efforts toward the promotion of good health have generally been assumed by missions as matters of their legitimate concern. The present discussion supplements Dr. Wampler's study of medical missions in India by a partial sociological analysis of the health conditions of Village India as of special concern to missionary effort.

Neill states that the three great hindrances to prosperity in Indian village life which the villagers themselves should overcome, are disease, drink and debt. As to the extent of illness, he estimates that a third of the population is suffering in varying degrees all the time.¹¹ Macnicol, quoting from the *Report of the British Health Department*, estimates that 1,000,000 deaths occur annually in India from malaria alone; and, quoting from the *Report of the All-India Conference of Medical Research* (1924-1925), he estimates that the loss of efficiency of the average person from preventable malnutrition and disease is not less than 20 per cent.¹² These data, together with the figures previously presented on the death-rate, give a fleeting glimpse into the poor health conditions of Indian villages and homes.

Conditions typical of Indian villages in the Madras Presidency, are thus described by Professor Saunders.

They (the villages) are for the most part a mass of houses, cattle-sheds, straw stacks, sheep, goats, pigs, dogs and fowls all huddled together and trying to live together. The lanes and alley-ways are narrow and crooked and are the only outlets for the sewage which pollutes the air and invites the germs of disease. . . . No ground is left for wells or latrines or open spaces for recreation.¹³

McDougall, in his study of a Chhattisgarh village, lists two common practices that promote ill-health: the giving of opium to children by their mothers, and the overcrowding due to the joint-family system.¹⁴ Overcrowding in the joint-family homes often occurs, resulting in offenses to common decency and in the disregard of all considerations of ventilation and cleanliness. Furthermore, vessels from houses polluted with cholera

¹¹ Neill, Stephen, *Out of Bondage*, p. 63.

¹² Macnicol, Nicol, *India in the Dark Wood*, pp. 48, 49.

¹³ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁴ McDougall, J. C., *An Economic Survey of a Village in Chhattisgarh District*, pp. 42, 49.

are freely dipped into the common wells and thus provide a fruitful method of spreading that dreaded disease; and persons suffering from guinea-worm wade barefoot in the reservoirs of village drinking water, effectually spreading this disease. Breaking the rules of quarantine and undergoing the rigors of starvation and malnutrition are two additional sources of physical degradation that undermine the social welfare of many Indian villages. *The Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, on page 56, says:

Sanitation, in any accepted sense is practically non-existent, so that a great many of the first principles of health and disease prevention remain to be learned and practiced by the masses of Village India.

These conditions which breed ill-health, as we shall point out more fully later, are matters calling for education and coöperative effort of a civic nature; but suitable education and community organizations are usually lacking.

The Need for Health Education: In criticizing the inadequate aims of parents, in the education of their children, Brayne writes:

Many a little boy comes to school dirty, and possibly with diseased eyes; the little clothing he has is filthy, and he is wearing earrings and anklets. Why has he come to school? To get all this put right? Certainly not! His parents expect the teacher will just inject him with sufficient book-learning to enable him to leave the village and become a clerk.¹⁵

In further pointing the way toward improving village conditions generally, Neill writes:

In order to change the village, we must change the villager, and that is the point of connection with mission work. Above all, the Indian needs a sense of the worthwhileness of life. Past history, climate, hardships, have been consecrated by religion. "It is the Will of God," says Islam: "It is written on my forehead," says Hinduism. What the peasant needs above all things is hope; he is beginning to find it in Him Who said "I am come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly." The Christian Gospel gives a man a new sense of personal dignity . . . and so a new sense of what is possible and fitting in the life of men.¹⁶

But a mere intellectual change of viewpoint as to the aims of education, or a mere spiritual conversion, in itself is not enough to bring good health and sanitation as permanent boons to Village India. These need supplementing and the support, not only of the Government, but of various sorts of civic organizations as well. Practical health education,

¹⁵ Brayne, F. L., *The Remaking of Village India* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1929), p. 157.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 70-71.

by the project method and on the *doing* level, should be an organic part of nature-study, biology, citizenship, hygiene and home economics courses in schools that offer such courses; and the health officers and public officials generally should be encouraged to enforce health regulations with the utmost vigor. Besides the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries, Christian missions, as nation-building agencies, can also do much direct health education, can encourage coöperation in the procuring of a dependable water supply and in the disposal of village sewage, and can encourage public officials to do their duty. But we shall deal further with this subject in considering the rural reconstruction unit.

CASTES

The Number and Significance of Castes: The student of Indian rural society is soon impressed with the rôle played by the caste system. As was pointed out in the introductory report, there are in India more than 2,000 castes.¹⁷

The caste into which a man is born determines for good and for all his position in the social scale. It settles the forms of his speech, his diet, his personal relations, his profession, his marriage, his funeral, the gods he must worship, and the duties he must perform. Over all is cast the sanction of religion. The caste into which a man is born in this life is the just reward of his actions in a previous birth; if when he is born again into the world he would be born into a higher caste, he must merit it by the exact performances of his *dharma*, his caste duty. He must not fall below it, neither may he presume, even if he is but a sweeper, to rise above it.¹⁸

We may briefly point out some of the seeming advantages and disadvantages of the caste system as it functions normally in Indian society. In its favor, we may say that it tends to maintain a code of morals among the people, so that in a sense every caste man becomes the censor and the "keeper" of his neighbors. The caste system also tends to subordinate the individual to the community.

On the other hand, it tends to prevent the formation of a solid national unity; it tends to make the people fatalistic, thereby discouraging the individual initiative that is so essential to social progress; and it vaunts the pride of the favored castes, even to the exaction of forced labor from their debtors among the depressed castes, and debases the latter in shame. The traditional caste system denies a common brotherhood of men of all castes, ignores pretty largely the elementary social principles of nation-building, and works toward a condition of *status quo*.

Changes Taking Place in the Caste System: However, there are many

¹⁷ Neill, Stephen, *Out of Bondage*, pp. 18-19. The *Literary Digest* of Nov. 29, 1930, places the number of castes and sub-castes at 2,300.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

forces, both external and internal to the Indian caste system, that are beginning to work profound changes in it. These, in their entirety, are difficult to inventory, so we shall be content here with only a partial and cursory treatment of the subject.

In the first place the democratic movements throughout the world that have resulted in the dethronement of kings, and that have made the depressed classes vocal and ready to contest for equal privileges with the ruling classes, have begun to strike upon the consciousness of the masses of India. The education of Indian young men and women in Western universities has probably accelerated this movement.

In the second place, the desire for Swaraj has accentuated the movement. It has been obvious even to the most casual thinker that Swaraj under the traditional caste system would probably be little more than the transference of government from the British to a group of ruling castes, which through nepotism and subterfuge, would hold the reins of government and oppress the lower castes. Moreover, as has been pointed out by some of the Swaraj or Home Rule leaders, consistency and honesty require that the upper castes shall not demand a greater participation in government than they are willing to concede to the lower castes.

In the third place, Government, through its various efforts toward universal education, agricultural and other economic improvement, hospitalization, and the awarding of even-handed justice to all the people regardless of castes, has succeeded in making telling inroads upon the caste system.

In the fourth place, modern methods of travel have made cheap transportation available to all classes. The automobile is facilitating travel from place to place, and it is said that in 1926 the Indian railways, largely because of the cheap third-class rates, carried over 600,000,000 passengers. By traveling on such a large scale, the castes, both low and high, associate more or less freely and intimately, and thus have broken one of the fundamental rules of the traditional system.

In the fifth place, Christian missions, through their teaching of the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man, are injecting a new social principle into the life of India; and these missions through the various nation-building activities in which they engage, and the influence they have exerted generally by precept and example, have worked toward the breaking down of caste distinctions.

It has often been pointed out that the education of the depressed classes has enabled their young men and women to fill teaching posts and other places of honor that give them a favorable status with the upper castes.

Our statements of the influence of Christian missions upon the caste system seem, however, to require certain qualifications. Many keen observers, both Indians and non-Indians, missionaries and non-missionaries,

point out that a great deal of the mass movement among the depressed classes toward Christianity has evidently been largely for economic and social reasons. But for whatever reasons, the effort of Christian missions seems to have resulted in many places in the creation of a new *Christian caste*. An Indian principal of an important Government school avers that, because of the vocational employment that Christian missions have been able to secure for the new converts, Christianity in Village India is becoming a *trade*. The unwise giving of money and service on the part of the earlier Christian missions,¹⁹ and their inability or disinclination to win a large number of converts from among the upper Hindu castes and Mohammedans,²⁰ no doubt contribute to this undesirable tendency.

In closing this section of the report, we may present certain reasons given by those interviewed for the slightness of the impact which Christianity is making upon caste Hinduism and Mohammedanism. First, for certain reasons, Christian missions have been associated generally with imperialism,²¹ hence have been regarded as opposed to the nationalist's cause. Second, even though the social service rendered by Christian missions is generally appreciated, and even though Christianity as a way of life is growing rapidly in India, Christianity as a *sectarian religion* is meeting open opposition on the part of caste Hindus and Mohammedans because they regard it as a dangerous proselytizing agency.²²

Thus, the impact Christianity is making upon the depressed classes has awakened active interest in the depressed classes on the part of the higher castes. This is evidenced by the efforts of the Arya Samaj to cleanse traditional Hinduism of some of its anachronisms, and in some places by a determined effort of Hinduism to win back to its fold Indians who have been converted to Christianity. Third, it is charged that Christian missions are not winning to leadership men of sufficient ability, culture and learning to cope successfully with the learned proponents of Hinduism and other indigenous religions.²³ This tends to cause Christianity to be held in contempt by the intellectual non-Christians.

¹⁹ A great many persons interviewed, especially the younger group of missionaries, attribute much of the present difficulty of missions in securing a greater-degree of initiative and zeal on the part of Indian nationals in the development and the financial support of mission work, to the "dole" psychology created by unwise giving on the part of the earlier missionaries.

²⁰ Many keen observers of the situation state frankly that Christian missions have made but a very slight impact upon the upper Hindu castes and Mohammedans.

²¹ Suggestion given by the president of a prominent Christian College and by others.

²² Opinions of an American-trained Indian professor in a Christian College; a group of nine or ten Indian professors of an Agricultural College; and of other Indian intellectuals interviewed.

²³ Consensus of a group of Indian teachers and teacher-trainees in a conference in Northern India.

INADEQUATE EDUCATION

Extent and Causes of Illiteracy: One of the greatest handicaps to nation-building in rural India is the 90 per cent. of illiteracy.²⁴ According to the *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, the pupils of school-age in school constitute 15 per cent. of the population (p. 62); but of these one-tenth never complete the four years of schooling necessary for literacy, and within five years after leaving school 39 per cent. relapse into illiteracy.²⁵

In inventorying the causes of the illiteracy extant in India, the Fraser Commission suggested the following:²⁶ Shortage of teachers; the indifference of parents; economic conditions; absence of public opinion; oppression (by caste Hindus and other employers); and faulty educational methods.

Inadequate Educational Objectives: In addition to these criticisms Dr. Butterfield suggests that the objectives of village education are not altogether sound. He writes:

In common with the general tendency of all Indian education, the Christian educational enterprise encourages the young to fit themselves for types of work for which the villages do not offer openings.²⁷

This criticism seems especially applicable to higher education, as well, for it seems that while India needs technical specialists in productive agriculture, engineering, finance, transportation, medicine, etc., a preponderantly large proportion of her college graduates are B.A. and L.L.B. graduates who cannot find suitable jobs, who swell the number of the unemployed, and often become fomenters of dissatisfaction and civic strife among the masses.²⁸

Many educators and Government officials, sensing the need for recasting the objectives of Indian education, are searching for suitable methods of gearing education to the needs of the country. Thus Mr. Brayne, a progressive Government official, writes:

We must stop teaching solely examination textbooks and we must kill the craze for passing examinations. We must teach the

²⁴ Butterfield, Kenyon L., *The Christian Mission in Rural India*, p. 58. The Fraser Commission reports that in rural India, the percentage of literacy among the women is only 1 and of the men 11 (p. 25).

²⁵ *Report of the Fraser Commission*, p. 39.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

²⁷ Butterfield, Kenyon L., *The Christian Mission in Rural India*, p. 43.

²⁸ A prominent college president ascribes much of India's labor troubles and rioting connected with the Swaraj movement to the agitation of impecunious L.L.B. college graduates. For a further discussion of the problems of illiteracy see Mr. Sipple's Report, "Mission Education in India," this Volume.

children to play and sing, to study and love nature, to know and love the birds and butterflies and flowers.²⁹

In expanding his ideas upon the needs of Indian education, he lists the following as further goals that should be attained by education: The attainment of the social equality of men and women; a practical recognition of the dignity of labor; a practical recognition of the indignity of dirt, idleness and slovenliness; an understanding of the fact that labor, to be profitable, must be intelligent; the attainment of high ideals of service. Moreover he insists that workers going to the village schools should be imbued with these ideals.³⁰

In line with this point of view the Department of Education of the United Provinces has provided at the Allahabad Agricultural Institute a special training course for village teachers. This course which is designated "A Course in Rural Knowledge," consists of agriculture, hygiene, elementary science, community civics, national problems, and special methods. These are taught in a practical way, pretty largely as professionalized subject-matter, and comprise an entire year's work. The course is designed for qualified teachers in service, attending under the provisions of a special sabbatical leave; and it is planned that within the next ten years all the village teachers of the United Provinces shall have had the course.

A similar course is offered by the Government Agricultural School at Bulandshahr, and by some of the mission teacher-training schools such as those at Ghaziabad and Anklesvar. Furthermore, the Government Departments of Agriculture, coöperative societies of many kinds, and many mission schools of agriculture, sensing the needs for various kinds of adult education, are providing them to the villages. The traveling school organized by John L. Goheen at Sangli is a good example.

Bad Results of Illiteracy: By indirection we have already pointed out some of the ill effects of illiteracy and its related evil, impractical education, upon Village India. We may now take time to specify briefly only two or three additional ill effects. Besides making civic consciousness inchoate and public will inarticulate, illiteracy makes a people gullible and the easy prey of charlatans. For example, good causes may be misrepresented by the crafty politician or religious leader seeking personal gain. Money lenders, taking advantage of the borrower's illiteracy, have been known to put on paper understandings and undertakings not authorized by the borrower; and even panchayats, acting as the directors of coöperative credit societies, have been charged with wrongfully keeping portions of the money loaned by these societies to their illiterate members. Besides making impossible the wide use of helpful literature,

²⁹ Brayne, F. L., *The Remaking of Village India*, pp. 146-7.

³⁰ *Op. cit.* See also educational objectives set forth by the *Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture*, p. 89, and also the *Report of the Fraser Commission*, p. 76.

illiteracy makes all educational effort costly, slow and ineffective, so that the only hope of convincing the cultivating classes of the advantages of agricultural or any other needed improvement is by ocular demonstration.³¹ This calls for expensive demonstration farms, large numbers of special itinerant demonstrators and lecturers, and a special pedagogical preparation on the part of those who teach. At best only a relatively small portion of the population can be reached.

In thinking of the place of Christian missions in dispelling illiteracy and ignorance from among the villages of India, we note that through the promotion of various kinds of education, coöperative effort and professional service, a spirit of self-help and self-respect is being infused into the depressed classes. Thus many of these people are at the point of taking advantage of the opportunities that science, wise laws, and good administration place at their disposal. As to the means employed by missions in educational work, Dr. Butterfield lists the night school for adults, classes for Bible study, women's institutes, the village library, the village reader, the drama, the cinema, the radio, the demonstration, and the lecture.³² While some of these, such as the radio, have only a limited usefulness under present conditions, all should be carefully explored and applied when at all appropriate. Methodology of procedure, and skill in the use of methods, call for workers with good mental ability and special training.

RELIGION AND CUSTOM

Relationship of Hindu Religion and Custom: As already brought out in the Introduction, India is a most religious country. The student of Indian rural society is impressed by the outward habiliments and practices of a religious nature: the magnificent temples, many of them containing some of the finest stone carvings in the world; the innumerable shrines and idols found by the roadsides, in the market places, on the hill-tops, and in the homes; the Buddhist prayer-flags of North India, fluttering from housetops, tree tops and over bridges and deep ravines; the daily periodical calls to prayer among the Mohammedans; the holy men grotesquely dressed who are present at almost all public gatherings; the troubled common citizens or the fanatical sadhus making their weary pilgrimages to Benares or some other holy city; and the numerous melas, libations and feasts observed by all classes. All these, in various indirect and mystical ways, are integrated with the beliefs, the customs, and the routines of daily life. Thus Ayyar writes:

Not even a single one of the Hindu customs, however unimportant and simple, is without a religious basis or principle behind it. . . . Wealth, kindred, age, moral conduct and divine

³¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 145.

³² Butterfield, Kenyon L., *The Christian Mission in Rural India*, p. 58.

knowledge entitle men to respect . . . but divine knowledge is the most respectable.³³

To show a little more definitely how custom and religion are integrated in animistic forms in the daily lives of the masses, we quote further from Ayyar:

The Hindus believe that hosts of invisible beings dwell side by side with them in their houses, taking their places over certain places and objects. This fact is emphasized by the observance of certain ceremonials. Some of these entities and forces are said to be in the streets outside houses during the day time, and as soon as night comes on, enter the houses . . . to rest during the night. . . . All good entities are said to love light and abhor darkness; and all evil denizens of the invisible world abhor light and love darkness. Thus people take good care to have lights burning in shut-up houses to prevent entry by entities of ill-repute.³⁴

As to how religious beliefs are integrated with custom in the care of the sick, Ayyar continues:

Contagious diseases that are looked upon as the results of attack of germs and microbes, in countries other than India, are looked upon as the work of certain deities by the Hindus of South India. . . . People whose children are attacked with smallpox or measles, try not to anger the devatas (or spirits) behind these diseases but to propitiate them. Medicine or drugs, if administered, are considered to displease the devatas who accordingly may make the disease more virulent.³⁵

Thus formulas are developed for propitiating or for taking advantage of the gods, and these become the folkways and the mores of later generations. In attempting to explain why Hindu custom should be venerated, Ayyar exhorts his readers to bear in mind that these customs have been originated by very great men among the forefathers, hence ought not to be lightly disposed of. He further warns us: "There is much in Hindu custom that we are not aware of," and further quotes the late Sister Nivedita, the pen-name of an Irishwoman, Miss Margaret Noble, who identified herself intimately with Indian religious life, who said "Custom is the jewel casket of humanity."³⁶

The Christian missionary may not think that Indian custom is a jewel casket of finer things, but success in the missionary enterprise calls for a sympathetic understanding of these customs. These customs are the expression of a psychology surcharged with the haunting of hunger and the dread of malignant spirits. Hence it is difficult to center the minds of the people upon the things the missions wish to teach. Moreover, this state

³³ Ayyar, P. V. J., *South India Customs*, pp. ix, 11.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 23, 24.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 37.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

of mind is such that material relief offered by missions is likely to create "rice" Christians, thereby robbing the Indian converts of initiative and creating in them a "dole psychology" freighted with the spirit of cant and even with the spirit of vindictiveness in case the dole becomes threatened. One of the foremost missionaries of South India humorously relates how one of his Indian deacons, sensing the reduction of mission funds allocated to that church, prayed in a church service that his American superiors and colleagues in the mission might be saved by Divine Grace from stealing the mission funds in their possession! A leading educational missionary in northern India, in building mud instead of "pukka" structures on his school compound, and in requiring the Indians to bear a growing part of the costs of their own education, reports that he is being subjected to criticism on the part of the Indians who charge him with "holding out on them" money that is *due* them from America! Such criticisms, and the bad state of mind from which they emanate, led an experienced missionary to declare to the writer that it was her opinion it would be good for both the missionaries and the Indians if all foreign financial support whatever were withdrawn from them. In her opinion it would weed out of the missionary force all of those unable or unwilling to become citizens of the country and creative leaders under the conditions in which the masses live; moreover, she avers that those who then become Christians would be *real* rather than *rice* Christians.

Religion vs. Progress: When viewing the rôle that the indigenous religions of India play in Indian civilization, one is impressed with the statement that, "It makes a great deal of difference what one believes." Darling, in commenting upon the statement of the poet Tagore that "Indian civilization is penetrated with an abiding sense of the infinite," declares that progress is essentially concerned with the finite that bids a man to multiply his possessions in order that he may add to his comfort.³⁷ He continues:

The latter is a doctrine that makes but little appeal to the cultivator who feels, with the experience of the centuries back of him, that however many his possessions, he cannot add much to his comfort in a climate that sooner or later destroys all effort and wealth.³⁸

Moreover, we may add that the economic and the cultural handicaps imposed by custom and by the exigencies of a hand type of self-sufficient agriculture, tend to discourage thrift and forehandedness.³⁹ These virtues seem to be more characteristic of an industrial civilization. The Indian cultivator, therefore, traditionally tends to guard and preserve, rather than to improve and enlarge; and thus Indian society has tended to be

³⁷ Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant*, p. 173.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 11.

stable and contented rather than progressive and rich.⁴⁰ Withal, this state of mind tends to make ineffectual and difficult efforts toward agricultural and industrial education, political efficiency, coöperative marketing, and other nation-building improvements.

In closing this section of the report we may suggest more specifically that the belief in the transmigration of the soul, finding its most practical results in the non-taking of animal life and the veneration of the cow, becomes a barrier to the destruction of wild animals which are a nuisance to farming, and to the elimination of diseased and otherwise worthless farm animals; it also prevents the improvement of live stock through breeding and selection. Dr. Higginbottom, Principal of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, estimates that 90 per cent. of the cattle of India are a drain on the economic resources of the country, and are kept at a loss reaching into millions of rupees annually.⁴¹

Customs vs. Progress: Under the section on economic waste and in other places in the report we have pointed out specifically certain customs that stand in the way of social progress in Village India. In this section we wish to single out four other customs for a certain amount of emphasis. These are the joint-family system, the semi-pastoral type of agriculture, the institution of begging, and the manual labor of women.

The Joint-family System:

Even today in parts of Northern India, the clan or village is still a unit for the purpose of land holding. . . . In other parts the joint-family is the unit for property holding and for all enterprises and activities that offset the family. In the course of time, no doubt, India will follow the social evolution of the West, and make the individual the center of the social system.⁴²

It is said that the joint-family organization is more prevalent among the Hindus than the Mohammedans; but, while generally practised in many sections of the country, is gradually dying out, the spread of education, the migration of its members, the rise of the new feminism, and other factors hastening the process.

As is mentioned elsewhere all property under the joint-family system is held in common, and all incomes are pooled for the use of the entire group; the rule is, from everyone according to his capacity, and to each one according to his needs. Law and custom permit this, and the writer has an account of families in which this practice has continued unbroken for five or six generations. However, if a major member of this family for any reason so desires, he may seek a division of the property by

⁴⁰ Darling quotes Mukerjee as ascribing this contentment to ignorance of anything better.

⁴¹ Higginbottom, Sam, *The Gospel and the Plow*, p. 69.

⁴² Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 17.

process of a peaceful family council, or failing that, by court procedure.⁴³ Even after the property has been divided, the organization often persists for social purposes. In such cases, for example, the head of the family may preside over the marriage ceremonies of his nephews. The affairs of the joint-family are usually administered by the eldest male member who often acts with a great deal of autocratic authority; but it is usual for all matters of serious family concern to be decided by a family council.

To set forth objectively the joint-family as a socio-economic organization in normal life, let us describe an actual family unit in central India. The members and their incomes are as follows:

Eldest brother, a clerk, with a family of eight children, two children in college, and two in high school, income	Rs. 60 per month
Second brother, unmarried, engaged in social service, but with an uncertain income, income about	Rs.100 per month
Third brother, inspector of schools, four children, income	Rs.500 per month
His wife, superintendent of schools, income	Rs.200 per month
Fourth brother, acting as manager of the joint-family, a clerk, four children, income	Rs. 50 per month
Two widowed sisters who work away from home but keep up their connection with the family organization, net income for each about Rs.20 a month, total	Rs. 40 per month
A number (probably eight or more) of dependent children of two dead sisters, four in college, and one daughter taking training as a nurse, no income.	
An aged mother and a number of other dependent relatives, some near and some distant (exact number not learned), no income.	
Two employed servants, a man and a woman.	
Total number of persons in the joint-family at least forty (probably more). Total income	Rs.950 per month

The incomes of all the earning members of this family go into a common fund, and, excepting the two widows away from home, all live under the same roof and receive their food from the same kitchen.

Certain advantages are claimed for the joint-family. *First*, the joint-family takes care of its own needy members, so that very few poorhouses are found in India. This practice delays the establishment of certain charitable institutions, such as leper asylums now supplied by Government and Christian missions. *Second*, the authority exercised over the children by all the adults, and the living together in large numbers, work toward the inculcation of coöperation and socialized living. Moreover, all the children are insured a better opportunity for an education and a start in life. *Third*, it prevents, or defers, excessive fragmentation of land.

Certain disadvantages, likewise, are claimed against the joint-family system. *First*, there is frequently considerable quarreling among the numerous wives in the group; and there is often jealousy, especially against the family of the manager, if the wife and the children of the latter, because of their position, become arrogant. *Second*, according to

⁴³ A major member is one who has attained his legal age of freedom, which among the males is usually the age of 18, and among the females 16. (Information given by Prof. P. D. Nair of the Agricultural College, Nagpur.)

Professor Saunders, the joint-family system discourages initiative and thrift on the part of the individual members.⁴⁴ *Third*, the joint-family tends to residential overcrowding, and hence, insanitary conditions of living. And *fourth*, the joint-family arrangement often makes it difficult for husbands and wives to enjoy a normal sex life, much less the full assumption of control and responsibility in the bringing up of their family. Many careful students of this system of family life heartily condemn it, and it seems that in practice it is finding increasingly less favor among the Indians themselves. Such organizations as this tend to make society intensely conservative and difficult of penetration by Christian mission or other similar social agencies.

The Semi-pastoral System of Farming:

The semi-pastoral system of farming, such as is practised in most of India, is another institution firmly tied by custom to a long past. In practice, it consists of gathering the village live stock, other than poultry, together in herds each morning, driving the herds along the highways to available public or private pasture grounds where they are guarded from destructive wild animals and are kept off the growing crops during the day, and in the evening bringing them home to their several owners. It is customary for villages to have families set aside as herders at public expense.

Arguments in favor of this type of live-stock farming are that it makes use of waste land and other pasture land without the cost of fencing and that it permits poor villagers and city people to have dairy goats, cows and other live stock. On the other hand it is said that this system encourages the keeping of a vast number of worthless animals; adds to the problems of sanitation in the villages and homes; discourages the production and the purchase of adequate feed supplies for live stock; effectually prevents the improvement of live stock through breeding, because vast numbers of scrub males run with the herds; causes considerable losses to crops through ineffective herding; causes many children to be kept out of school to serve as herders; and the herds of live stock filling the public highways become a nuisance to automobilists. This system of farming, being a compromise between that typical of permanent Western agriculture wherein either the crops or the animals are fenced from the other, and the pastoral type of farming practised by Abraham of old, is deeply rooted in village life and customs. On the whole, it seems uneconomic and a real stumblingblock to social progress. Those who work for improved village sanitation, agricultural betterment, and a happier general economic outlook, will find this traditional system of farming a persistent and a discouraging handicap.

Begging: Begging, as a social institution in India, fits well into a philosophy that looks upon life as an illusion and that renders its ad-

⁴⁴ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, p. 17.

herents emotional and unwilling to face realities. Like other age-old social practices of the country, it has religious sanction. Thus Ayyar explains its integration with ancient orthodox Brahminism:

Till about the age of five, the Brahmin male child should be fed and taken care of by his parents. At about five, he is invested with the sacred string, after an initiation ceremony. From that time forward he is bound to shift for himself and not be a burden to his parents. Every man has to pass through four asrams or stages of life: Brahmachari, the stage in which he is supposed to walk in the paths toward knowledge . . . ; Grihasta, or the householder; Vanaprasta, a forest dweller; and Sanyasi, who gives up everything. Both the Brahmachari and the Sanyasi live on the charity of others. This practice is not universal, and is dying out.⁴⁵

In remarking upon the extent of begging, and in trying to give it a philosophical sanction, Ayyar continues:

It is a well-known fact that there are more beggars in India than in other parts of the world, and the reason for this is that the Indians generally pay more attention to the development of finer instincts than people of other countries. . . . Fellow beings are helped not so much because they are in difficulties and want, but because it helps the donor to bestow charity more and more freely and heartily each time than before. Deprive a land of its beggars and you deprive its people of one of their opportunities of drawing out their innate feeling of humanity and pity.⁴⁶

Thus in the eyes of many illusioned people, begging becomes a "trade"; yet it contributes to national poverty and a general loss of self-respect. Moreover, it enables the charlatans, often in the guise of holy men, to impose upon a gullible people; and parents have been known to mutilate the bodies of their children to add to their appeal in begging. Begging also inculcates in the masses a spirit of defeatism that is repugnant to good citizenship, and that makes ineffectual the most devoted efforts toward social improvement and nation-building.

The Manual Labor of Women: The social significance of the manual labor traditionally performed by the women of India is difficult to assess. The universality of woman labor in Indian agriculture is obvious, even to the casual tourist; but the scientific student of Indian village life has pointed it out more authoritatively. Thus McDougall declares with respect to the division of the Central Provinces studied by him:

The weeding of rice is done exclusively by women. . . . Moreover the harvesting of rice, wheat, and practically all other crops is done by women.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ayyar, P. V. J., *South India Customs*, p. 26.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

⁴⁷ McDougall, J. C., *An Economic Survey of a Village in the Chhattisgarh District*, pp. 64-65.

The type of farm work done by women may vary somewhat among the different parts of the country, but, regardless of the section, women do a major portion of the heavy tedious labor requiring a great deal of squatting, back-bending, and lifting, which characterizes the hand type of farming done in India. Besides heavy farm labor, women generally are found doing coolie labor in the carrying of brick and mortar in building construction; water and earth in road construction; and, in parts of northern India, the transportation of heavy freight and baggage.

While it may be true that a certain amount of out-door labor on the part of women may be a healthy corrective of the dark and insanitary hovels in which many of them live, it is obvious that their hard labor is causally related to the high infant mortality rate and the unhealthful and unsightly home surroundings so characteristic of Village India. A change in the social and economic status of village women that will result in giving them more time for home-making and child-rearing, and that will give them the physical health and the education for accomplishing such worthy tasks, will be one of the most important things to be accomplished. India cannot hope to win the complete respect of civilized countries, much less of her own more intelligent citizens, until she takes practical steps toward giving her womanhood universal education in home-making and the opportunity to do the nation-building that rests upon healthy children and well-ordered homes. For a fuller discussion of the problems of women in rural India the reader should consult Miss Ruth F. Woodsmall's report on "Women's Interests and Activities."

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Social conflict is a phenomenon in Village India with which the Christian missions must deal; consequently a working knowledge of the social psychology of village life as it assumes patterns of conflict and social disturbance, is a necessary prerequisite to the success of the mission enterprise.

Causes of Social Conflict: By implication and indirection we have thus far presented a number of causes of social conflict in Indian villages. These may now be briefly listed. Among them are economic factors creating insecurity for the necessities of life, such as: the small size and the fragmentation of land holdings; the uncertainty of crops because of lack of water; uncertainty of crops and animal products on account of pests and diseases; uneconomic methods of farming; the burden of debt; economic wastes, and disease. Also among these irritants and creators of a state of mental irrationality are certain social factors that threaten the economic and the social status of the villagers, such as: overpopulation; the tyrannies of a caste system; illiteracy; custom and tradition; religious differences; heterogeneity of languages; inadequate institutions; and the agitation of impecunious lawyers and other unsafe leaders.

The conflicts leading to court action have been estimated by Calvert, for the Punjab alone, for the years 1922-1924, as follows: the number of suits filed averaged over 169,000 per year; the number of persons brought to trial 275,545; of those brought to trial, 179,958 were acquitted or discharged.⁴⁸ Mr. Calvert also estimates that 40 per cent. (2,500,000) of the adult male population of the Punjab attend court every year, either as parties to suits or as witnesses; and that as a result between three and four crores of rupees are wasted annually.⁴⁹ While similar data were not collected for the other provinces and states of India, it may be assumed that in this respect the Punjab is not an outstanding exception to conditions existing elsewhere. When, in addition to conflicts resulting in court action we think of the communal riots, the conflicts arising from picketing in the Swaraj movement, the many personal and group differences settled by the panchayats and the mission "sahibs," it would appear that India needs to discover the paths to social peace. This state of affairs is a direct and insistent challenge to all of those agencies having for their objectives nation-building and character-building.

Inter-religious Group Conflicts: The various communal differences in India brought to light at the recent Round Table Conference in London, and the many occasions of bloodshed in past years as the result of communal riots, show how deep-seated and fanatical the inter-religious antagonisms among certain of the indigenous religions in this country are. It is the privilege, however, of American missions to maintain a state of strict neutrality among these conflicts and similar troubles growing out of the nationalistic movement; but, unfortunately, all of their personnel have not done so.

As between the Christian and the non-Christian groups, there is a certain amount of friction. It is true that the mass movement to Christianity has taken place almost wholly among the depressed classes; and so long as efforts toward Christian evangelization are confined rather strictly to these classes, no serious clashes are likely to result. But, as was stated before, the upper-caste Hindus are awakening to the losses occurring to Hinduism through the conversion of the lower caste to Christianity, and are beginning to make efforts to win them back again.

The question is often asked what impact is Christianity making upon the high-caste Hindus and the Mohammedans? So far as making open converts is concerned, it is the opinion of many impartial observers that practically nothing is being accomplished. Two different assembled groups of Indian educators, and a number of other Indian intellectuals interviewed by the writer, with but one or two notable individual exceptions, expressed a friendly attitude toward Christian mission hospitals and schools; but also expressed a hostile attitude toward Christian evangelization. The latter they termed *proselytizing*; and some of those inter-

⁴⁸ Reported by Darling, M. L., *The Punjab Peasant*, pp. 73-75.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

viewed suggested that it would be one of the first duties of the new Indian Government, after gaining Swaraj, to put a complete stop to this sort of activity.

The proselytizing done by Christian missionaries, while not yet bringing about many discomforts to themselves, often results in much trouble to their new converts, especially if there are but a few of them in a village which is hostile to Christianity. For example, if only an individual in a Hindu or Mohammedan family, or only one or two families in a whole village, profess Christianity, the disapproval of the larger group is likely to be expressed in numerous painful and embarrassing ways. In the case of an individual, his family is likely to disown him through the performance of a mock burial ceremony; or if death or sickness occurs to individuals or live stock in the village, it will probably be charged to his conversion. Moreover, the landlord may take away from him his financial support; or other persons may frighten his women away from the village well, or prevent the *dhabhi* (laundryman) from serving him, or even give him severe beatings.⁵⁰ Because of these persecutions, Christian missions sometimes do not urge upon individuals an open profession of Christianity unless the whole family, or even several families in the village will also become Christians. Not infrequently whole villages at a time become Christian.

IV

THE NEED FOR SOCIAL PLANNING

Social planning, as that term is now being used in certain countries of the West, has but little real meaning to the minds of the masses in India. The term implies an orderly looking ahead to the supplying of defined social needs, and a working command of the philosophies, facts and techniques involved in successful social organization. Indian civilization, untouched by Western influences, has been slow-moving, hostile to change, and operative largely upon the basis of immediate needs.

The impact of Christian missions, Government, and other agencies upon the socio-economic conditions of Village India, is bringing to the fore many conditions and problems that call for concerted action on the part of the populace as well as on the part of these agencies. Famine relief, and the prevention of widespread epidemics both of human beings and of live stock, have demanded and, to a degree, received concerted effort on the part of the Indians; but the visitor walking through the villages in almost any part of India will be appalled by the general lack of intelligent attention to many matters of economic and social importance calling for united action. Writing in this vein, Saunders calls attention to the general lack of orderliness of planning in the growth of villages,

⁵⁰ Neill Stephen, *Out of Bondage*.

to the absence of beauty in village environments, and to the great need for concerted attention to village sanitation.¹ In like manner, in viewing the partial and more or less disjointed effort made by various governmental agencies toward village improvement, Mukerjee declares:

Rural development must be surveyed as a whole, studied as a whole, and dealt with as a whole. . . . The horde of officials who now deal piece-meal with the problems of the villager is more likely to exasperate than to arouse him from his present attitude of indifference to all forms of progress. . . . One of these (officials) deals with coöperative credit, a second with improved seed and new implements, a third man comes to inoculate the cattle against rinderpest, a fourth inspects the village school, a fifth preaches the benefits of better sanitation . . . in addition to the (visits of a) non-official election canvasser or some aspiring politician. All these are attached to independent departments between which there is often little or no connection.²

When we realize that this complicated situation is made yet more complex by the work of missions and other free-lance agencies, we can easily sense the need for the reorganization, coördination and harmonizing of the efforts of these several agencies. This phase of the discussion will be continued under the treatment of the rural reconstruction unit to follow.

PROBLEMS OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Effective organization for the upbuilding of Village India must necessarily come slowly and through the mastery of many serious problems. Much depends upon changing the individual *ryot* (farmer) himself. Thus Mukerjee writes:

He (the ryot) must have before him a notion of the happiness which is awaiting him. Education must be able to create the ambition for a better life for which he will toil. . . . What do we get now? A bumper harvest is followed by an increase in litigation, good prices only induce extravagance in ceremonies, and in many cases intemperance.³

The caste system, religious differences, the lack of a common language, illiteracy, inadequate means of communication, and a host of other factors already discussed in this report, contribute toward making the vast mass of village people conservative and lacking in common viewpoints, hence difficult to fuse into concerted action for almost any purpose. Lack of adequate leadership; the division of Christian missions into sectarian groups; and a lack of coördination among the missions, the Govern-

¹ Saunders, A. J., *Land and Rural Economics*, pp. 130-131.

² Mukerjee, B. B., *Coöperation and Rural Welfare in India*, pp. 13-14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

ment, and other agencies legitimately in the field, frequently intensify the problems of organization in rural reconstruction.

THE RURAL RECONSTRUCTION UNIT

In trying to present a brief statement of what is being done in Village India toward social planning, three introductory observations should be made:

First, aside from a certain amount of systematic work done by the Government in agricultural extension, education, the auditing of coöperative societies, etc., very little is being done by responsible agencies toward a systematic and thorough social and economic organization of large political divisions, much less the whole of India.

Second, many agencies, including Christian missions, within limited territory and for more or less specific services, are doing promising pieces of organized work in social planning; but some of these agencies have not recognized suitably the presence of other similar agencies legitimately at work in the same field.

Third, the description of almost any specific piece of rural organization, especially since the recent visit to India of Dr. Butterfield, makes use of the term, "rural reconstruction unit"; hence this term needs consideration at this time. Dr. Butterfield states his conception of what the rural reconstruction unit in India should be in these words:

A Rural Reconstruction Unit is a group of contiguous villages, perhaps ten or fifteen in number, in which as full a program as possible of rural reconstruction service shall be made available to all the people. All agencies for educational, health, economic and social progress will be urged to pool their efforts through some form of community council in an attempt to get people to co-operate in building a new type of Indian rural community. The church must lead this endeavor to make the enterprise thoroughly Christian in spirit.⁴

Thus, in many missions, rural reconstruction is being planned. At Dornakal, the church itself is the agency for leading in rural reconstruction, and its efforts are rather narrowly confined to religious education and evangelization. At Ushagram, Sangli, Yeotmal, Anklesvar, Borsad, Allahabad, Katpadi, Chingleput and a number of other mission centers visited by the writer, the mission school was the chief agency in such rural reconstruction as was attempted.

The reconstruction programs of these schools, while including a few common elements, such as health education in its various forms, agricultural education, general education, the promotion of coöperative effort, etc., yet differ widely, as perhaps they should. Withal, much of the re-

⁴ Butterfield, Kenyon L., *The Christian Mission in Rural India*, Chap. V; also see the *Poona Report of the Conference on Rural Work*, p. 5.

constructive program of many of these institutions is tentative and lacks clarity of visualization on the part of its sponsors.

Others less intimately concerned with Christian missions in India than is Dr. Butterfield, while agreeing with him in principle as to the nature of the work that needs to be done in and by such reconstructive units, differ with him somewhat as to the probable number of villages that should be included therein and as to the agency that should be the focus of the enterprise.

Principal Kochak of the Government Agricultural School at Bulandshahr thinks that schools such as his might well be the energizing and the service centers of village reconstruction in India. According to his views, these schools should offer many kinds of courses adjusted in purpose, content, method, and time offered to the needs of important groups in the surrounding villages. These schools, besides doing practical farming and farm demonstration work open to public inspection, would encourage self-help on the part of the people and offer expert advice and services of many kinds. He thinks that twelve of these schools for the United Provinces, and 500 for the whole of India, would make them close enough together to be within fairly easy access to the remotest villages in the unit-areas.

He further thinks the most important function of Christian missions in the work of rural reconstruction is the inauguration of needed reforms and the addition of moral qualities to the work of social agencies in the reconstruction unit-areas. As to the method of organization of these units, he makes two pithy suggestions: *First*, the economic status and the moral quality of the individual must be improved before reconstruction units of this kind can win much success; for one cannot combine twelve dead villages and automatically have a live resulting unit. *Second*, these units cannot be planted *de novo*, but must be developed gradually around centers of vital interest. Constituting these centers, he conceives, is the function of schools such as his.

The Young Men's Christian Association work, as developed in and about Martandam in the Travancore area by Dr. Hatch, illustrates another slightly different concept of the nature of the rural reconstruction unit. Under the active leadership of this socio-religious organization, many services of a community and nation-building value are performed. These include agricultural education, health education and village sanitation, recreation, coöperative marketing, leadership training, and other useful activities. While the Christian Church, no doubt, is functioning here as an energizing element, as a separate organization it is not focal in this activity; nor is the Government, as would naturally be the case if public schools such as Principal Kochak's should become the focal agencies of reconstruction.

Rural reconstruction inaugurated largely on an economic basis by individuals motivated by broad humanitarian impulses, is illustrated by

Sir Daniel Hamilton's land colonization project at Gosaba. About twenty-eight years ago, Sir Daniel established upon the waste lands of the sunderbunds of the lower Ganges Valley, a colony consisting of poor people. After varying experiences, these lands were brought under successful agricultural production, more than twenty villages were established, and the whole enterprise successfully woven into an effective self-help unit. Coöperation is the watchword here, and it functions in credit societies, in a coöperative rice mill, a coöperative selling society, co-operative health societies, etc. There are here only a few Christians, the church being weak and ineffective, and there is no school that can claim to approach the ideal set by Mr. Kochak.

Other agencies, including the Government and Christian missions, have sought to accomplish rural readjustment and reconstruction through agricultural colonization; and, to that end, irrigation schemes have been accomplished, agricultural education and supervision provided, and various sorts of coöperative associations organized.⁵ In Gurgaon District, near Delhi, there has been conducted for a number of years, until recently, an interesting piece of rural reconstruction by Mr. F. L. Brayne, a Government civil officer. Thus, to a degree, the whole civil district became the reconstruction unit, and the energizing force was Government personified in a wide-awake dynamic representative. Education, community councils, scouting, village guides, coöperation and official regulation, were the methods employed here in making the villages more sanitary, more slightly, and more self-respecting.⁶ The public schools, and other nation-building agencies, including the Christian Church and missions, coöperated in the various undertakings, but were not expected to dominate them.

Private corporations, with a strong humanitarian bent, have also engaged in village reconstruction work. A good example is that of the Empress Mills at Nagpur. In coöperation with the local Young Men's Christian Association, this corporation secured for its workers on the outskirts of the city of Nagpur, a building site for a new village. Good houses owned by their occupants were erected on easy terms through loans made by the Mills; modern sanitary sewage and water systems were installed; recreational grounds, child-welfare centers, schools, scouting, tiffin sheds for workers, etc., were provided, and cleanliness and beauty consciously sought. A casual visitor to this new village can see

⁵ Mr. Darling has given a very complete account of the Government's activities along these lines in his description of the canal colonies established in the Punjab (see his *Punjab Peasant*). The Government, in the Sindh, and on a lesser scale elsewhere, is opening other vast areas of land for settlement. One of the most notable of the many colonization projects inaugurated by Christian missions surveyed by the writer is that of the Irish Presbyterian Mission in the Gujarat.

⁶ For a detailed account of Mr. Brayne's work in Gurgaon District, see his *Re-making of Village India*.

many praiseworthy things that stand out in contrast with the unsanitary conditions and dilapidated appearances so characteristic of the villages at large.

Other types of village reconstruction might be uncovered through further investigation and analysis; but the types thus far represented show the following facts of importance:

First, there is a widespread consciousness among certain groups of the need for village improvement. But the writer is not prepared to say how deeply that consciousness is felt among the masses of villagers themselves; in fact, he is inclined to fear that, divorced from Western leadership and money, most of it might prove evanescent and temporary.

Second, there are enough projects of village reconstruction under way or planned, involving units of varying size, different methods, objectives and focal agencies, to constitute a real experimental laboratory in social organization. Through adequate research effort on the part of some central agency, these projects should be critically studied and reported.

Third, there is much loose and fanciful thinking as to the nature of rural reconstruction units, their functions, their practicability, etc. This seems especially true when we contemplate the iron-clad customs of the traditional Indian villages, the vastness and the poverty of the country, and the poor showing made along similar lines in most Western countries.

Fourth, much of the effort planned along the lines of rural reconstruction needs to be socialized, as well as guided by a leadership possessing a fundamental knowledge of social science. Leaders need training, especially in the principles of social organization.

A survey of what is being done often reveals the presence of "the lone wolf" sort of leadership, oblivious to the legitimate presence in the same area of other agencies and leaders; and much of the leadership bears evidence of disinclination or inability to see beyond the externals of immediate activities to the more deep-lying, fundamental conditions and tendencies that are the only sound basis for such activities. In support of the latter criticism, the Royal Commission on Agriculture warns:

Mere material improvement alone will not bring lasting benefit to the agricultural population. Increase in yield by better seed and better cultivation; security of harvests gained by the expansion of irrigation; immunity from losses due to pests or pestilence; higher prices from improved communications and conditions of marketing; everything, in short, which we have advocated for the material advancement of the people, will merely postpone the effects of the growing pressure of the population on the soil. No lasting improvement in the standard of living of the great mass of population can possibly be attained if every enhancement in the purchasing power of the cultivator is to be followed by a proportionate increase in the population.⁷

⁷ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, pp. 56, 58, 59.

Moreover, piecemeal effort, and effort otherwise unmindful of the fundamental laws of economics, biology, and other basic determinants of human affairs, may prove in the long run to be more hurtful than advantageous. While effort toward rural reconstruction in India should not be discouraged, it should seek for coördination, scientific guidance, and trained leadership; withal, it must be based upon a fundamental knowledge of the broad sociological matrix of village life and conditions.

A GENERAL SUMMARY

In reflecting briefly upon the experience and the data of this inquiry, a few conclusions emerge with a fair degree of certitude.

First, with regard to the vast masses of people, poverty seems to be painfully present to color prejudicially their entire individual and social behavior.

Second, the center of population, as to numbers, is moving rather rapidly toward agriculture as an occupation. At present about three-fourths of the population are directly engaged in extractive agriculture.

Third, a large percentage of the industrially produced goods used by the people is imported and paid for by agricultural products exported, and India at this time shows no convincing signs of industrialization on a vast scale.

Fourth, because of the lack of improved methods of farming, and because of a continued movement toward the fragmentation and the reduction in the size of holdings, and withal because of a harder pressure of the population upon the land for support, it seems that the masses are gradually growing poorer. Relief might come in one or more of the following ways: A voluntary reduction in population increases; emigration in large numbers; industrialization on a rapid scale; improvement of agriculture and the bringing of additional large areas under cultivation through irrigation; and permitting pestilence and famine to renew their ravages unabated. None of these alternatives seem likely of adoption on a large scale in the near future.

Fifth, tradition, fatalism, and ignorance, prevent the people from making rapid vocational and residential adjustments. With suitable vocational adjustments, India could probably support efficiently an even larger population than she now has. Withal, the quality of people, more than climate or other factors, is responsible for the present difficult position of India, so that new ideas, new energies, and new viewpoints are probably the greatest need of India to-day.

Sixth, in the work of Christian missions the highest good of India should be the central goal, and there should be a friendly coöperation of mission and non-mission forces in planning for the future.

THE INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

by

PAUL F. CRESSEY

I

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

THE International Labour Office of Geneva recognizes India as one of the eight most important industrial nations in the world. According to the Indian census of 1921, over nineteen million people are engaged in industry, transportation and mining. However, the vast majority of these people are engaged in ancient handicraft industries and village trades. The total number employed in factories is a little more than a million and a half; over 800,000 more are engaged in railway transportation, apart from railway repair and construction work; and an additional 200,000 are employed as miners. This represents only about 1.5 per cent. of the entire number of persons employed in India. The modern factory system thus represents only a small place in the total economic organization of the nation.

The first railways and factories were established in India nearly three-quarters of a century ago. Their subsequent growth has been steady, but not spectacular. There are several centers where modern industry has become concentrated. In these regions serious problems of human maladjustment have developed, similar to those which have accompanied industrial development in the West. Combined with low wages and low standards of living are problems of labor unrest, strikes and industrial inefficiency. As industry develops these problems are tending to become more serious.

The industrial development of India and the importation of large quantities of manufactured goods from abroad have resulted in the dislocation and decay of many of the native handicrafts and trades. Modern factory industry has not developed rapidly enough to absorb those thrown out of employment by the decay of the ancient handicrafts. The result has been that the total number of persons supported by industry in India has been steadily decreasing for several decades. An increasing proportion of the population has been forced back upon agriculture as a means of gaining its livelihood. This increased pressure upon the land has apparently resulted in increasing the poverty of India.¹

¹ Statement based upon the findings of Dr. Hypes' Report, this Volume.

India is predominantly a rural country, yet nearly thirty-one million of her people live in towns and cities. In India (1921 Census) there were thirty-three cities with over 100,000 population. Calcutta and Bombay each have more than a million inhabitants. The Census of 1872 indicated that 8.7 per cent. of the population of India and Burma was urban in character, while the figure for 1921 was 10.2 per cent. Many Indian cities that were of ancient political or cultural importance are now static or declining in population. But the cities of modern industrial and commercial significance are rapidly growing. It is in this latter type of city that the most serious social problems exist. Great masses of people are crowded together in unbelievable congestion, family life is very abnormal, vice is widespread, ancient social customs are decaying.

These conditions present serious problems for the work of Christian missions. One-fifth of the Protestant Christians of India live in towns and cities. Foreign missionaries are very largely concentrated in urban centers. Yet little has been done by the Christian agencies to meet the larger social problems of modern industrial and urban life. Here and there a few specific projects have been undertaken. There is a growing interest in some of these problems, particularly on the part of the National Christian Council. But on the whole the Christian forces have not thought of these problems as coming within their field of responsibility; and they have not directly concerned themselves with them.

II

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

It is essential that the missionary movement understand the industrial developments that are taking place in India. These changes are affecting the moral and social environment of millions of people. If foreign missions are to meet the expectations of the Jerusalem Conference, "to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relations," they must concern themselves with the human problems resulting from the growth of modern industry. There are many contributions which missions can make toward meeting these problems; but first of all they need to understand the changes that are taking place.

It is the aim of this report to present the significant facts regarding the development of modern industry in India, especially as they relate to the work of foreign missions. Additional information may be obtained from the recently published *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, or from Vera Anstey: *The Economic Development of India*, or from Cecile Matheson: *Indian Industry*. This latter book is the result of an industrial survey sponsored by the National Christian Council of India.¹ It fails to discuss, however, many of the social consequences that have accompanied the growth of industry.

¹ Matheson, Cecile, *Indian Industry* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1930).

Handicraft industries have not been included in this report. They are characteristic of village life and often form a supplementary income for the agricultural population. Their decline, in the face of competition with machine industry, is a serious aspect of Indian economic life. But this phenomenon is largely a village problem and lies outside the scope of this study.

The tea plantations of India employ three-quarters of a million people. The conditions of labor on these plantations often involve serious problems; but they are hardly comparable to ordinary factory conditions and are not included in this report. Assam, the most important tea plantation area, was not visited by the Fact-Finding group.

Much of the statistical data used in this study comes from the Census of 1921. A decennial census was taken in 1931, but as yet only a few preliminary figures are available. However, the data from the earlier census are considered to give a fairly reliable picture of contemporary conditions. These statistics deal primarily with conditions in British India. Data regarding industry in the Indian states are somewhat difficult to obtain, but wherever possible have been included in this study.

The discussion that follows will deal first with the railways of India, then the fuel reserves and other mineral resources of the country. The factory industries will be treated under two main heads, the perennial and the seasonal industries. Brief attention will be given to the problems of management, capital, import and export trade, government policies, and the probable future industrial development of the country.

THE RAILWAYS

The railway was the first component of the modern industrial system to enter India, and is still the most important. The railways employ a total of over 800,000 persons in all branches of their service, including repair and construction departments, so that they are the largest employers of organized labor in India. Railway construction began about the middle of the nineteenth century, and by the end of the century most of the main trunk lines had been constructed. Although there are certain parts of Central and South India which are not yet fully provided for, the present system on the whole is considered to be adequate for the economic needs of the country. The total mileage of railways in 1929 amounted to 41,000 miles, giving India third place in railway mileage among the nations of the world. However, in reference to the size of the country and the density of population, her relative position would be very much lower.

The main trunk railways are built on a standard gauge of five feet six inches. An extensive system, however, uses a less expensive metre gauge, while there are certain mountain railways built on a much narrower width. These different gauges are a cause of considerable inconvenience and loss in the trans-shipment of goods; but they seem to be

RAILWAY MILEAGE OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES

Data from Encyclopædia Britannica, 14th edition

	Miles
United States of America.....	251,000
Russia (European and Asiatic).....	46,000
India.....	41,000*
Canada.....	40,000
Germany.....	36,000
France.....	33,000
Great Britain.....	24,000
Japan (including Korea, Formosa and Kwantung).....	13,000
China.....	7,000

* From the Report of the Royal Commission on Labour, 1931.

permanent in India's railway system. The narrower widths make it possible to operate in regions through which it would have been unprofitable to build more expensive lines.

About 80 per cent. of the capital invested in Indian railways has been raised either directly by the Government of India or with Government assistance. The charters of all railway companies provided that after a period of years, usually twenty-five or fifty, their lines could be purchased by the Government. As these dates have fallen due, the Government has availed itself of the opportunity to purchase the lines, paying for them by annual installments taken from the earnings of the roads. It is the present policy of the Government to acquire all the railways as soon as possible and put them under State management. In 1929, the State owned 72 per cent. of the total railway mileage, and 45 per cent. was under direct State management. In all cases the original names of the railways are maintained, and each system is operated as a separate unit.

There is a central Government agency, the Railway Board, which unifies and directs the policy of all the railways, both private and State controlled. This board supervises the construction of new lines, the provision of equipment, rates, service, and labor relations. The Government suffered an annual loss on the maintenance and guarantees to railways up until 1899; but since then there has usually been a very considerable annual revenue to the Government.

The chief railway lines are built inland from the main port cities. A current criticism by Indian Nationalists is that these lines were constructed, not for the development of internal commerce, but chiefly to facilitate foreign trade in the drawing of raw products from the country and in turn flooding it with cheap manufactured goods imported from abroad. It is true that the railways have done a great deal to dislocate the ancient routes of trade, but this seems to be inevitable under modern conditions of world economy. The cost of construction, and the expense of Government guarantees, have also been severely criticized. The pay-

ment of interest charges abroad calls annually for a very large sum of money. But it is doubtful whether the roads could have been constructed on any other basis.

The benefits which the railways have brought to India have been numerous. One of the chief reasons for the State's sponsoring railway development was the essential service provided by the railways in the combating of famines. The present ability to transport food supplies to any part of the country is one of the major factors in the elimination of famines from modern India. The influence upon the development of trade and commerce is of course enormous. It has stabilized prices, given Indian agricultural products a world market, and created new industrial and commercial centers. The present network of railways has provided rapid and inexpensive transportation to all parts of India. The rates of the railways are extremely cheap, averaging for first class slightly more than 3 cents a mile; second class, 1.5 cents a mile; intermediate class, .9 cents a mile; and third class, .4 cents a mile. The freight rates are said to be as low as anywhere in the world. The total number of passengers carried is steadily increasing, amounting in 1927-28 to over 620,000,000, of whom 96 per cent. traveled third class. The railways have rendered an invaluable service in increasing the social and political unity of India.

THE POWER RESOURCES OF INDIA

The construction of the first railways resulted in the development of coal mining, as up to this time coal had not been mined to any extent. India has fairly large resources of bituminous coal of moderately good industrial quality. While these reserves do not begin to compare with the enormous resources of the United States or Canada, or the rather unscientific estimates of China's reserves, they nevertheless are adequate for the present industrial needs of the country. They are ten times as great as the reserves of Japan and at the current rate of consumption they would last for nearly 4,000 years.

ESTIMATED COAL RESERVES AND ANNUAL RATE OF PRODUCTION OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES*

	<i>Estimated Coal Reserves (1916)</i>	<i>Annual Production</i>
United States.....	3,527,000 million tons	514 million tons (1914)
Canada.....	1,234,000 " "	14 " " (1914)
China.....	1,000,000 " "	16 " " (1927)
India.....	79,000 " "	22 " " (1927)
Japan.....	8,000 " "	30 " " (1927)

* Data from Spur, *Political and Commercial Geology*.

The great bulk of India's coal is concentrated in one large belt lying south of the Ganges River, running from western Bengal through the northern part of Bihar and Orissa. There are small deposits in the Cen-

tral Provinces and in a few other localities, but these are not of great importance. The Indian mines are now raising something over 20,000,000 tons annually. This supplies practically all of the domestic needs of India and small amounts are usually exported. The costs of transporting coal to western and southern India are quite high, and this places the industries of these regions at a considerable disadvantage. The extreme localization of the coal supplies of India constitutes a serious handicap to the general industrial development of the country.

Aside from very small deposits of petroleum in the Punjab and Assam, oil is found only in Burma. The Burmese fields which have been worked for many years are quite productive. The industries of Bombay and the railways of the Punjab import considerable quantities of fuel oil from the region of the Persian Gulf.

Extravagant predictions have been made from time to time as to the possibilities of developing hydroelectric power in India. The industries of Bombay City obtain a large part of their power from hydroelectric developments in the western Ghats. The cost of these hydroelectric plants, however, has been very high. The seasonal character of the rainfall necessitated the construction of extremely large and expensive reservoirs so as to assure a permanent supply of water. The result is that this electrical energy is not much cheaper than is power obtained by the use of coal.

In the Punjab, work has been going on for several years on a large hydroelectric project located in one of the lesser ranges of the Himalaya mountains. The development, however, has proved to be much more difficult and costly than was originally anticipated. It is hoped that power will eventually be supplied to most of the northern Punjab and even to Delhi; but the cost per unit will apparently not be particularly cheap. The lack of industries in this region greatly decreases the potential market for electrical energy. Similar difficulties confront other proposals for hydroelectric developments in the Himalaya mountains. Great quantities of water-power undoubtedly exist in these mountains and some day they may be developed. But the high costs of installation and the absence of a large industrial demand will long retard such developments.

OTHER MINERAL RESOURCES

In addition to resources of coal and petroleum, India has considerable deposits of iron ore, manganese, gold, lead and mica. With the development of the iron and steel industry increasing quantities of iron ore have been mined in recent years, rising from 493,000 tons in 1918 to 1,847,000 tons in 1927.² Much of this ore is of very good quality and is located within 150 or 200 miles of the main coal-mining area.

Deposits of manganese ore are widely distributed through India,

²The United States used 80,000,000 tons of iron ore in 1929.

though the largest deposits are found in the Central Provinces. Russia is the world's largest producer of manganese with India in second place. The production of ore fluctuates from year to year, but has more than doubled in the last ten years, amounting to 1,129,000 tons in 1927, valued at about \$13,720,599. Very little of this is used in India, almost all of it being exported as raw ore.

There is only one important gold field in India, that at Kolar in Mysore. The mines are operated by a British corporation and produce about \$7,848,000 worth of gold annually. India supplies a considerable portion of the world's mica. The mines, located primarily in Bihar and Orissa, are worked by rather primitive processes and the annual production amounts to only about \$880,000.

Burma, in addition to its petroleum, has valuable deposits of many minerals not found in India. Lead and silver are the most important, with zinc, tin and copper being produced in considerable quantities. But these resources can hardly be included as a part of the potential wealth of India because of the pending separation of the two countries.

Although India has adequate reserves of coal and iron for considerable industrial development, these are in no way comparable to the reserves of the leading industrial nations of the West. She has considerable deposits of a few other minerals; but many important minerals are absent. India is not rich in mineral deposits, and this factor will naturally color the future industrial development of the country.

FACTORY INDUSTRIES: PERENNIAL

All factories in British India using mechanical power and employing twenty persons or more are subject to government regulation and inspection. Government statistics regarding industry refer to this type of regulated factory. Statistics for the Indian states are not as exact; but they usually follow a similar classification. A distinction should be made between factories that operate continuously throughout the year, and those that are merely of a seasonal character. The accompanying table

PERENNIAL INDUSTRIES OF INDIA, BURMA AND THE INDIAN STATES*

	INDIA †	BURMA		INDIAN STATES		
	Factories	Operatives	Factories	Operatives	Factories	Operatives
Cotton spinning and weaving . . .	295	338,000	—	—	43	41,000
Jute spinning and weaving . . .	95	347,000	—	—	1	2,000
Metal and engineering works . . .	806	295,000	65	20,000	54	17,000
Others	964	133,000	226	32,000	1,012	96,000
Totals	2,160	1,113,000	291	52,000	1,110	156,000

* Data from *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India; Statistical Abstract of British India, 1927-1928.*

† India refers to British India, excluding Burma.

indicates the relative importance of the major perennial industries in India, Burma, and the Indian states.

There are only two industries in India that have achieved large-scale organization. These are the textile industries of cotton and jute. Between them they employ over 60 per cent. of all the workers engaged in the perennial industries of India.

Bombay Presidency is the center of the cotton-milling industry, more than two-thirds of all the mills and operatives of the country being concentrated in this province. The first successful mill was erected in the city of Bombay in 1853. This city is still the leading cotton-mill center; and in 1928 it contained 42 per cent. of all the spindles, and 47 per cent. of all the looms, in India. The two other important centers in the province are Ahmedabad and Sholapur. Large mills are also located in Cawnpore, Nagpur and Madras, while there are many small mills in other cities and towns. The relative importance of Bombay has been decreasing in recent years, and there has been a marked tendency for the industry to establish itself in the actual cotton-growing areas. These latter mills have generally been more prosperous than the Bombay mills and the future will undoubtedly see a continuation of this process of decentralization. The growth of the industry in recent years is indicated in the accompanying table.

COTTON-MILL INDUSTRY OF BRITISH INDIA AND IMPORTS OF COTTON CLOTH*

	Mills	Operatives	Indian Mill Production (Million Yards)	Net Imports of Cotton Cloth (Million Yards)
1892-93.....	120	113,000	—	—
1902-03.....	189	167,000	—	—
1912-13.....	241	244,000	1,160	2,950
1922.....	264	327,000	1,720	1,520
1925.....	281	332,000	1,960	1,530
1929.....	295	338,000	2,420	1,920

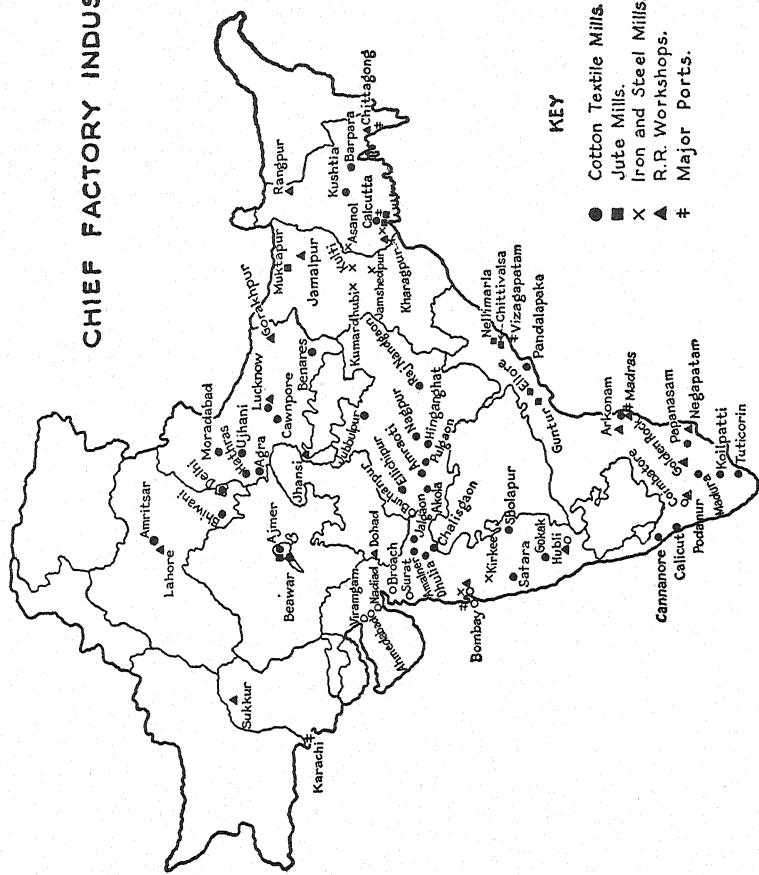
* Data from the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour; Review of Trade of India, 1929-30*.

The Indian cotton industry, based upon the number of its spindles and looms, ranks fifth among the cotton-textile nations of the world. India, in 1928, had 159,000 looms and 8,240,000 spindles. The Chinese cotton industry, in 1925, had 3,400,000 spindles; but produced 720,000,000 pounds of yarn as compared with 690,000,000 pounds produced by the Indian mills. This discrepancy is due, at least in part, to the fact that the Chinese mills work on a double shift, while the Indian mills ordinarily do not. Japan, in 1925, had 5,400,000 spindles.

A striking feature of the Indian textile industry is the sex-distribution of the operatives, 74 per cent. of them being men, 20 per cent. women, 4 per cent. boys, and 2 per cent. girls.³ Everywhere else in the textile

³ Children between the ages of twelve and fifteen are permitted to work as half-timers. The number of children employed is decreasing.

CHIEF FACTORY INDUSTRIES



world women form the bulk of the labor force. Thus in Japan, in 1922, out of a total of 893,000 workers in textile factories, 704,000 were women and girls, of whom 203,000 were under sixteen.⁴

Factory-spun yarn has practically eliminated hand spinning, despite Mr. Gandhi's protests. But hand weaving which is widely distributed throughout India is still a very important handicraft industry and has apparently been growing in recent years. It is impossible to get accurate figures as to the production of hand-woven cloth, but it is estimated that for the five years before the World War it averaged 990 million yards annually, while the production in 1930 had increased to 1,300 million yards.⁵ This is equal to more than half of the total production of mill-made cloth.

The second important industry in India is the weaving of burlap and gunny sacking from jute fibre. The province of Bengal has a world monopoly on the production of raw jute. The majority of the fibre was formerly exported; but for the past twenty years considerably more than half the jute grown has been manufactured in India. The growth of the industry is indicated in the following table.

GROWTH OF THE JUTE INDUSTRY IN INDIA*

	Mills	Operatives
1892-93	26	66,000
1902-03	38	119,000
1912	63	201,000
1922	85	320,000
1925	88	342,000
1929	95	347,000

* Data from *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*.

The jute industry is confined practically to a single locality. With the exception of four mills in the Madras Presidency and one in Bihar, all the jute mills of India are located within a narrow strip of territory, about sixty miles long and two miles wide, along the Hooghly River above and below Calcutta. These mills are operated on a large scale, averaging 3,650 employees per plant. The industry is almost entirely in the hands of British companies, although there are two American mills and a few Indian concerns. While an increasing percentage of the stock of the British companies is passing into Indian hands, the direction and management still remain foreign. The Indian jute mills have always been noted for their large profits. During the World War, profits often exceeded 100 per cent. per annum. At present, however, they are suffering from the general world depression and are working at reduced hours.

The most important of the engineering industries are the railway workshops. They employ a total of 136,000 persons and are widely dis-

⁴ Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, p. 270.

⁵ Roorbach, *International Competition in the Trade of India*, p. 73.

tributed. All of the locomotives used in India are imported; but most of the regular rolling stock is produced and all repair work is cared for in the Indian workshops. There are also a great many small engineering shops scattered through the industrial areas. These engage in all manner of repair work; but do very little in the way of manufacturing new machinery.

There are six large smelting works producing pig iron. One of these is located in Mysore, but the remainder are all clustered around the coal fields of eastern India. In 1929-30, these mills produced 1,376,000 tons of pig iron.⁶ In this year, exports of pig iron amounted to 569,000 tons, 62 per cent. of which went to Japan and 15 per cent. to the United States; but the new American tariff has now seriously interfered with this latter trade.

Only one of these mills produces steel. This is the plant of the Tata Iron and Steel Company at Jamshedpur. This plant, built in 1911 with the help of American engineers, is probably the largest steel mill in Asia. It employs about 28,000 persons in its different departments. The mill has been operated in the past with a staff of several hundred British and American experts, but these are now gradually being replaced by well-trained Indians. In 1929-30 their production of steel amounted to 412,000 tons. This constitutes about one-third of the steel used in India annually, the remainder being imported, largely from Great Britain and Belgium.

The plant is located in a district which formerly was practically uninhabited. The company owns twenty-five square miles of land. On this they have provided accommodations in the last twenty years for 100,000 people. Various subsidiary industries have been located in the vicinity but none of them, with the exception of a tin plate mill, has yet been financially successful. Virtually the entire capital of the company has been raised in India; and at present is estimated to represent nearly \$100,000,000.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company is the greatest achievement Indian management has yet made in the field of modern industry. Yet it has not been able to meet the competition of European steel mills. In 1924 it was granted by the Government of India a protective tariff amounting to about 33 per cent. *ad valorem*. This has been materially increased in recent years by Government bounties on production. So important is this key industry to India that the Government is willing to grant it many favors.

There is practically no chemical industry in India. This industry is essential for many basic manufacturing processes; and the lack of its development is merely indicative of the uneven way in which Indian industry has grown.

* In 1929 the United States produced 43,000,000 tons and Great Britain 7,700,000 tons.

In the Indian states there are few large industrial concerns, although in some of them the number of cotton mills has been increasing rather rapidly. A few of the states have quite modern factory legislation; but many others have practically no regulations and furnish an area to which some industries might migrate if factory legislation should become too stringent in British India.

FACTORY INDUSTRIES: SEASONAL

Seasonal industries are those that operate for only a part of the year and are engaged principally in the treatment of agricultural products in their raw state. These are much less important than the perennial industries, but are still a significant aspect of the total industrial development of the country. There are some industries that are on the border line between the seasonal and the perennial groups, and these are also included in the table that follows.

SEASONAL AND PARTIALLY SEASONAL INDUSTRIES IN INDIA,* BURMA
AND THE INDIAN STATES†

	INDIA *		BURMA		INDIAN STATES	
	Facto- ries	Oper- atives	Facto- ries	Oper- atives	Facto- ries	Oper- atives
(A) Predominantly seasonal						
Cotton ginning and pressing.	2,149	137,000	27	3,000	645	42,000
Tea factories.....	934	63,000	—	—	†	†
Jute pressing.....	115	37,000	—	—	†	†
Others.....	280	11,000	7	300	†	†
(B) Partially seasonal						
Rice mills.....	998	37,000	608	40,000	35	1,000
Oil mills.....	219	10,000	25	1,000	45	3,000
Molasses and sugar factories.	44	15,000	1	400	†	†
Tobacco factories.....	16	10,000	—	—	†	†
Others.....	238	22,000	17	900	†	†
Totals.....	4,993	342,000	685	45,600	—	—

* Refers to British India, excluding Burma.

† Data from the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour; Statistical Abstract of British India, 1927-28*.

‡ Figures not obtainable under these headings.

These factories are generally located in agricultural areas and draw their operatives from the surrounding agricultural population. They usually operate after the harvest season and thus furnish supplemental employment for the surrounding population. Most of these factories are on a small scale and require very little skilled labor. The number of cotton-ginning plants has increased so rapidly that in many districts there are now often more than are needed. Rice mills, for the mechanical hulling of rice, have been increasing rapidly in recent years and represent one of the ways in which modern machinery is invading agricultural life.

INDUSTRIAL MANAGEMENT

British business men have played a major rôle in the industrial development of India. The railways were built under their direction and are still largely operated by British managers. The leading cotton mills in Cawnpore and Madras, as well as several important mills in Bombay, are under British ownership and operation. British technical experts are employed by numerous other cotton mills. The jute industry is entirely the result of British initiative and management.

The Parsees are a community of only 100,000 persons; but they have manifested more industrial leadership than any other Indian group. The Tatas, who are Parsees, have the most prominent industrial concern in India. In addition to their great steel company, they have a monopoly of hydroelectric power in the Bombay area as well as large cotton mills and numerous other industrial interests.

The cotton industry of Ahmedabad, the second most important center in India, has been developed entirely by Hindus from the surrounding Gujarat area. A great many of the smaller industrial plants scattered through India are the result of Hindu management.

The Moslems, generally speaking, have taken very little part in the development of modern industry. There are no outstanding Indian Christian industrial leaders or capitalists.

The efficiency with which Indian industries are managed varies, as is pointed out in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*:

The range of efficiency on the part of employers in India is very wide. There are enterprises that will stand comparison with any outside India; there are others whose inefficiency is obvious even to the casual observer. . . . We found many employers unaware of the successful experiments of others in the labour field. Indeed, many of our recommendations are no more than the advocacy on a general scale of those ideas of individual employers which have proved successful in application (pp. 208-9).

CAPITAL

Although the per-capita wealth of India is very small there are many wealthy individuals. But industrial investments are not popular, and there is still a great preference for the ownership of land. When Indians do put their money into industry their chief interest often seems to be in obtaining as large and quick profits as possible. The great mass of the Indian people, even of the wealthy class, has not as yet become industrially minded.

Foreign capital, very largely from Great Britain, is heavily invested in India. Practically all of the money for the construction of the railways, irrigation works, and many of the industries has been raised in the London money market. It was estimated, in 1911, that British capital invested in India at that time amounted to £450,000,000.

IMPORT AND EXPORT TRADE OF INDIA

In the years preceding the World War, India was the largest importing market in the Orient. In recent years she has been surpassed by Japan, and during the past few years China's trade has equalled hers. But India still retains the same rank as she had before the war, that of the ninth most important import market in the world. Manufactured goods constitute nearly three-quarters of Indian imports, being 72 per cent. of the total in 1929-30 and 77 per cent. in the pre-war period. The value of her imports at present averages about \$800,000,000 a year.

Great Britain, because of her long political and economic connection, has the largest proportion of India's import trade; but in recent years her share of the total trade has been decreasing. In the period immediately before the World War, the British Empire had 70 per cent. of India's trade, but in 1929-30 this had shrunk to 52 per cent. During this period the trade of Japan increased from 2.5 per cent. to 9.8 per cent., and that of the United States from 3.1 to 7.3 per cent., while in 1929-30 Germany's share slightly exceeded its pre-war average and amounted to 6.6 per cent.

Despite the development of the Indian cotton industry, India is still the largest single import market in the world for cotton goods. This is the largest item of import, and the field in which the competition between England and Japan is most intense. In 1913-14, Great Britain had over 97 per cent. of the cotton piece-goods trade, in that year selling approximately 3,100 million yards to the Indian market. Since the war, England's position has continuously declined; and in 1929 she had but 65 per cent. of the trade, selling only 1,300 million yards. Japan's trade has increased from a pre-war average of .3 per cent. to a position in 1929-30 where she supplied 29 per cent. of the cotton cloth imported into India. The Japanese mills have specialized in the cheaper varieties of cloth. This competition has affected not merely British trade, but also the prosperity of the Indian industry. Great Britain still dominates the field of fine quality cloth. The effect of the boycott of the National Congress in 1930 against foreign cloth is shown by the fact that the imports of cloth in 1930 were nearly 50 per cent. less than in 1929, while during the month of December, 1930, they amounted to only 14 per cent. of the normal monthly average.

The export trade of India has always exceeded the value of her imports. Exports are largely foods and raw materials, jute and cotton products constituting nearly one-half of the total. The United States and Germany are the largest markets for jute, while Japan and Continental European countries buy most of the cotton. The British Empire, however, is by far the largest purchaser of Indian products. In recent years the export trade has amounted to approximately \$1,100,000,000 annually.

In recent years the excess of exports over merchandise imported has left a tangible balance of trade amounting to some Rs.800,000,000 annu-

ally. This is partially balanced by heavy imports of gold and silver. The use of precious metals for jewelry and the traditions of hoarding wealth create a demand which annually absorbs an important percentage of the world's production of gold and silver. From 1925 to 1930 the average annual importation of gold and silver amounted to Rs.367,000,000.

The remaining balance of trade is very largely absorbed in meeting foreign obligations in the form of interest charges, pensions, government bills in London, shipping costs, and many other "invisible" items. In 1923 India remitted £17,500,000 for interest and dividends abroad. In addition shipping, banking, insurance and similar charges involved foreign payments of some £23,000,000. These charges constitute a heavy drain upon India's economic life and she has constantly to maintain a large excess of exports over imports to be able to meet these obligations. This is a condition that has not escaped the attention of Indian political agitators who have frequently discussed this flow of capital from India to England.⁷

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

With the strong traditions of free trade which have long existed in Great Britain, it is only natural that the British Government should have adopted a similar policy in regard to India's trade. Such a policy by its very nature has favored British commerce and offered little or no protection for the development of Indian industry.

Since the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms of 1919, considerable change has occurred. Every province now has a department of commerce and industry which is attempting to stimulate the development of Indian factories. The central Government has accepted a policy of protective tariffs for essential industries. A Tariff Board has been established to conduct detailed investigations of specific industries that ask for protection. The policy of the Board has been to give protection only to important industries which if temporarily protected would be able eventually to meet foreign competition without a permanent tariff. The steel industry was the first to be granted a protective tariff. In 1930 the cotton industry was given protection against Japanese competition in the coarser qualities of cloth. Protective tariffs for other industries are now being investigated.

THE PLACE OF THE UNITED STATES IN INDIA'S TRADE

The United States does not play a direct part in the economic life of India. There is relatively little American capital invested in India. Although the United States is one of the largest ultimate consumers of Indian jute products, only two of the ninety-five jute mills in India are of American ownership, and the foreign operating staff of these mills

⁷ For a short discussion of this situation see Anstey, *The Economic Development of India*, pp. 509-11.

is largely British. American imports of Indian products in 1929-30 amounted to Rs.363,000,000, of which nearly two-thirds were jute products. The second most important item was hides, valued at Rs.45,000,000; but this trade has now been very adversely affected by the American tariff. The total imports from America in 1929-30 were valued at Rs.176,600,000. The chief items were motor cars, at Rs.44,000,000; mineral oils at Rs.31,000,000; and machinery at Rs.18,000,000. In 1928-29 about 10,000 American motor cars were sold in India, representing more than 50 per cent. of all motor cars imported. In the field of motor trucks and omnibuses, America has practically a monopoly, supplying 12,000 in 1929-30, which was 97 per cent. of the total imported.

America has less commercial contact with India than she has with either China or Japan. India's economic relations are primarily with Great Britain, and her contacts with America are on the whole of an indirect character. Nevertheless, American depressions and tariff policies do have an influence upon Indian trade and commerce.

FUTURE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

It is difficult to make forecasts, but certain developments seem fairly clear as regards the industrial growth of India in the near future. India is and will long remain a predominantly agricultural country. Although there are adequate resources of coal and iron to furnish the basis for considerable industrial expansion there are no indications that this development will take place in the near future. India's chief raw resources are primarily agricultural products rather than minerals. Thus no extensive development of "heavy" manufacturing industries is to be expected; and the majority of India's factories will continue to deal with the preparation of agricultural products.

The achievement of a greater degree of political self-government will undoubtedly lead to various efforts to encourage the development of Indian industry.⁸ Greater tariff protection will undoubtedly be given, and emphasis will be laid upon the use of goods made in India. Under a Swaraj Government, less foreign capital will probably be available for large-scale industrial development. It seems safe to predict, however, that a large number of small industries will be started, with Indian capital and management. Diffusion of industry will probably be one aspect of this future development, in contrast to the high degree of concentration in a few specific centers which has marked India's past industrial history. As this expansion takes place, many of the problems of industrial relations, conditions of labor, and welfare work will be even more difficult to handle than they are at present in the larger, more concentrated industrial areas. Small factories will grow up in districts that

⁸ Mr. Gandhi's opposition to modern industry is not shared by any large group of Indian leaders. His position will probably not greatly affect the continued growth of industry.

have not yet been touched by industrial conditions. Many mission areas that are at present outside the field of modern industry will find themselves face to face with new and baffling problems.

III

MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA

For many years factories in British India have been subject to increasingly rigid Government regulation and inspection. The result is that the actual physical conditions of work in most factories are not seriously inferior to those to be found in average factories of the West. Provision is made for light and air, machinery is usually fairly well spaced, and the most dangerous machinery is fenced. Many minor details still need improvement; but it is expected that as the result of the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour* additional legislation will be enacted to meet at least some of these problems.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH WORKING CONDITIONS INSIDE THE FACTORIES

The hours of labor are at present limited to sixty a week with one compulsory day of rest in the week. This need not be Sunday, but this is the day usually observed. Particular industries with continuous processes have some special exemptions, but there are no extremely serious conditions of overwork. It is now recommended by the Royal Commission on Labour that the maximum number of working hours a week be reduced to fifty-four. This is a much more advanced condition than exists in either China or Japan.

Women constituted 17 per cent. of the total labor force employed in regulated industries in 1927, this being an increase from 14 per cent. in 1918. They are engaged in the less technical industries and serve largely as coolies or unskilled workers. They constitute a considerably larger proportion of the workers in seasonal industries than in perennial industries. Night employment of women is prohibited. They cannot be employed in certain types of dangerous work. The worst conditions exist in the employment of women underground in coal mines, where in 1929, 23 per cent. of the laborers were women. Although it is claimed that the women work with other members of their family, this is frequently not true, and moral conditions are often extremely bad. A Government act of 1929 requires that the employment of women underground be eliminated within a ten-year period, so that this situation will in time be remedied.

Children between the ages of twelve and fifteen are permitted to work for not more than six hours in any one day, and it is now recommended

that the time be reduced to five hours. The number of children in regulated industries is not large and has been decreasing in recent years, being 5.7 per cent. of the total workers in 1918 and 3.8 per cent. in 1927. Although there are numerous violations of the regulations covering the employment of children in registered factories, no extremely serious conditions exist. However, in the small factories not covered by Government legislation and in the handicraft workshops, the conditions of child labor are often very bad, with extremely long hours, low pay, and exceptionally bad sanitary conditions.

The low standard of living of Indian workmen is reflected in the wage-rates of various industries. While it is true that industrial wages normally exceed the wages of agricultural workers, the costs of living are higher in the industrial districts. Wages vary greatly in different parts of India and tend to reflect varying levels in the cost of living. Bombay has the highest wage scale, followed in rather rough order by the Punjab, Bengal, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces, and then Madras where the lowest wages are usually found. Detailed wage figures are not obtainable, but studies of the Bombay cotton mills showed the monthly earnings of men to average Rs.38 and women Rs.18. Wages for men in Ahmedabad averaged about 14 per cent. lower, and in Sholapur they were, for both men and women, approximately 44 per cent. below the Bombay level. Figures for the jute industry, in 1929, indicated that the wages in the different mill departments averaged about Rs.5 a week.

The average monthly earnings of coal cutters are estimated to be in the neighborhood of Rs.10 to Rs.15. In the Asansol coal-mining district, men earn 8 to 9 annas a day, and women get 6 to 7 annas. Unskilled manual laborers in regular factory employment seldom get more than Rs.15 a month. Wages in the seasonal industries are generally lower than those paid in the perennial industries. The average wage paid in 1929 to three-quarters of a million employees of the leading Indian railways amounted to Rs.35 a month. One-third of these workers engaged in the maintenance of the permanent way and similar work received an average of Rs.18 a month.

One of the most serious conditions existing in Indian factories is the autocratic power exercised by the foreman over the regular workman. In many mills employment is obtained only through the foreman and the retention of a position often depends upon his good will. This has given rise to a situation in which bribery and graft is often widespread. This produces a serious drain upon the meagre wages of the workman. It also increases industrial unrest and ill will on the part of the workers. The system is deeply imbedded in Indian industry and is given a good deal of attention in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*.

Industrial relations between employers and employees are often characterized by a great deal of suspicion and ill will. High profits have

been the chief interest of most industrial managements, with a resulting exploitation and neglect of labor. Many of the European agents have thought of themselves as transients in India having no permanent interest in the life of the country, while Indian managers have also often been exceedingly greedy for immediate profits. Lack of personal contact of managers with their workers has increased the misunderstanding between the two groups. The resulting bitterness is reflected in industrial unrest, inefficiency and conflict. Lightning strikes over the most trivial incidents are exceedingly common. The number of industrial disputes varies from year to year; but in the five years from 1926 to 1930 there was an average of 147 strikes a year, involving over a million and a half workers and causing the loss of over 77,000,000 working days. In 1928 and in 1929 the Bombay textile industry was disrupted by two strikes, each lasting nearly six months and seriously disorganizing the whole industry. Several bitter strikes have occurred on different railways in recent years. These are merely symptomatic of a deep unrest which is widespread in Indian industry.

Industrial labor in India is extremely inefficient. Climatic conditions have much to do with this, as well as the poor physical condition of many of the workers. Low standards of living, poverty, and long hours of labor are also factors. Indian factories are not always equipped with the most efficient machinery, and some of the material they use is of low grade. The Indian workman has not thoroughly adapted himself to the speed and routine of modern industry. He often absents himself from work for the most trivial reasons. In regard to the efficiency of the Indian industrial laborer, the Royal Commission on Labour concludes that "the Indian worker produces less per unit than the worker in any other country claiming to rank as a leading industrial nation" (p. 208).

The Indian has been very reluctant to become a factory worker. Although the decay of many handicraft trades has thrown thousands of persons out of employment, these people have not turned to factory work in any large numbers. Until recent years modern industry has been faced with a chronic shortage of labor and has often had to go to considerable expense in the recruitment of workers. This condition, however, has changed at present, and there is now an oversupply of industrial labor with considerable unemployment.

Indian Christians do not form an important part of the total number of industrial workers. While many factories employ small numbers of them, the writer found only one plant, the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras, where they were employed in large numbers. This mill has found them to be satisfactory workers; but in other places a distinct prejudice against them is sometimes found. This is held by both Europeans and Indians who claim to have found at least some of their

Christian workmen to be less reliable than Hindu or Moslem workers, and to expect more favors.

PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH THE LIFE OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OUTSIDE THE FACTORIES

Many of the most serious human problems surrounding the development of modern industry are to be found outside the factory walls. A much larger group than merely the workers is affected by many of these conditions. In an industrial area, any mission that is trying to meet the needs of the "whole man" must take account of these influences.

Most of the workers employed in industrial plants have migrated from rural districts. The mobility of factory labor, its lack of stable attachments in the industrial centers, and its frequent village contacts are prominent aspects of the labor problem in India. There are certain social values in having a labor force that still maintains contacts with village and agricultural life. This enables workers to escape occasionally from an industrial environment, and to have a base to which they may return in times of unemployment. But such mobility does not promote industrial efficiency; and in so far as it means a broken and abnormal family relationship, it has serious social aspects.

It is claimed that in some industrial centers labor is becoming less mobile and more definitely industrialized. But this is not yet generally true. Among a group of 156,000 jute workers in Bengal, 81 per cent. were born in other provinces; while of 37,000 coal miners in the same province, 43 per cent. were born outside the province. In the cotton industry of Bombay city the workers have largely come from within the province, only 15 per cent. having been born outside the province. But the degree of intra-provincial mobility is indicated by the fact that of the total population of Bombay, only 16 per cent. were born in the city. Similar figures could be cited for other industrial centers. This movement of workers from village home to factory is widespread throughout India.

One of the most important social aspects of this mobility is its effect upon family life. It is common for the worker to leave his wife and children in his village while he seeks employment in some distant industrial center. While he may remit part of his monthly wages to his family, the ordinary worker usually revisits his native village only at intervals of one or two years. The worker lives under very abnormal social conditions in the crowded industrial center and often becomes an easy victim of vice and other temptations.

The people (in the industrial areas) have been uprooted and find themselves in a *milieu* of strange traditions, or no traditions at all. The customs and sanctions, good and bad alike, to which they have been accustomed are all weakened. The ties which give village life its corporate and organic character are loosened, new

ties are not easily formed, and life tends to become more individual.¹

Even if the worker brings his family with him to the industrial center, he ordinarily can find no adequate housing accommodations. The great industrial cities are characterized by miles of hovels which surround the large industrial plants. The general living conditions of the industrial population of India present one of the most serious problems in the modern industrial field. So unsanitary are the ordinary living quarters that the death-rates reach almost unbelievable heights. These conditions will be discussed in more detail in the part of this report dealing with the general social problems of the large cities.

The inefficiency of Indian labor is closely related to its poverty and its extremely low standards of living. An important factor in this poverty is the indebtedness of the average industrial worker. The magnitude of the problem is indicated in the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*:

It is estimated that, in most industrial centres, the proportion of families or individuals who are in debt is not less than two-thirds of the whole. We believe that, in the majority of cases, the amount of debt exceeds three months' wages and is often far in excess of this amount (p. 224).

As already pointed out in the preceding report by Dr. J. L. Hypes, debt is a difficult problem in most rural districts, but it is often more serious in industrial areas. Because the worker has little security to offer for a loan, he usually has to pay very high interest rates, 75 per cent. and 150 per cent. a year being common charges. Practically none of this borrowing is for economically productive purposes, but is for social expenditures involved in weddings and festivals. Thousands of workers become so deeply in debt that they are practically in bondage to the loan sharks. Outside most large factories on pay day are to be seen a group of money lenders waiting to collect their dues. There is little encouragement to efficiency or hard work when any increase in wages will merely be appropriated by the waiting money lenders.

Drink is a particularly serious problem among industrial workers. While Moslems and Hindus of the higher castes are forbidden by their religious tenets to drink, this prohibition does not apply to the social groups from which workers generally come. The strain of industrial labor and the absence of normal family life or social restraints make the temptations of drink especially strong. The worst conditions in regard to drinking exist in the large industrial areas. In one coal-mining district, having in its population 55,000 miners, it is estimated that a total of at least Rs.1,000,000 was spent in 1928-29 on intoxicants. In Madras in 1928-29 the revenues from the sale of country liquors con-

¹ *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 17.

stituted a quarter of the total provincial income, and in Bihar and Orissa they furnished nearly a fifth of the total.

IV

THE GROWTH OF LARGE CITIES

India has two cities, Calcutta and Bombay, with more than a million population each. Madras is the only city having between half a million and a million inhabitants. The typical Indian city is found in the group having a population of between a hundred thousand and half a million. There were, in 1921, thirty-one cities of this size. The percentage of the total population of India living in urban communities has been gradually increasing,¹ being 8.72 per cent. in 1872, and 10.2 per cent. in 1921, representing a total population of nearly thirty-one million. It should be noted, however, as Dr. J. L. Hypes points out in his report, that the percentage of population engaged in farming has increased in recent decades more rapidly than the percentage engaged in industry.²

Many of the ancient, historic cities of India are static or declining in population. Changes in the avenues of transportation and trade have had a very important effect upon them. The decline of their former political power and the decay of many of their handicraft industries have seriously reduced their importance. The relative decline of these old cities has practically counterbalanced the rapid rise of numerous new commercial and industrial centers.

The development of modern commerce and industry has resulted in the growth of various large cities. Bombay, Calcutta and Madras were all established by the East India Company as trading posts and their growth is due to their trade and industry. Karachi and Rangoon are the most important subsidiary ports, and their growth in the last fifty years has been more rapid than that of any other cities in India. Cities located at the junctions of important railway systems have developed rapidly, attracted industries and acquired general trading importance. The accompanying table indicates the size and rate of growth of the most important industrial and commercial cities of India.

Detailed studies of six of these cities, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Ahmedabad, Cawnpore and Nagpur, were made. These case studies give a much more intimate and concrete picture of urban growth and social conditions than can be presented in this report.

The great bulk of the population of India lives in a rural environment. The problems of village life and economy are naturally of very great importance to the total welfare of the country. But it is in the

¹ "Urban" is rather loosely defined by the census as any town of over 5,000 population or other community having "urban characteristics."

² See further—Dr. J. L. Hypes' Report, this Volume.

IMPORTANT INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL CITIES OF INDIA, 1921,
AND RATE OF GROWTH 1872-1921*

	Population 1921	Percentage of Increase 1872-1921
Calcutta and suburbs.....	1,327,547	66
Bombay.....	1,175,914	83
Madras.....	526,911	33
Rangoon.....	341,962	246
Lahore.....	281,781	79
Ahmedabad.....	274,007	113
Karachi.....	216,883	282
Cawnpore.....	216,436	72
Nagpur.....	145,193	72
Madura.....	138,894	166
Sholapur.....	119,581	124

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28*, p. 10.

cities of India that much of the leadership of the country resides. The leading colleges and universities are located in the largest cities. Business firms, banks and Government offices are all concentrated in urban centers. Modern industrial developments have centered in urban areas. The urban environment provides the setting for most of the new social and political movements that are developing in Indian life.

From the point of view of the Christian forces in India, the cities are especially important because one-fifth of all the Protestants live in urban communities. The leading mission institutions are generally located in cities. A large part of the total missionary staff is resident in cities and towns. Thus the life and the problems of these cities directly influence much of the work that is being carried on by Christian missions.

There is every indication that there will be a steady increase in the urban population of India. No major shifts in the distribution of the total population are anticipated, and many of the older urban centers will probably show little change in size. But cities with strategic railway connections and industrial resources will undoubtedly continue to grow at a fairly rapid rate. It is expected that the Census of 1931 will show a marked gain in the urban population of the country.

V

MAJOR SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE LARGE CITIES

The physical conditions of life in many of the large cities of India are appalling. These cities have grown without any provision for housing the increasing number of people that have crowded into them. Bombay has the reputation of having some of the worst slum conditions in the world. In 1921, 66 per cent. of the city's population lived in one-room

tenements. A third of the total population of the city lived in single rooms occupied by six persons or more, while 32,000 were reported to be living in rooms housing twenty persons or more each. In Ahmedabad in 1921, 52 per cent. of the people were living in one-room tenements, while in five wards of the city 90 per cent. or more of the people were crowded into one-room homes. A recent survey of the city indicated that over a third of the tenements studied were unfit for human habitation, while there was a shortage of 26,000 sanitary tenements in the city as a whole. In Cawnpore, in 1921, the percentage of people living in one-room tenements was 64, and there were seven wards in which 90 per cent. or more were living in one-room quarters. A survey, in 1928, indicated a shortage of at least 20,000 decent living quarters. Similar conditions exist in the other large cities of India.

Such figures do not give a complete picture of the situation. The most important aspect of these housing conditions is the lack of privacy for family life. No matter how mean or poor the mud huts of an Indian village may be, each family unit manages to maintain some personal privacy. But in the cities, this is largely impossible. The social effects of this overcrowding and lack of family privacy are far-reaching. Many workers refuse to bring their families to live in the crowded conditions of city slums. Where families are living together it is often impossible to preserve any privacy. Thus in 1921 there were in Bombay 175,000 people living in one-room tenements occupied by two or more families. City life is materially weakening the ties that hold together the Indian joint-family system.

The proportion of men to women in any particular city is an important index to many aspects of its social organization. The extremely abnormal sex-ratio in some of the leading industrial and commercial cities of India is indicated in the following table.

SEX-RATIO OF THE POPULATION OF CERTAIN CITIES OF INDIA, 1921
AND 1931*

	NUMBER OF FEMALES PER 1,000 MALES	
	1921	1931
Calcutta and suburbs.....	500	475
Bombay.....	524	553
Madras.....	908	896
Rangoon.....	444	478
Lahore.....	571	—
Ahmedabad.....	763	—
Karachi.....	629	697
Cawnpore.....	667	698
Nagpur.....	864	852
Madura.....	976	—
Sholapur.....	894	880

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28*, p. 10; *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India*, p. 246. (1931)

The conditions in Bombay can best be understood if the age-group from twenty to forty-five years is considered. In this group there were, in 1921, but 420 women for each 1,000 men. Since practically every Indian man in this age-group may be assumed to be married, these figures indicate something of the broken family life which exists in Bombay. The conditions in Calcutta are even more abnormal; for in the city proper in the age-group from fifteen to forty years, there were in 1921, but 374 women per 1,000 men. These ratios probably represent as abnormal a distribution of the sexes as is to be found in any city in the world. Such conditions influence the whole social life and moral character of a city. Any comprehensive missionary efforts in the cities of India must be planned with a thorough understanding of these conditions.

There is a great deal of movement back and forth from urban to rural areas. This lack of stability and the migratory character of urban populations are indicated in the following table which shows the percentage of the population born outside certain large cities. The cities that have grown most rapidly and have had the greatest industrial development generally have the highest proportion of citizens who have moved from some other locality.

THE PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION BORN OUTSIDE CERTAIN LARGE CITIES, 1921*

	Per Cent.
Calcutta and suburbs.....	62.9
Bombay.....	84.0
Madras.....	33.5
Rangoon.....	67.7
Lahore.....	44.0
Ahmedabad.....	39.7
Karachi.....	60.5
Cawnpore.....	42.5
Nagpur.....	25.8
Madura.....	17.8
Sholapur.....	39.1

* Data from *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28*, p. 11.

Many Indian cities are characterized by a lack of adequate drainage, by insufficient water supply and unsanitary sewage disposal. Modern sewage systems are to be found in only a very few of the largest cities. The high death-rates of these cities reflect these unsanitary conditions. Urban rates are uniformly higher than those for the provinces in which they are located. Infant mortality-rates, showing the number of deaths under one year of age per 1,000 live births, are a common index of general health conditions. The rates for some Indian cities, while markedly improving in recent years, are still extremely high. In 1921, Bombay had an infant mortality-rate of 672; while for families living in one-room tenements it reached the astounding ratio of 829 deaths per 1,000 births.

In 1929 the rate for those living in one-room tenements was still as high as 487. In Cawnpore from 1921 to 1928, the rate averaged 452; that is, nearly one-half of all babies born in the city during this period died before reaching their first birthday. The figures in the following table generally represent the lowest ratios returned for these cities for many years; nevertheless they show that from a quarter to a third of the babies born died during their first year. In the registration area of the United States the infant mortality-rate averages around seventy per 1,000 births.

INFANT MORTALITY-RATES FOR CERTAIN INDIAN CITIES AND FOR THE PROVINCES IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED*

	<i>Infant Mortality Rate</i>	<i>Rate for Province in Which City Is Located for 1928</i>
Calcutta.....	245 (1929)	178
Bombay.....	298 (1929)	180
Madras.....	257 (1929)	184
Rangoon.....	294 (1927)	210
Ahmedabad.....	331 (1928)	180
Karachi.....	207 (1928)	180
Cawnpore.....	415 (1929)	160
Nagpur.....	299 (1928)	238
Sholapur.....	247 (1928)	180

* Data collected from various reports.

Another field which reveals some of the social problems of these crowded cities is that of vice. With the great excess of males in these cities, and the absence of normal family life for a large part of the population, it is to be expected that the problem of prostitution would be exceedingly serious. Vice is more open in Bombay than in any other city in India. Various busy streets are lined with brothels, the women sitting in little shops along the sidewalk or leaning out from second or third story windows. The number of women engaged in prostitution is estimated to be at least 25,000.

The vice situation is not quite as open in Calcutta but it is of even larger proportions. It is estimated that in this city, together with all of its suburbs, there are at least 30,000 prostitutes. The magnitude of this situation may be realized when it is noted that the Census of 1921 reported that the total number of all women between the ages of fifteen and forty years in Calcutta and Howrah, the chief suburb, was only 168,000.

Vice conditions are not as bad in other Indian cities, but they present very serious social problems. A relatively small number of European and Japanese prostitutes are to be found in the larger port cities, but a good many Anglo-Indian girls are inmates of brothels.

Moving pictures have had but slight effect upon the great mass of the village population of India. They furnish, however, the chief com-

mercial recreation of the large cities. There are twenty-one moving-picture theaters in Bombay, while Calcutta has twenty-three. One or two theatres showing modern talking pictures, primarily from America, are to be found in every large city. No attendance figures are available, but with the exception of Saturdays and Sundays the theaters are usually not well attended. Women attend only in very small numbers. A class of young people, largely students and clerks who attend very frequently and are usually referred to as "cinema crazy," is to be found in every large city. There are a number of small film companies in India producing Indian pictures but the leading theatres show foreign films, the great majority of which are from America. There is no evidence to show that immoral American pictures are deliberately "dumped" in India.

There is a Government censorship of all pictures exhibited. Nevertheless many of the pictures do not present a complimentary picture of the state of civilization in America. The evidence of the questionnaire study conducted among college students indicates that while the cinema may have increased their respect for the material achievements of America, it has not increased their respect for the social or moral characteristics of our culture. It is difficult to estimate what effects American movies have had upon the work of Christian missions, but it can hardly be expected that Hindus or Moslems would gain a favorable impression of Christianity from them.

The poverty of India is vividly demonstrated by the thousands of beggars who throng the streets of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Many of these are crippled and diseased, while others are able-bodied adults. Religious traditions in India make it easy for many of these people to earn a livelihood by begging. Of 7,000 beggars reported by a special census in Bombay in 1921, one-half were able-bodied. In Calcutta and Howrah nearly 10,000 persons were listed in 1921 as beggars. In Madras, the beggar population is estimated at 3,500. These cities, because of their size and reputation for wealth, have attracted beggars from many parts of India. The begging problem is a serious problem in other Indian cities, but it does not reach the proportions attained in these three largest cities.

In addition to these specific social problems there are a great many subtle and intangible aspects of urban life that are of serious importance. The conditions of life in these cities has given rise to various types of social unrest. Bitter industrial strikes in Bombay, political murders in Calcutta, and religious riots in Cawnpore are but symptoms of some of this restlessness.

Caste is one of the most important features of Indian society. Yet many of its external aspects are disappearing under urban conditions. Taboos of untouchability and social intercourse seem to have very little influence in city life. In the field of marriage, however, caste restrictions are still generally observed. The joint-family system has been the

basic social unit in Indian society, but with the break in family ties which urban life often involves, there seems to be a decrease in the influence and control of the old family system. In other ways, also, there is a considerable weakening of village standards and controls, with an increase of individualism. There is widespread testimony of the growth of secularism among many of the younger men in the cities. There is no outspoken atheism, but rather a complete indifference to religion and an increasing absorption in material achievement.

These subtle effects of urban life apparently may be expected to increase in the future. The significance of such changes for all types of religious work is obvious. The villages of India may as yet be little affected, but the cities are responding to trends of an increasingly industrial and secular culture world-wide in its scope.

VI

EFFORTS TO MEET THE PROBLEMS OF MODERN INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN LIFE

This report so far has dealt with the problems surrounding the development of modern industry and the growth of large cities. The question now presents itself as to what is being done to meet these problems. The activities of different governmental agencies will first be discussed, then the work of various private organizations, and finally the activities of different Christian groups. Certain suggestions will later be made as to further contributions which the Christian forces might make toward meeting these social conditions.

WORK OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

There is a very great dependence in India upon the Government. The Government is expected to concern itself with a great many types of activity that in the West are left to individual leadership and initiative. Government thus has a position of unique power and importance in India. More has been done in regard to the problems presented in the first part of this study by various Government bodies than by any other agencies.

The central Government of India has concerned itself primarily with problems of labor legislation. The first factory legislation was in 1881, with an additional act in 1891; while in 1911 a much more comprehensive set of regulations was enacted. The pressure leading to some of this early legislation was external in its origin, coming from the English textile industry that was competing with the unregulated Indian mills. English experience and legislation has strongly influenced the Indian acts, but has not prevented their being adapted to local needs.

In recent years the most important influence has been India's mem-

bership in the League of Nations and participation in the conferences of the International Labour Office. To sit as an independent member of these conferences, and to be recognized by the Labour Office as one of the eight leading industrial nations of the world, has greatly appealed to the pride of Indian statesmen.

The Washington Conference, in 1919, was followed, in 1922, by a new Indian factory act which was strengthened by certain revisions in 1926. An accident compensation act was passed in 1923 covering workmen employed in dangerous industries. The tardiness of Japan and China to enact factory regulations stands quite in contrast to the situation in India. Regardless of the mixed motives behind the Indian legislation, the fact remains that India has by far the most advanced labor legislation of any country in Asia.

To study thoroughly the conditions of Indian labor, a Royal Commission was appointed in 1929. After nearly two years of investigation, their report was published in July, 1931. This report contains a mass of data regarding Indian industry, as well as a great number of detailed suggestions dealing with the improvement of labor conditions. Emphasis is laid upon the poverty and low standards of living of industrial workers as being responsible for their low degree of efficiency.

This Royal Commission recommends new legislation reducing the maximum limit of work to fifty-four hours a week and limiting children's work to five hours a day. They favor considerable extension of the workingmen's compensation act and the provision of general maternity benefits. Handicraft industries and small factories employing fewer than twenty persons are at present outside any government supervision. Many of these places are characterized by bad laboring conditions, especially in the employment of small children; and it is recommended that a start be made in extending some regulation to the largest of these plants.

This Royal Commission also gives much attention to various types of welfare work, commending much that is already being carried on, and urging a general extension of such work. On account of the present unsettled political situation, it may be some time before any of the legislative recommendations of the Commission are actually enacted; but it is expected that the report will arouse public interest in these problems and result in a marked increase of industrial welfare work throughout India.

Each province in India has a department of industry and commerce which is concerned with the general industrial development of the province. In Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras there are also departments or bureaus of labor. These provincial agencies are concerned with the enforcement of labor legislation, factory inspection, and the operation of the workingmen's compensation act. In 1929 there were thirty-nine Government factory inspectors in the various provinces, one of whom was a woman. In some cases additional labor legislation has been passed by

individual provinces. Thus Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces have enacted special maternity benefit acts.

All moving pictures shown in India, whether imported or domestic, are subject to official censorship, under an act of the central Government. There are boards of censorship in Bombay, Calcutta and Rangoon. Pictures passed by any of these boards can be shown in any province of India, but if a particular province objects to a picture it can be censored in that province. The chief concern of the official censors is to eliminate anything that might be inexpedient from a political point of view, or that might offend any particular religious community. Questions of morality are considered, but they are not given the importance attached to the two other interests.

Some of the problems of urban life discussed in the first part of this study have been dealt with by provincial legislation. A very progressive act dealing with prostitution has recently been passed by the Bombay legislature. Madras Presidency has also enacted new legislation dealing with this problem.

The different municipal governments are naturally concerned with the various social problems existing in their cities. The problems of sanitation and public health are dealt with by organized health departments. Except for Madras and Ahmedabad none of the Indian cities have general compulsory primary education, and even in these two cities it is largely a nominal provision. Most of the other cities, however, have begun to introduce the system in a few wards and are gradually extending it to others. In 1929-30 the municipal budget of Bombay for education was Rs.3,000,000, while Calcutta spent Rs.1,000,000, and Madras, Rs.900,000.

Considerable attention has been given in recent years to the housing conditions in many of the large cities. Some city planning has been undertaken; and in several cities the task of carrying out these plans has been delegated to a semi-independent improvement trust. Bombay has made serious efforts to improve her housing conditions, and 16,000 new tenements were constructed soon after the war by the Government. But these buildings, though well built, were extremely bad in their design and have been highly unpopular. Calcutta has been carrying out a very thoroughly planned scheme of city improvement, though there has been practically no actual construction of houses. Many of the smaller cities have their own schemes of improvement.

The beggar problem of the three largest cities has received spasmodic attention in recent years. Surveys have been made and schemes worked out. But with the exception of a small poor-home maintained by the city of Madras, nothing has yet come of these plans, largely because of a lack of municipal funds as well as the absence of a really effective public opinion on the problem.

There is no legally segregated vice district, and no compulsory regis-

tration, in any Indian city. The regulation of vice is a duty of the police department; but as in all other cities of the world, the administration of such regulation is often lax.

WORK OF PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS

Quite a number of the larger industrial concerns carry on welfare work for their employees. In many cases housing accommodations are provided for workers. Some of these quarters are very bad, as in the coal-mining area, while others are quite good. The best factories provide medical attendance and have nurseries for the small children of working women. Schools are provided by some concerns. Special welfare officers are employed by several companies.

The industries owned by the Tatas are noted for their elaborate welfare programs. Most of the best welfare work, however, is being done by foreign companies, such as the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills in Madras and the British Indian Corporation in Cawnpore. The great foreign-owned jute mills near Calcutta are extremely deficient in welfare work. Yet one of the two American mills, the Angus Jute Mill, conducts an excellent medical service costing the company considerably more than Rs.100,000 a year. Many of the railways have established provident funds to supply retiring allowances for their employees. The twelve leading railways spend approximately Rs.10,000,000 a year on welfare work, a half of which goes to medical relief and a quarter to sanitation. Welfare work, however, is not typical of Indian industry as a whole. The smaller plants, with less capital, usually do nothing at all for their work people.

The labor union movement in India is hardly more than ten years old and is not yet strongly developed. A trade union act, giving official recognition and certain specific privileges to unions, was passed by the central Government in 1926. Although a few of the strongest unions have not yet registered themselves under this act, there were in 1929, eighty-seven registered unions with approximately 180,000 members.

Most of the unions tend to have a checkered history of prosperity and depression. During strikes they have considerable strength, but at other times they are often very weak. A few of the labor leaders seem to be more interested in personal political careers than in building a trade-union movement. The strongest unions are to be found on the railways and in the postal service. The officials of the railway unions hold regular conferences twice a year with the Railway Board to discuss problems relating to labor conditions.

The best organized of the industrial unions is the Ahmedabad Textile Association. This union has been under the leadership of Mr. Gandhi and has developed a great variety of welfare work for its members, including numerous schools, several gymnasiums, a hospital, a printing plant and its own newspaper.

Other industrial unions are of varying permanence and responsibility. The jute mill workers have no effective union. Workers in the seasonal industries are quite unorganized. Communistic influences have not been prominent in India; but there is a small left-wing movement of radical labor leaders who undoubtedly receive a part of their inspiration from Russia. Communism, however, has not yet acquired any wide influence in the country. There is nothing comparable to the "dangerous thought" movement of Japan or the power of the communist groups in China.

There are a great many private organizations that carry on social work. The Servants of India Society, which has centers in five provinces, is the outstanding organization of its kind. There are only twenty-five members in this society, and yet the group yields a nation-wide influence. Its original interest lay primarily in the field of social legislation; but its individual members are now furnishing the leadership for a large number of social movements, including the Bombay labor unions, the Social Service League of Bombay, the women's organization known as the Seva Sadan, the Boy Scout movement in the United Provinces, a rural reconstruction unit in the Madras Presidency, as well as publishing several newspapers and journals. The Ramakrishna Mission represents a modern form of Hinduism which has developed an interest in various types of practical work. It carries on numerous orphanages and schools and has done good relief work in cases of disastrous floods, fires and tornadoes.

A large number of local philanthropic agencies are to be found in every large city. Many of these are small family charities which follow ancient Indian traditions and concern themselves solely with feeding the poor. There is a growing interest, however, in modern types of social work. Bombay has much more extensive modern welfare work than any other city in India. The most important Bombay agency is the Social Service League, organized in 1911. The League carries on a variety of work; day and evening schools for workers, travelling libraries, athletics, and a large social settlement. A number of other agencies concern themselves with other aspects of the social problems of the city. There are Social Service Leagues in five other Indian cities, but they have much less elaborate programs. Modern social work is not well developed in Indian cities, outside of Bombay; but in every city there is a small number of public-spirited citizens who are genuinely interested in the welfare of their city. The current emergence of women into political and social work presages a great increase of interest and activity in this general field during the next few years.

The problem of prostitution is being dealt with by Vigilance Associations in five of the largest cities. The membership of these Associations contains representatives from the different religious communities, and they demonstrate the value as well as the possibility of coöperative social work. Much of the leadership comes from the European Christian

members. In Calcutta the secretary of the Association is a trained English social worker, under the Anglican metropolitan bishop. In Bombay and Madras, the Y. M. C. A. secretaries are prominent in the work of the local Associations. American missionaries, however, have given very little direct attention to this type of work.

WORK OF CHRISTIAN AGENCIES

Christian missions have not been primarily concerned with the type of problems presented in this report. During the field investigations in India, the writer met quite a number of missionaries who found it difficult to understand why this particular set of problems was included in a study of foreign missions. Although missions have developed extensive institutional work in the field of medicine and education, they have as yet done little to meet the more complicated problems of industrial and urban life.

The Y. M. C. A. has had more experience in this general field than any other Christian agency in India. The work of the Association has brought it into contact with many of the leaders of Indian social thought. While in some cities unfriendly critics have characterized the work of the Y. M. C. A. as amounting to little more than the operation of clubs for the middle classes, there are numerous cases in which the Association has furnished the leadership for movements of real social significance. One of these cases is in the field of industrial welfare work. In Nagpur, Cawnpore, and Jogindarnagar the Y. M. C. A. has been engaged by specific industries to carry on welfare work for their employees. In Bombay they have an extensive recreational program among various groups of industrial workers. They are developing a similar program in Calcutta. The experience gained in this work is of great value, and will be of increasing significance as various Christian bodies become more interested in this field of service.

The Y. W. C. A. has been conducting a small social welfare center in Bombay for the last three years. It has used this as an experimental piece of work, to develop a program which might meet the local needs of the people and to gain experience that would be useful in developing similar work in other cities. It has carried on this work with the co-operation of two non-Christian groups, believing that there are distinct values to be obtained from such coöperative work. In the largest cities, the Y. W. C. A. maintains hostels for European and Anglo-Indian working girls.

The Salvation Army conducts a variety of types of work in the large cities of India. It does a good deal of relief work among poor Anglo-Indian and Indian families. In some of the larger cities the Army maintains hostels for Anglo-Indian working girls, rescue homes for girls taken from brothels, and industrial workshops. The Army operates several homes for British soldiers and sailors. Most of the criminal-

tribe settlements under Christian management in India are operated by the Salvation Army. The Salvation Army has considerable rural work in addition to its urban activities.

Of the six mission societies directly concerned in this study, the American Board of Commissioners carries on work in the city of Bombay. Here they operate the Nagpada Neighborhood House, the only modern social settlement conducted by any Christian agency in India. This house, opened in 1927, is located in one of the most congested districts of the city. It attempts to serve all the people in its area and has developed a wide variety of activities. No distinctions of religion are observed; and no effort is made at the conversion of non-Christians. Emphasis is placed upon character-building and coöperation in the spirit of good will. A large share of its operating expenses is raised through the contributions of local non-Christian citizens. The American Board operates a large criminal-tribe settlement at Sholapur. The society has a large station at Madura, in South India, which is an important center for cotton spinning and hand weaving. Apart from a few studies of social and industrial conditions in the city, the mission there has done nothing specific to meet the industrial or social problems of the city.

The Methodists have work very widely scattered through India. They have mission stations in nearly every important industrial city, including Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, Cawnpore and Nagpur. But they have no work directly concerned with the industrial or social problems of these cities. The Methodists have several mission industrial schools. But their lack of work to meet the larger social and industrial needs of the cities in which they are located is rather striking. The extremely wide distribution of Methodist work and the current scarcity of funds is probably a partial explanation for this situation. Certain Methodist missionaries are aware of some of these problems, as for example the Rev. H. E. Dewey, of Asansol, who is interested in the conditions in the adjacent coal-mining area and has helped to get employment for a number of persons in different local industries. Other individual missionaries might be mentioned; but, on the whole, Methodist missions have limited themselves to the regular fields of evangelistic, educational, and medical work. They have made but little contribution toward meeting problems discussed in this report.

The Baptists have some educational and religious work in Madras. A few years ago the Women's Society bought property in a crowded part of the city in order to develop a neighborhood house; but owing to the absence of a trained foreign worker nothing has been done with the plan. In Jamshedpur, where the great Tata Iron and Steel Company is located, the Baptists have a mission station. They have a religious program for the European and Indian communities, but no work to meet any of the general social problems of the great industrial popula-

tion. Khargpur, in the same district, is a very large railway center. For many years, the Baptists have carried on religious work among the English-speaking population, and have also developed several Indian congregations. In 1930 they built a large dormitory for Indian men connected with the railway, and it has been suggested that they use this building as a nucleus for a community center. But they have no definite program, and there is some sentiment in the mission in favor of giving up the plant and selling it to the railway company. A large criminal-tribe settlement at Kavali is supervised by the Baptists. As this study did not include Assam or Burma, no definite statements can be made about these Baptist fields; but personal conversation with missionaries from these districts failed to reveal any significant pieces of social welfare work in these areas.

The Presbyterian mission does not have social work in any of the large industrial or urban centers of India. There are mission industrial schools at Sangli and Saharanpur. These are the only pieces of work of a social character in this mission that were specifically studied.

The only specific work of the United Presbyterian mission that was studied was the Boys' Industrial Home at Gujranwala. This mission has no work in any major industrial or urban districts.

The Reformed Church has a large industrial school at Katpadi. This mission has no other work that might be included in this report.

The first national temperance organization in India was the W. C. T. U. organized about thirty years ago. It conducts educational work, largely through mission schools, dealing with problems of drink and social purity. Most of the leadership of the movement has come from foreign missionary ladies, but at present there are three full-time Indian field workers. The W. C. T. U. has restricted its membership to Christian women only. The higher classes of Hindus and Moslems are generally quite opposed to drinking alcoholic liquors. In many cities there are local temperance societies. None of these is of very much strength, but they at least serve as a common meeting ground for people of different religions who are interested in the cause of temperance. The Prohibition League of India was formed in 1926 to serve as a national organization coördinating the work of these various local groups. Non-Christian Indians have played a large part in this organization, but one of the most influential leaders has been the Rev. Herbert Anderson, of Calcutta. Mr. "Pussyfoot" Johnson has visited India twice, and both times his messages were very favorably received. Many individual missionaries have helped to arouse interest in temperance, but it is difficult to gauge this contribution to the total cause of temperance for they have not been the only workers in this field. Missionaries have not participated in the recent Nationalist advocacy of prohibition because of the political factors involved. On the whole, however, the missionary

body probably has furnished more definite leadership for the temperance movement in India than has any other distinct group of people.

In the field of actual industrial work, a labor union at Nagpur was started a few years ago largely through the help of the local Y. M. C. A. secretary and his wife. But this is the only case the writer discovered in which missionaries have done anything to help industrial workers in their trade-union movement. A few missionaries, however, are carrying on small industrial projects of their own. Some missionaries are serving on public committees, others have personal contact with influential Indian leaders. While there are no significant pieces of institutional work, the sum total of these individual contacts must represent a genuine force for good will and social betterment.

The great majority of the missionaries with whom the writer came in contact, however, were so absorbed in the routine of their own particular work as to have little time left for a thorough understanding of the specific industrial and social problems around them. Other missionaries who had some knowledge of these facts felt perplexed and helpless for lack of a technical analysis of the conditions or of a program that might meet them. A lack of adequate finances often makes expensive institutional work impossible; but probably the most serious handicap to the development of work to meet these industrial and urban problems is a lack on the part of the missionary of adequate time, social imagination, and technical training for this type of work.

National Christian Council Efforts

While the various mission societies have done relatively little in the field covered by this study, there has been an increasing interest in these problems on the part of the National Christian Council. In 1926 the Council initiated a study of industrial conditions in India, and brought Miss Cecile Matheson out from England to conduct an inquiry. She gave two years to the study, and had the assistance in India of Miss Iris Wingate of the Y. W. C. A., and Mr. Manohar Lall of the Y. M. C. A. The results of this survey were published in 1930 under the title *Indian Industry*. The book presents a simple account of the status of the chief industries in India. A conference was held at Poona in January, 1929, just before Miss Matheson left India; at which time her suggestions regarding Indian industry were discussed. In December, 1930, a small conference on industrial questions was called by the Council at Nagpur. In February, 1931, the Council held a conference of some thirty persons at Madras to discuss industrial problems and the responsibility of the Christian community in relation to such questions. Bishop F. J. McConnell was present at this conference and made various practical suggestions based on his experience in America.

While these conferences may not have produced many concrete results, they at least have served to increase public interest in these ques-

tions. Five of the ten provincial councils in India, Burma and Ceylon now have committees on industrial conditions. Most of these are of recent formation and have as yet made no distinct contributions. In Madras, however, the committee is five years old and has conducted several social investigations of real value. It is now planning to start a small welfare center in the industrial district of the city of Madras. The National Christian Council and its provincial councils are thus trying to call the attention of the Christian forces to some of the social problems presented by the industrial development of India.

Though the actual work that has been accomplished up to the present by the missionary organizations in these industrial and social fields is quite small, there is nevertheless an increasing interest in the problems. These are being more widely discussed than ever before; and there is a growing feeling that the Christian Church has a responsibility for them. The next ten or fifteen years will undoubtedly see an increasing amount of concrete work being carried on to meet some of these problems.

VII

POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTIONS WHICH MIGHT BE MADE BY THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

In the light of the observations of the writer and his discussion with numerous leaders in India, he feels that there are at least four distinct ways in which the Christian community can contribute to the larger industrial and urban problems of the country.

The first contribution should be in the field of research. Many of the problems to be met are highly technical and controversial. Accurate information is the first essential. Missionaries who have a genuine interest in these problems generally testify to a feeling of personal ignorance in regard to the technical facts involved. The type of accurate and detailed information that is needed cannot be secured by cursory surveys, but is obtainable only through definite research by trained investigators. If Christian agencies are to make any contribution to these problems their approach must be based on accurate information. The danger of operating on the basis of insufficient or incorrect data is especially serious in the field of industrial relations. Missions may involve themselves in untold difficulties if they try to enter these fields without the most thorough and reliable information obtainable.

The second important contribution that may be made by the Christian forces is the influencing of public opinion. After data have been gathered they need to be disseminated. The education of the Christian Church is the first task. The Christian community needs to be made aware of the problems that exist; and a Christian conscience on these questions must be developed.

Then there is the much larger field of the non-Christian public. Accurate information, properly distributed, could be of great influence in moulding public opinion throughout India. The diffusion of knowledge regarding the experience of other countries in meeting similar social problems would be an exceedingly valuable contribution. Any plans for social research should include careful provision for the adequate utilization of the information collected. A great opportunity awaits the Christian forces in India to mould and influence public opinion in regard to these extraordinarily difficult problems of industrial and urban life.

A third field lies in the conduct of actual pieces of welfare work. Practical centers of social work are needed, not simply for their own value, but as pioneer institutions that may set the standards for non-Christian work. Such work, to be most effective, should be based as far as possible on the social traditions and psychology of the Indian people. The wholesale transplanting of American social-work technique may be inexpedient. It seems probable that more emphasis should be given to personal contacts and service rather than to the establishment of costly institutions and elaborate programs.

As far as possible, welfare work should be planned so that its major financial support might be obtained in India. To establish social work that must be permanently supported from abroad seems unwise; and this should be taken into consideration in planning any new work. Social work should not be competitive, but should be carried on in the closest possible coöperation with all other Christian and non-Christian agencies interested in the same problems. The experience of the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the Nagpada Neighborhood House, will be of great value in guiding the further development of industrial and social welfare work on the part of the Christian forces in India.

One of the most difficult problems surrounding the participation of Christian agencies in welfare work is as to whether or not an evangelistic emphasis should be given to this work. Many missionaries feel that no work should be undertaken unless it is possible to use it as a means of evangelization. This feeling is reflected in a motion passed by the National Christian Council in its meeting at Nagpur in December, 1930, amending a report of the industrial conference. This motion records the conviction that "the highest service which Christians can render to industrial workers is to bring to bear on their lives the influence which comes from the knowledge of God in Jesus Christ."

It has been the experience, however, of Christian workers who have been carrying on definite pieces of industrial work, that it is exceedingly inexpedient, if not actually impossible, to combine aggressive evangelistic efforts with welfare work. They have found that the people whom they are trying to help are deeply suspicious lest there be some hidden or ulterior motive behind this new type of mission work.

So fearful are these people that this welfare work is merely a new

device to attempt to convert them, that the Christian leaders of these efforts have felt that to introduce any evangelistic emphasis would destroy the confidence of the people and render the carrying on of their programs impossible. These Christians feel that their work is justified if it is meeting the human needs of poor and oppressed people, and if in its unselfish service and helpful spirit it is truly demonstrating the love and religion of Jesus.

This division of opinion as to whether or not welfare work should be given an evangelistic emphasis will probably be of increasing importance as more Christian agencies concern themselves with the actual conducting of welfare work. In this connection we should remember that there is a growing resentment on the part of various non-Christian leaders against missions using their schools and hospitals as devices for proselytizing. These same objections would probably be raised with even greater force if the missions should enter the new field of industrial welfare work with the purpose of making Christian converts out of such efforts.

A fourth field in which the Christian community can make a contribution is in the training of social workers. Public interest in welfare work is growing and will undoubtedly be increased by the *Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*. It is expected that during the next few years a variety of new fields will be opened up for social workers. There will be a demand for workers with adequate training and the experimental spirit.

The Christian community with its many educational institutions and its pioneer work in some of these industrial fields is well prepared to provide social work training. A small beginning already exists in the Social Training Centre for Women in Bombay, a coöperative project of four societies founded in 1926 and now located at the Missionary Settlement for University Women. This center offers a year's course of training, and has an enrollment of about five or six students a year. Since 1929, Dr. Manshardt of the Nagpada Neighborhood House has held an annual Training School for Social Workers, lasting for one month during the winter season. Plans are under discussion for the development of a training course for women welfare workers at St. Andrew's Training College in Madras. The National Christian Council has requested Wilson College in Bombay to consider establishing a one-year training course for men. Neither of these last two projects has actually been started, but they indicate an increasing interest in this problem. The field for social workers is at present still very small, but as the demand increases, the Christian groups, if they seize their opportunity, may be able to make a genuine contribution in this field.

This report would thus suggest four distinct ways in which the Christian forces in India could help to meet some of the problems of the industrial and social life of the nation. First, through research and the

ascertainment of accurate facts; then, through the dissemination of this information and the influencing of public opinion. In the third place, Christian agencies should engage in concrete pieces of welfare work, and lastly, a real opportunity presents itself in the training of social workers.

It has been the aim of this report to outline the main conditions of life and thought surrounding the development of modern industry and the growth of large cities in India. New and perplexing problems are presented by these conditions. As yet missions have done but little directly to meet these problems. But there is a growing interest in this field of work; and there are many contributions which Christian missions can make toward alleviating some of the conditions. However, there are many questions of mission policy that should be clearly defined before missions attempt to enter this new field, especially if their work is not to be of an ordinary evangelistic character.

THE CHURCH AND THE MISSION IN INDIA

(With special reference to work of the
six coöperating Foreign Mission Boards)

by

ORVILLE A. PETTY

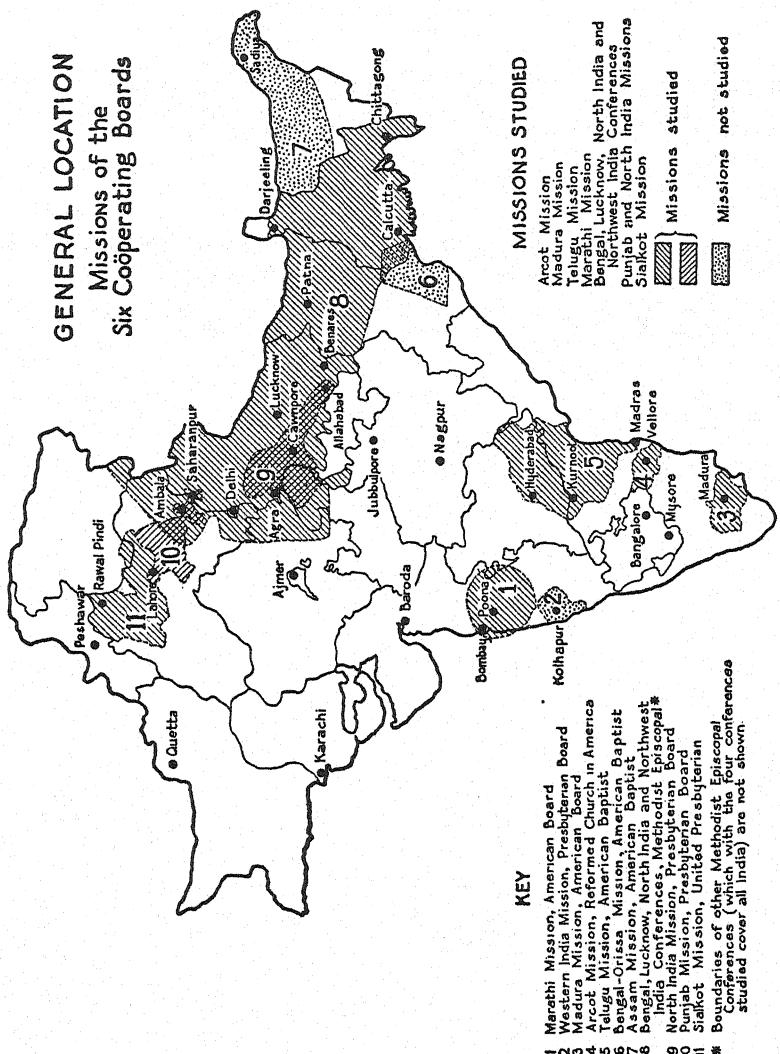
INTRODUCTION

THIS study aims to be a sympathetic, objective attempt to gather and classify facts believed to be significant regarding the missionary enterprise in India from the viewpoint of the church and with special reference to the work of the six coöperating boards. The present mood of India is recognized as a fact of primary importance. Special effort has been made to discern and collect facts of some permanent value in the light of the growing nationalism and its effect on the Christian movement.

The church appears to be basic and central when the total missionary enterprise is viewed from the angles of its origin, maintenance by money and personnel, and consummation in self-directing, self-supporting and self-propagating organized Christianity. American schools, hospitals and welfare agencies do not found or maintain corresponding institutions in India, but our churches do; and further, all such mission institutions—educational, medical and social—in India are children of the church. The organization of Christianity for worship, nurture and work is valuable and necessary. Stated in general terms, the realization of the Kingdom of God is the objective of the missionary enterprise, and although the church is not an end in itself it is an indispensable part of the process. Even if the Kingdom were completely realized the church would remain as an essential agency in the maintenance of this spiritual and social achievement. The Christian institutional allies of the church, such as, primary and secondary schools, training schools, medical work and agricultural and industrial institutes *per se*, are not within the church terms of reference, but are discussed separately by Indian staff specialists; consideration, however, is given to these corollaries of the church wherever its values and efficiency are involved. The Christian movement, including evangelism, in its ecclesiastical form, religious education under church direction or supervision and theological education of various grades, including training for any distinctively Christian service, constitute the major terms of reference.

The vast extent of India with its diversity of climate, geographic bases

GENERAL LOCATION
Missions of the
Six Cooperating Boards



of support, race, language, religion and culture, and the standardized social classification, together with cumulative historic vicissitudes and consequent biases, increase the complexity of missionary effort and its study. All these factors give the stamp of a rather definite provincialism to missionary problems. Strict comparability of local churches from all parts of this sub-continent abounding in contrasts verging into contradictions, escapes resourceful effort; furthermore, such a comparison would not include extensive unorganized village constituencies not connected with churches.

In addition to these facts affecting the size of the group-unit to be studied, it should be noted further that missionary efforts in any given mission area usually follow a conventionalized ecclesiastical pattern. These denominational importations of polity, doctrine, worship and propaganda are generally accepted and observed by the local churches and evangelistic workers within the various denominational fields. This increases the advisability of taking the *mission field*, including the total Christian constituency, organized and unorganized, rather than the local church as the normal unit of our study.

It should be noted, however, that the procedure in making these mission-field studies involved first-hand personal studies with special reference to economic, social, intellectual and religious status.

The facts selected and presented are considered pertinent to the major church problems raised by the Laymen's Committee, having in mind reported decreases in contributions from America and the rapid growth of Indian self-assertion and self-assurance.

METHODOLOGY

India is vast, and the time for field work was limited. A practical and defensible methodology consonant with the principles of sound research was made all the more difficult by the character of the enterprise under consideration, with its potentialities, trends and achievements in the field of religious endeavor, all of which are not usually obvious or empirically tractable, and yet these factors may be the most significant facts in the field. The necessity for sensitive appreciation, objective-mindedness, sympathetic imagination and common-sense was urgent.

The specific objective was the selection, collection, classification and presentation of facts deemed by the inquirer to be pertinent as to the future of Christianity in India as affected by American contributions and personnel, with special reference to major problems raised by the Laymen's Committee.

Typical cross sections of fields and aspects of the work were sought by the process of selective sampling.

Although some attention was given to the attitude and effort of other Missions, intensive studies were not attempted except in fields where the six coöperating Boards operate. The selection of areas to be studied

was done with the counsel and approval of missionary and Indian leaders on the field. Work, both old and new, was included. "Average" work was preferred, and if the "best" was suggested, the "worst" was also visited. Missionaries or Indian workers, or both, usually accompanied the inquirer in field work.

During visits to theological institutions a Questionnaire was left in each case (only one was not returned). Church Schedules were placed in the hands of Indian pastors of city and town churches wherever these leaders would and could fill in the data desired,—missionaries sometimes assisted the pastors. In a few instances schedules were sent by mail.

The schedules were repeatedly revised during a period of experimentation. Thirty-one of these revised schedules were filled in and returned; some of these were made out with care—(Arcot, Madura and Marathi churches returned the largest number, and the Baptist and Methodist churches the smallest). The information contained in these schedules was checked and supplemented by conferences with the local pastors, church members and missionaries. Many churches which did not take or fill out schedules were studied first hand by the inquirer and his assistant, Mr. A. N. Sudarisanam, who rendered reliable assistance. Public worship services were attended on Sundays, and bazaar and village preaching services were observed. Conferences were held with Christian leaders,—missionary and Indian,—including laymen. Interviews were also arranged with non-Christians, and their temples, shrines, mosques and gatherings were visited. Interviews, at this time in India, however, whether with Christian or non-Christian, Indian or Westerner, are affected by the Swaraj mood and reactions, and hence may be rated on almost every phase of the missionary enterprise as biased opinions rather than as fair judgments.

Ecclesiastical statistics as printed in reports were used with caution and often with reservation. The statistics of some fields were found to be less valuable than those of other fields, when these were checked by personal contact with local situations. The schemes of presenting statistics in tables seemed in some cases to betray interest in "home consumption" and none in possible "fact-finders." Statistical tables in more recent reports sometimes omit columns appearing in former reports; the nomenclature is not always consistent and clear; so that comparable data were not available (in all respects); for example, in reference to the allocation of foreign funds, questions on the field often brought illuminating information concerning these moot points.

In seventy-four city and town churches and in 263 villages, studies were conducted by the inquirer which provided valuable data. These personal studies of the attitudes, interests, scales of value, economic bases, organization, Christian attainments and achievements of 337 centers of Christian activity proved most worthwhile. Although village schedules were used, the technique for getting pertinent facts was flexible. The

Indian's sense of courtesy impels him to accommodate his guest by remarks and answers which are likely to meet with approval. Leading questions were not productive. Indirect questions against a background of common interest stimulated normal reactions. Patience, tact and resourcefulness were attempted. A scale of values reflecting the degree of Christian interest and attainment was sometimes caught in their presuppositions and implications. The humble Christians (the great majority) were easily stimulated to correct each other, for example, as to income and what they knew or did not know about Christianity. In such a sympathetic, common-sense, psychologically adaptable approach it is believed that dependable and significant data were gleaned.

The samples selected are regarded as representative and adequate; the use of questionnaire and schedule as valuable; the worth of interviews as limited; the place of statistics as secondary and the extensive personal contacts with the people in their native habitats as corrective and of primary importance.

I

THE ARCOT WORK

(Reformed)

BACKGROUND

This field, initially occupied in 1853, is located in Chittoor, North Arcot and South Arcot districts of Madras Presidency, and includes also a small section of Mysore, constituting a rough parallelogram approximately 165 by 85 miles. Work is carried on in fifteen taluks including an area of about 7,350 squares miles, with a population of about 2,500,000. This area lies between 12° and 14° north latitude and is a part of the Eastern Ghat region with an average elevation of about 1,800 feet. The climate is hot and semi-arid. The natural resources are largely agricultural, the chief products being rice, millets and pulses.

Racial stocks are Aryan and Dravidian. Languages are chiefly Tamil (1,600,000) and Telugu (1,000,000). Several notable pilgrim centers of Hinduism lie in this district and attract hundreds of thousands of visitors annually. Within Arcot there are approximately 135,000 Mohammedans. In Vellore there is the Islamic College which trains Mohammedan leadership for all of Madras Presidency. Vaniyambadi, fifty miles west of Vellore, with its arts and theological colleges, is one of two historic centers of South India Mohammedanism. The religion of the depressed classes is animistic. Some of the districts of the Presidency, for example, Kalahasti and Punganur, have been permanently settled by zemindars who (not the British Government) deal directly with the people. The Indian state of Mysore is now under a Hindu rajah.

ARCOT MISSION
informed Church in America

Reformed Church in America

Responsibility:

Responsibility:
Area ----- 7,350 sq miles
Population ----- 2,500,000

Work: Population ----- 2,500,000

Christian Community----25,000
Church Members-----6,940

Children Members ----- 8,940
Churches ----- 16

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Madras

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Scale of Miles

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SET-UP

ORGANIZATION

The present organization is a complex compromise involving the Arcot Mission, the Arcot Assembly and the Madras Church Council of the South India United Church. The foreign organization consists of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Reformed Church in America, the Arcot Mission and six Circles. The Arcot Assembly membership is both foreign and national and is organized to work through departmental Boards (Economic, Medical and Educational) and institutional local councils (Evangelistic and Woman's Evangelistic). A Board of Administration handles funds of the Reformed Church, the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Australia, and supervises Circle work. As to relationship between foreign and national personnel, certain "works and powers" remain under foreign control; for example, property and the location of missionaries.¹

INSTITUTIONS

There are sixteen organized churches and one each of the following institutions: theological seminary, missionary training school (union), second-grade college, medical school (union), industrial institute, agricultural institute, tuberculosis sanitarium (union), dispensary, training school, women's industrial school, vocational middle school, as well as three hospitals, a social center and an Ashram, making a total of sixteen institutions besides primary and secondary schools.

CONSTITUENCY

The Christian community totals about 6,000 families—25,000 souls (communicants, baptized non-communicants and unbaptized adherents)—or 1 per cent. of the total population. Of these, 6,940 are communicants, living in sixteen church centers and 277 affiliated villages, and are almost entirely from the depressed classes. The economic status is low; a few own little bits of land; the great majority are in debt; famine conditions obtain now and then; the average annual family income of village Christians in ninety-four villages is estimated at Rs.135. The percentage of illiteracy is conservatively estimated at 83; for example, in twenty-two of 161 villages there are no literate adult Christians. The grasp of Christian principles is meager. Religious experience is commonly a composite of primitive Christianity and animism.

In the Arcot Assembly there are forty-seven missionaries, of whom ten are ordained, fourteen are wives of missionaries and thirteen are single women. The total Indian staff consists of 780 workers, of whom seventy-six are non-Christians. Of the remainder twenty are ordained men, 430 are unordained men and 254 are women.

¹ Constitution of Arcot Assembly and the Boards, Minutes of Arcot Assembly, July, 1900, Minutes of Madras Church Council, Nov., 1925, and Oct., 1930.

The quality of Indian church leadership may be glimpsed in the fact that in six representative churches two pastors are matriculates and trained in Arcot Seminary, three received an elementary education and were trained in Arcot Seminary and another had special training only. The average age of six pastors is sixty-three. Teacher-catechists are elementary-trained, and about 50 per cent. of them have received additional training; their average age is forty years.

OBJECTIVES

With exceptions, it is tacitly assumed by workers that indigenous religions are greatly inferior and must be superseded entirely by the true religion—Christianity; that Christianity and Western civilization are vitally related and must be established together, and that Christian enlistment should involve complete renunciation of former religious allegiance.

Among the objectives to which publicity is given are the traditional evangelistic "Deliverance" slogan, a definite numerical accretion within a specified time and a "self-supporting, literate, evangelistic congregation." The Arcot Assembly could not agree on the goals submitted by The Twenty-five Year Policy Committee in 1930.

The objectives that seem to bulk largest on the horizon of workers—foreign and national—with varying local accent, are first, the largest number of new converts possible (the character of their motives and degree of their appreciation of Christian principles not necessarily being ascertained by workers); second, enough conventional Christian nurture for admittance to nominal church-membership, and more remotely, the often repeated but scarcely pressed ideal of "self-support."

With the general objective—self-directing, self-supporting, self-propagating organized Christianity—the actual objectives pursued by Arcot only partially correspond. With reference to the more specific goal (Jerusalem fourfold standard) of the physical, mental, social and spiritual aspects of man's unity, the Arcot enterprise has made institutional provision, but the coördination of these provisions for practical extra-mural results is incomplete.²

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

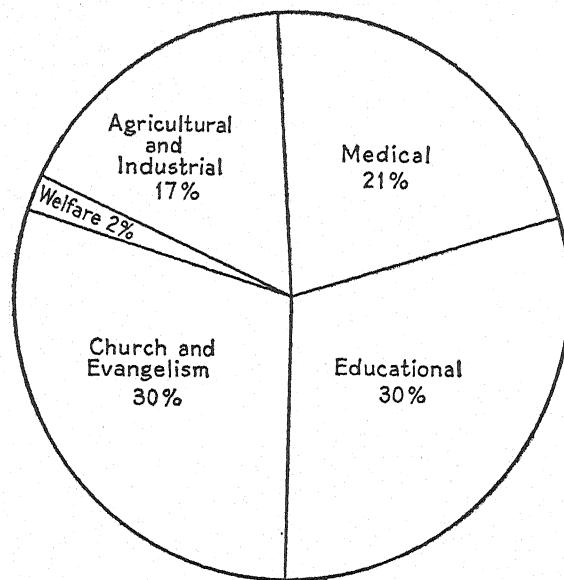
There is about one missionary at work for every 60,000 of the population and for every 184 square miles. Counting only Indian workers such as pastors, evangelists and catechist-teachers, there is one such for every 7,700 population and for every twenty-three square miles of area of accepted responsibility.

² Report, Board of Missions, Reformed Church in America for 1930, pp. 29ff.

One type of diffusion obtaining in Arcot is that of procedure, where efforts at extension surpass the intensive work of nurture. The geographical separation of institutions also bears on the problem of integrated impact.

The partial occupancy of the field appears in the fact that almost exclusively it is the outcaste quarter of a village unit called a "village" which contains Christians, and also in the fact that only a small proportion of these villages in any given area has been reached; for example,

ALLOCATION OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL



within a twenty-mile radius of the Vellore Church, with its thirteen affiliated villages, there are 200 villages untouched; within the same radius of the Katpadi church, with its thirty-eight affiliated villages, lie 125 untouched villages; within the Gudiyattam church area, with twenty-five villages affiliated, there are 300 villages outside of effective evangelistic effort.

The overlapping of Protestant effort is not excessive. Other Protestant forces (outside of the South India United Church) working in this field are the S. P. G. and the Lutherans, but plans for interchurch fellowship and coöperation are nominal. Competition, except with the Roman Catholics, is inconsiderable.

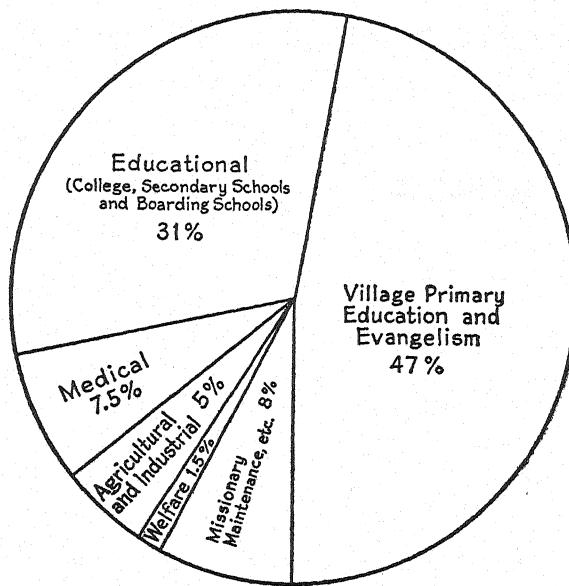
An incipient trend may be observed in recommendations made by

Board Deputation to the Assembly (1930) accenting efforts at intensive nurture—physical, mental, social and spiritual—in already occupied villages and the present Christian constituency; this inference is supported by the fact that the deputation report was preceded by growing interest in qualitative product.

ALLOCATION

Of the forty-seven missionaries, fourteen are assigned to educational work, ten to medical work, eight to agricultural and industrial work, one

ALLOCATION REGULAR APPROPRIATIONS FROM BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS, R.C.A.



to welfare work, and fourteen to church and evangelistic work. Many missionaries have complex administrative duties in addition to primary tasks. Thirty per cent. of missionary personnel goes to church and evangelism, 30 per cent. to education, 17 per cent. to agricultural and industrial institutes, 21 per cent. to medical work and 2 per cent. to welfare work.

Of the regular appropriation for field work 8 per cent. goes to missionary maintenance, 47 per cent. to village primary education and evangelistic work controlled by the Board of Administration, 31 per cent. to education (college and secondary schools, including all boarding schools), 7.5 per cent. to medical work, 5 per cent. to agricultural and industrial and 1.5 per cent. to welfare work.

This division of force and funds is the result of gradual development determined by majority votes. No definite policy has been established by mutual agreement and consistently followed.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Although handicapped by borderland language differences (Tamil and Telugu) it has been the policy and procedure to train leaders, as is shown by the presence of the Theological Seminary and Union Mission Training School.

The constitution of Arcot Assembly (Article II, Purpose) reads in part, "It looks toward the ultimate transfer of its functions and powers to the organized Church in India," but there is no specific reference to "self-support" as such. In the Rules of the Madras Church Council (1925), "The Scheme of Devolution," is the repeated statement "to promote self-support." All of the sixteen organized churches, including affiliated villages, are reported as self-supporting; but it should be noted that the contributions of missionaries and mission employees constitute a very considerable portion of the receipts of congregations, especially where there are educational institutions. Of the amount raised in 1929-30 by the organized churches, 81 per cent. was contributed by mission employees and Europeans; in the case of the Vellore Church (the oldest) this percentage is 94.³

The following facts are pertinent: In 1869 there were fifteen organized churches. In seventy-five years sixteen organized churches have been established which still exist. Between 1853 and 1873 three-fourths of these churches were organized; between 1873 and 1893 one church (in 1875); between 1893 and 1913 two churches; between 1913 and 1930 one church (in 1914). There are now two organized churches fewer than in 1904. In 1929 seven villages are reported as added to the sixteen pastorates.⁴

The following table presents significant data:⁵

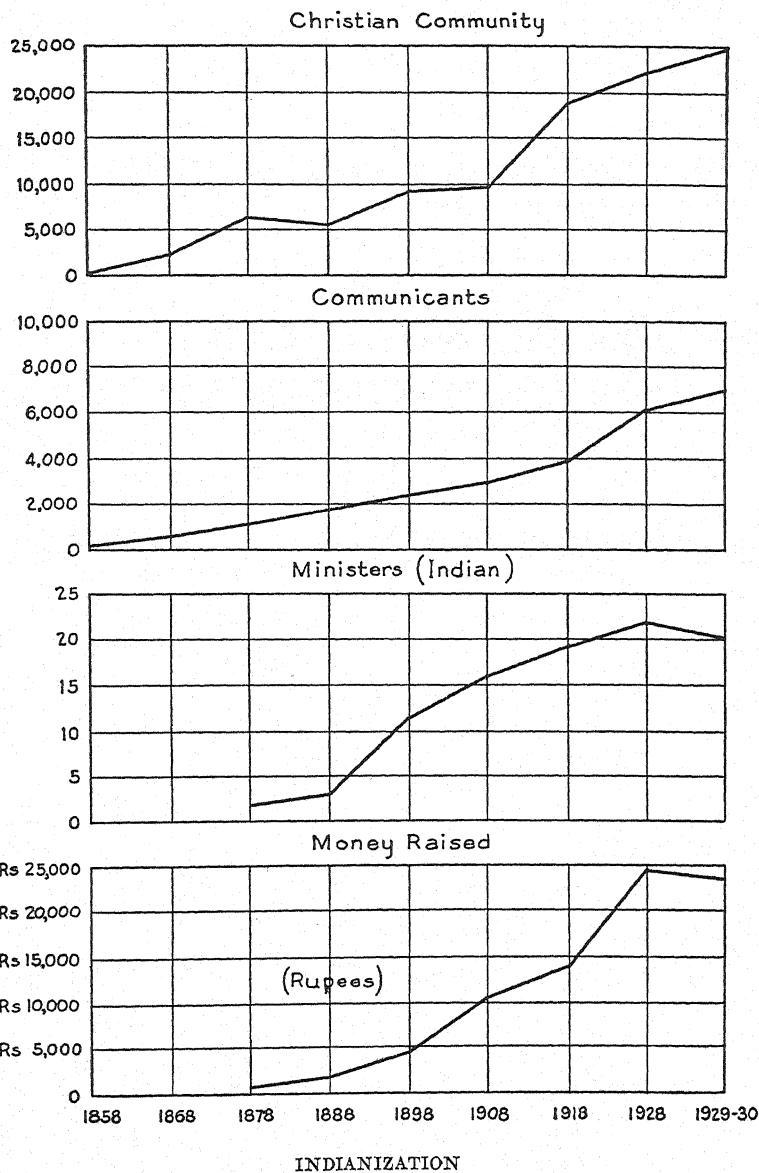
Year	Communi-cants	Christian Community	Money Raised	Ministers (Indian)
1858.....	146	552		
1868.....	531	2,094		
1878.....	1,112	6,083	Rs. 660	2
1888.....	1,712	5,380	1,853	3
1898.....	2,300	9,000	4,170	12
1908.....	2,808	9,828	10,304	16
1918.....	3,806	18,635	13,910	19
1928.....	6,020	22,083	24,544	22
1929-30.....	6,940	24,770	23,378	20

³ Minutes Madras Church Council, 1930, Table, p. 31.

⁴ Minutes Arcot Assembly, 1929, Table III, p. 64.

⁵ Part III, *Historical Papers*, Jubilee Commemoration, pp. 127ff.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH



The inherited slave mentality of depressed-class Christians has not been eradicated by a patronizing missionary attitude. Converts, though conscious of elevation into a new social class, have too often become

the almoners of new masters. Missionary prestige, favor and provision tend to make employees subservient. The influence of nationalism, touching this field lightly as yet, has not stimulated (with exceptions) normal self-expression.

Administration is complex but mission-centered in policy and procedure. The Board of Foreign Missions owns properties. The professors in Theological Seminary are elected by the General Synod of the Reformed Church in America. The "Mission" has reserved certain prerogatives and functions and may exercise veto power. The present membership of the Assembly is 62 per cent. Indian and is composed almost entirely of those in the employ of the Assembly. Of six Circle chairmen two are Indians. All pastors are Indians and all churches self-directing under Assembly supervision. Missionaries control directly and indirectly the more important boards and committees such as Executive and Finance Committee and the Educational, Economic and Medical Boards.

Some Indian leaders desire control of administration. Missionaries demur, lacking confidence in Indian executive and financial ability and experience. These Indians reply that only actual experience is determinative and that such training is the only road to Indianization.

Indian pastors have inherited the Western-mindedness of the missionaries who in the older churches were their predecessors. The order of worship service in the churches is uniform and mostly Western, and architecture and furnishment are generally Occidental. Many Indian leaders and members desire further Indianization of worship. Preaching, reflecting theological training, is generally Western in substance, form and presentation.

Most pastors, fearing the effect of idolatrous heritage and pressure, avoid syncretism in ritual and sermon. Some young leaders are more syncretistic in their thinking and teaching. Missionaries and Indian leaders, with exceptions in both groups, are quite cautious.

All property such as church buildings and school buildings is held by a Board of Trustees of Arcot Mission on behalf of the Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America. Finances, except current expenses in organized churches, are actually mission-controlled.

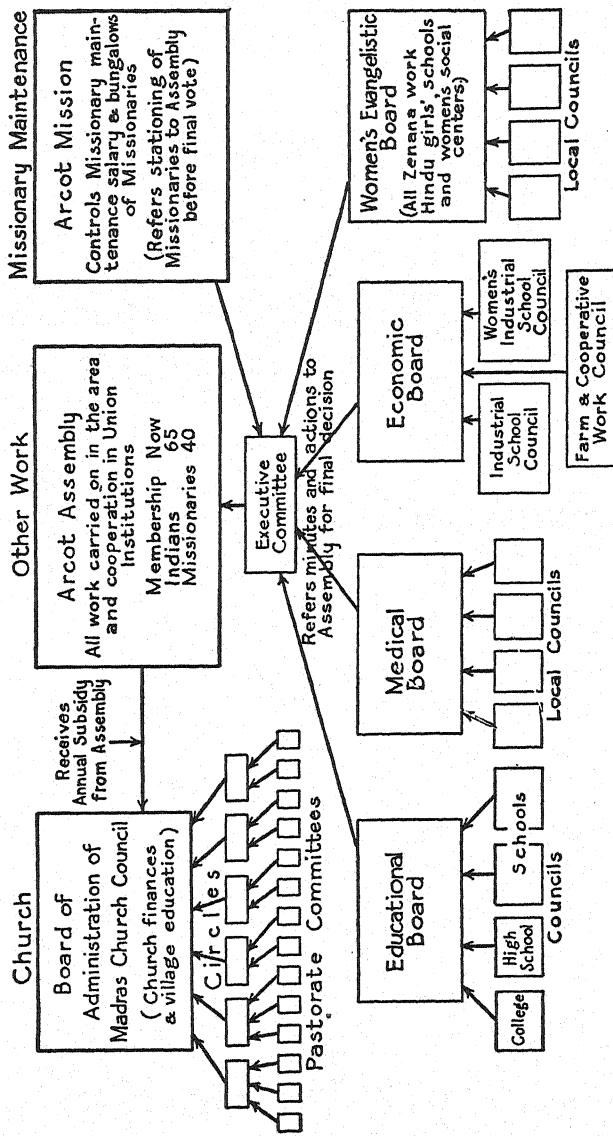
The first general impact of the West persists. Reaction of some younger Christian leaders is positive. Coöperative interaction of Christians and non-Christians develops slowly. The missionary enterprise is often identified with Western imperialism by the younger generation of Indian Christians and usually by non-Christians. Christianity and nationalism are usually deemed incompatible.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Institutional provisions for the training of Indian religious leaders were initiated by the Committee on Foreign Missions of the General Synod

INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE ARCOT AREA



of the Reformed Church in America at New York in 1886 because "India can never be evangelized by the efforts of foreign missions." An endowment of nearly two lakhs of rupees was secured and Arcot Theological Seminary began to function at Palmaner in 1888, with one missionary as the teaching force.

A lay course was first offered in 1892. The seminary was transferred to Vellore in 1905. In 1924 an L.Th. course was opened for qualified men and affiliation effected with Serampore College. The courses now offered in this theological seminary and Bible school are a three-year vernacular course, a one-year lay course and the L.Th. course (English). There is also special instruction in Indian music, religious education, evangelism and Boy Scout movement. Women, who meet separately, are admitted to the three-year vernacular course. Four full-time professors, three of whom are Indians, and a part-time music teacher, constitute the teaching staff. The total enrollment in 1929-30 was thirty-three men and seven women, all in the three-year vernacular course. The average enrollment in recent years is slowly increasing. The objectives of the institution have been ranked in the following order:

- First, The maintenance of the church as the body of Christ.
- Second, The mission of the church as an institution for education in Christian character.
- Third, The evangelization of India.
- Fourth, The maintenance of the Reformed doctrine and its promulgation.
- Fifth, The new interpretation of Christ and His task by the East.
- Sixth, Social and economic problems of the communities.

The principal and professors are elected by the General Synod in America on recommendation of the Arcot Mission. Control is vested in a Board of Superintendents, of which three members are chosen by the Arcot Assembly, one by the United Free Church Mission, two Indian Christians elected by the Arcot Mission and two from the Madras Church Council, the principal of the seminary being a member *ex officio*. The Arcot Mission, as trustee of the Reformed Church in America, handles funds. Each coöperating mission or church providing an endowment for a professorship is entitled to representation on the Board of Superintendents.

Entrance requirements for the three-year vernacular courses are VIII Standard passed; for the L.Th. course matriculation passed; exceptions are infrequent. Student attendance on classes must be 80 per cent. A passing grade of 50 per cent. is required for graduation. The teaching load is divided as follows: Theology is taught by the principal, another teaches church history and Tamil, another teaches Old Testament, Christian evidences and homiletics, and a fourth, comparative religion and New Testament. Textbooks are used accompanied by lectures and discussions.

Certain Indian members of the faculty desire more substantial Indianization of the curriculum.

Students are expected to do such field work as Sunday-school teaching, conducting village preaching services and sharing once a year in evangelistic campaign work under staff supervision.

Two of the Indian staff members hold the B.D. degree from Bangalore. The other has an M.A. from Madras University. The principal is a medical missionary. Many of the students are failed matriculates. Nearly all the students have a mission-compound background, attitude and outlook, which is intensified by Western-minded teaching of materials largely Western.

Morning and evening chapel services are held regularly; faculty members conduct the morning and the students the evening service. Memoriter Bible verses are recited by all the students at these services.

Faculty hospitality is maintained. Recreational facilities are provided and games supervised. Free medical service is available to students.

The library consists of 2,464 volumes, of which 374 are duplicates. Most of these volumes are old. Magazines and newspapers number six and are of the general reading-room type.

All students are provided living quarters and stipends covering expenses, including books and stationery. No recruiting plan is in operation. All mission agents are requested to study Old Testament, New Testament and theology, and to be examined by the staff annually. Thirty-seven graduates have been ordained. Many of the graduates have become teacher-catechists in the villages.

Some of the Indian staff members are syncretistic in their thinking and aggressively Indian concerning the materials of instruction.

WORSHIP

Weekly divine services are held regularly in all churches, the order of service for the South India United Church being followed. The pastors conduct the services in the organized church centers. Sunday services are also held in nearly all of the villages affiliated and are conducted by the catechists. The village services are held in the simple inexpensive buildings used on week days for schools. While the order of service in the towns is conventional and includes the creed and the ten commandments, the village service is less formal and is usually instructional and practical. An increasing number of Indian lyrics is being used. The type of sermon is usually Western in form, content and delivery.

In general, the administration of the local church is democratic and efficient according to Indian standards. In the older churches the envelope system is employed.

The financial resources of these organized churches and affiliated groups are limited. Conceding the low economic status of these Christians who are largely farm laborers, it is generally admitted that contributions

could be substantially increased by systematic instruction concerning stewardship, and by more aggressive efforts to collect even small offerings, usually in kind, from every member of the Christian community. The total giving of Indian Christians in most of the organized churches, including the affiliated villages, is increasing.

INTRAMURAL GROUPS

The organized churches have regular mid-week prayer and Bible-exposition services, Christian Endeavor societies and women's societies. In the affiliated villages weekly prayer meetings are held and Christian Endeavor gatherings conducted. In 1929-30, 872 Christian Endeavor societies are reported with an enrollment of 7,817. The programs of the meetings are informal. The procedure in meetings of the women's societies is conditioned by the high percentage of illiteracy.

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

Christian nurture of the more or less conventional type obtains throughout the area. There were, in 1929-30, 279 Sunday schools, 583 teachers, and 11,298 pupils, of whom 6,169 were non-Christian children. In these Sunday schools the proportion of boys to girls is roughly 2 to 1. In most of the villages there is only one teacher—the catechist; old and young are gathered together for a short period where the method is largely the telling of a story and some memoriter work.

In the town churches classes are often grouped according to age. International Uniform Lessons are generally used. Sunday schools connected with educational institutions, for example, in Vellore and Chittoor, are using programs and methods increasingly modern. Vellore Church conducts fifteen Sunday schools in the city itself and is responsible for seven others located in its out-stations. The progress in religious education in the villages is slow but faster in the northern section than in the southern.

LITERATURE

The Christian Literature Society of Madras issues literature for the Tamil mission fields of Madura and Arcot. In 1926 the decline in the circulation of the publications of the Society was deplored. Of 321 books in English, the prices of which ranged from one-half an anna to eight annas, only fifty-five had sales of more than 100 copies per year; of 226 in Tamil (same prices) not more than sixty-five sold as well. The quality of this literature is mediocre and much of it is antiquated.

The output of non-Christian literature constitutes a regular stream. It is noteworthy that such publishers as Longmans and Macmillan are competing with Hindu agencies in this increasing volume of religious and social books which are printed both in English and Tamil, and in inexpensive form.

EVANGELISM

Evangelism is directed by the Madras Council Board of Administration of the South India United Church operating through Circle chairmen outside of pastorates, and by the Evangelistic Council operating through preaching bands, evangelistic centers, and the Ashram—a complicated system which lacks correlation. The recent Deputation of the Board of Foreign Missions recommended the discontinuance of the Evangelistic Council in the interests of economy, efficiency, concentration and more work among caste villages. The Assembly is divided and action has been deferred.

Pastors, catechists, itinerant evangelists and many lay Christian workers also press village-winning and soul-winning. Retreats for workers, sale and donation of simple literature, village meetings with song, preaching, prayer and exposition of Scripture, are among the means employed. Fervor is characteristic of these efforts. Perhaps the prevailing motive of inquirers and converts is a desire to obtain justice and its consequences in an oppressive social order. The Board Deputation recommended that more attention be given to the "unoccupied areas of life"—accenting intensive rather than extensive programs and methods. Work among outcastes is the line of least resistance; the Board Deputation also recommended efforts to reach the caste villages by encouraging friendly relations between caste and outcaste, by visits of missionaries, and by visits of volunteer educational and medical workers. These recommendations have been approved in substance by the Arcot Assembly and some of them are now in partial operation.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Simple programs are tried in a few towns. The prevailing methods are elementary. A social center under the Woman's Board is maintained in Vellore and follows a practical program and modern methods with accent on personal contacts and friendships. Adequate new buildings now under construction bespeak increasing efficiency. The Vellore Church also observes Health Week and does jail visitation. Simple village uplift programs have been used in some Circles for several years past.

COMITY AND UNION

Protestants and Catholics are self-sufficient in their operations. S. P. G. work is small and relations cordial. The Missouri Lutherans and the Arcot Assembly are *personæ non gratae* to each other; a dividing line has been drawn. Present union of the Arcot Assembly, the Presbyterian Church of Australia and the Church of Scotland in the South India United Church is little more than nominal. Opinion of missionaries and Indians is divided concerning the proposed more comprehensive union.

The Ashram at Chittoor, which is under the Evangelistic Council,

maintains mutual relations across all religious lines. It has made a humble beginning and operates in a rented, inadequate building. Every day conferences are held with non-Christians but the present clientele is largely odds and ends. It is a conviction of the head of the Ashram that the erection and operation of schools and hospitals should be left to the Government. He is producing literary articles along lines of syncretism.

International fellowship groups have been organized in this area. Weekly meetings of these interracial constituencies, including leading non-Christians, are held. At the annual meeting and dinner, caste lines are ignored.

INTEGRATION

The effective correlation of agencies does not obtain and is conceded to be impossible by the recent Board Deputation and by several missionaries under the present set-up. On account of the exigencies arising from attempting Indianization and church union at the same time, efficient centralization has been delayed. The multiplication of boards, councils and committees absorbs time and energy. The correlation of the work of the Evangelistic Council and of the Women's Evangelistic Board, and of the Educational, Medical and Economic Boards through the Executive Committee of the Assembly, is complicated and incomplete, especially in light of the fact that the mission's contact with the Assembly is through the Executive Committee, and the Assembly's contact with the church is through the Board of Administration of the Madras Church Council. It is conceded by several missionaries and Indian leaders that such a triple-headed organism imperils unified thinking and action.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The property values of the Arcot enterprise total over sixteen lakhs.

A partially articulated organization of sixteen self-directing, self-supporting churches with affiliated villages and sixteen other institutions—medical, economic, educational, not including primary and secondary schools—constitutes a notable Christian asset and a suggestive experiment.

Within a period of seventy-five years the Christian community, starting at zero, has passed the 25,000 mark. Although almost entirely composed of people from the depressed classes, many devoted, capable leaders have been developed. Ideals and habits of stewardship have improved, literacy and intelligent appreciation of Christian centralities have grown, though slowly. Patent contacts by missionaries with caste people and their leaders uncover a quality of influence intangible but potent. A heritage of missionary devotion and intelligent, efficient sacrifice is recognized by leading non-Christians as an invaluable social-service asset.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

With reference to certain major problems of the Inquiry, the following statements are permissible in light of facts available:

1. Increasing interest obtains regarding Indianization and simpler more democratic plans are emerging.
2. Concentration on qualitative results is supported by a growing group of workers.
3. Efforts to develop the whole man and to stimulate self-support are more numerous and effective.

II**THE MADURA WORK**

(Congregational)

BACKGROUND

This enterprise, begun in 1834 by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, is located astride the tenth parallel north in Madura and Ramnad districts of the Madras Presidency. The field is roughly 120 by 70 miles, and comprises an area of about 8,200 square miles. Population is estimated at 3,000,000. The average elevation of Ramnad district is less than 500 feet. The Madura district is broken by the Palni hills and other lower hills and has an average elevation of about 1,200 feet. The climate is hot and dry. The natural resources are almost exclusively agricultural. The principal crops are rice, cotton, ground-nuts and dry grain. More than one-third of the land is not tillable. In Madura City there are large weaving mills.

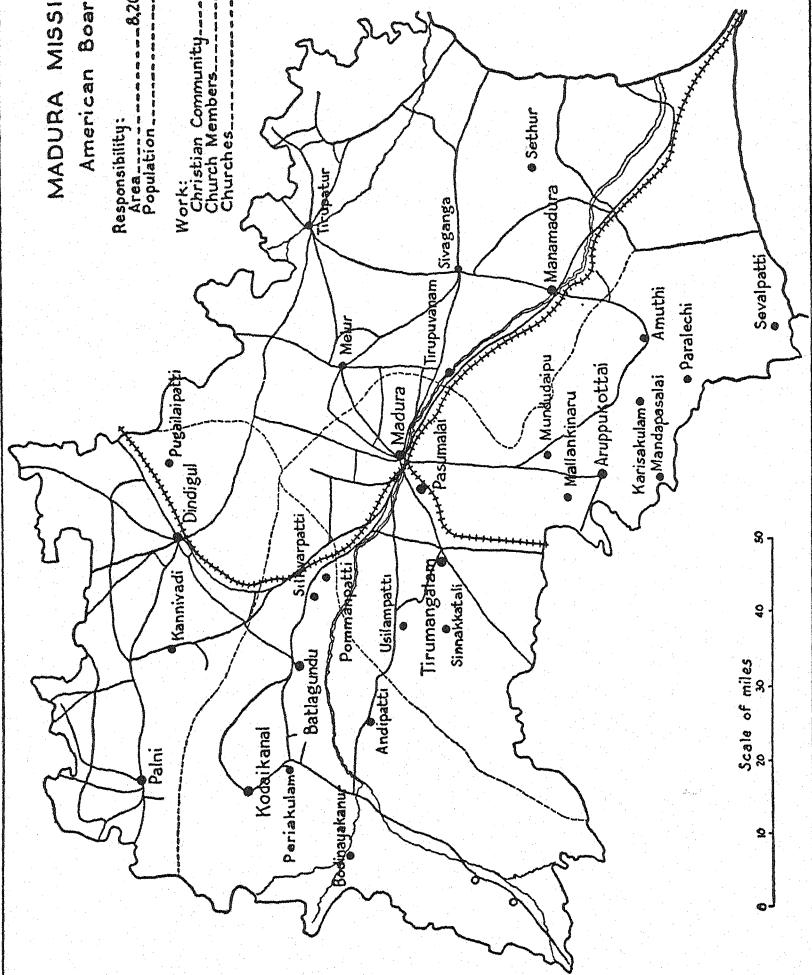
The chief races are Aryan and Dravidian. Tamil is the mother tongue of 80 per cent. of the population. Nearly 15 per cent. use Telugu. There are about 120,000 Mohammedans. Brahminism dominates Madura City. In the rest of the district the religion is chiefly Dravidian, that is, animistic. Madura has been called the "Athens of South India" and is famous for her Hindu Temples.

SET-UP**ORGANIZATION**

"The American Madura Mission is composed of all persons appointed by the Prudential Committee of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions and by the Women's Boards coöperating with them, for work in connection with the Madura Mission." Provision is made for representatives on councils of mission institutions. The mission elects representatives on inter-mission councils, committees and boards. There

MADURA MISSION
American Board

Responsibility:
Area - 8,200 sq. miles
Population - 3,000,000
Work:
Christian Community - 31,336
Church Members - 11,159
Churches - 34



Scale of miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

are also a number of standing committees of which the executive and finance are most important.

The national organization consists of the General Assembly of the South India United Church, which has no significant legislative powers, and the Madura Church Council. All organized churches connected with the South India United Church, and working in coöperation with the American Madura Mission, are constituents of this council; there are also five local councils. Each of these local councils is composed of several pastorates (which may be a group of small congregations) which are under pastorate committees.

The present relationship between these foreign and national organizations is marked by growing tension. The Madura Church Council elects all of its own officers, every ordained missionary being a member. The prerogative of apportioning missionaries to work in direct relationship with the council is retained by the mission, although the council has a voice as to their residence and work. The South India United Church Trust Association of the Madura Church Council now holds the property of more than a score of churches.¹

INSTITUTIONS

Among the principal institutions are thirty-four organized churches, one college, one theological seminary, one Bible school, two hospitals and three dispensaries, one hospital for lepers, one training school for nurses, one trade school, one home-crafts school, two training schools, one language school, five boarding schools and two high schools. (In addition, the mission maintains a middle school and eleven lower-class schools; the Madura Church Council also has 311 lower-class schools.)

CONSTITUENCY

The Christian community, including communicants and adherents (baptized and unbaptized) is 31,336 (or about 1 per cent. of the total population) of which 11,159 are communicants living in thirty-four church centers and 625 affiliated villages. The majority of the church-membership is drawn from the depressed classes, but with a significant sprinkling in several centers of people of caste origin. A notable exception is the Aruppukottai church where the large majority is caste. Of the total constituency about 9,000 adults are reported as able to read. The Christian attainments of the majority of urban and town church-members are encouraging, but the village groups of Christians are more or less eclectic in attitude and action. The material resources of the Christian community vary; in some sections Christian families sustain themselves meagerly and with difficulty; for example, the average annual family income of Christians in villages affiliated with Madura East Gate

¹ Rules of Madura Mission (revised) and Constitution and Rules of the Madura Church Council (revised).

Church, the Manamadura Church, the Melur Church and the Dindigul Church (a total of eighty-five villages) is estimated as Rs.180, Rs.180, Rs.150, Rs.180 respectively. In many other places the income is less, while in other sections a better grade of people occupying better soil have reached the level of more satisfactory family self-support; for example, in the village of Sathangudi in the Tirumangalam pastorate with 250 Christians, thirty-one out of forty-five families had, in 1929, an average annual family income of Rs.225/9 above expenses of cultivation.²

Many village Christians till land but comparatively few own any, or if so, small holdings. Debt is common.

In the Madura Mission there are sixty missionaries, seventeen of whom are ordained. Counting Indian workers of all grades, the number exceeds one thousand, of whom thirty-six are ordained, while fifty-five of the total number are non-Christian. Eleven missionaries (men and women) and 220 Indians (men and women) are classified as "pastoral and evangelistic"; many of these, however, are connected with boarding schools and village schools. Some of the third and fourth generation Christian leaders are superior to their predecessors in capacity and by training, but many are inferior in quality and work; the present comparatively low scale of remuneration seems to be determinative.

OBJECTIVES

It is quietly assumed that Christianity is unique; that its essence is to be found in the common phases of its Western form; that Christianity centers in a Christ-like life and that the substance of New England traditions is worthy of preservation in India.

In the constitution of the Madura Church Council (1930) it is written:

The object of this organization shall be to control, supervise and develop the pastoral, evangelistic and other religious work, within the Madura and Ramnad districts of the Madras Presidency, associated on the one hand with the American Madura Mission and on the other with the South India United Church.

To carry on educational work, as it may decide from time to time; independently, or associated with the American Madura Mission, the Government of India, or other bodies.

To organize, or disband churches; to provide them with an ordained ministry, in accordance with the constitution of the South India United Church and generally to do all such things as shall, from time to time be deemed by it necessary for their welfare. . . .

In January, 1920, a Joint Committee of the Mission and Council adopted a report which emphasized "developing church leadership" and requested additional missionaries, as urged by various local councils.

² See Saunders, A. J., *Village Economic Surveys, Madura District* (pamphlet), pp. 1-15.

Institutional leaders repeated their request at the same time for six new missionaries for educational work plus three lady workers for institutions, and in addition one doctor for the men's hospital, two doctors and a nurse for the women's hospital. Self-direction and self-support are recurring phrases in discussions of the Madura Church Council and of local councils.

The objectives consciously pursued are the cautious Indianization of existing ecclesiastical organizations, expansion with little Indianization of secondary and higher educational enterprises, maintenance of village and boarding schools and general efficiency of administration, but with primary accent on the development of educational institutions.

As to the general objective—self-directing, self-supporting, self-propagating organized Christianity—self-support has received more emphasis than the others. With reference to the specific Jerusalem fourfold standard for the individual, the intellectual has been stressed more than the spiritual, and organized welfare work has not been seriously entertained.

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

This missionary enterprise illustrates geographical concentration. There is one missionary to every 50,000 of the population and for every 136 square miles. Counting Indian workers under the Madura Church Council and local councils, engaged in pastoral, evangelistic and educational work (not including home missionary field and personnel), there is one such for every 4,608 of the population and for every 12.6 square miles of area occupied; more specifically there is one pastoral and evangelistic worker (man or woman) for every fifty-two square miles and for every 19,108 of the population and for every 199 of the Christian community. There are nine pastoral, evangelistic and educational workers under the Madura Church Council in the home missionary project of the Konganadu Mission. This, however, is not numerically significant since there are only 170 persons in the Christian community—fifty-eight were lost last year—scattered through nine villages (population centers). There is no serious overlapping of Protestant efforts. The Roman Catholics have maintained work in this district for centuries, and have followed resourcefully a policy of eclectic adaptation in worship and social life. In three centers (Madura City, Dindigul and Aruppukottai) they have a total Christian community of 17,260 (the constituency in the Anglo-Indian Madura Church not included), including seventy-seven affiliated villages.

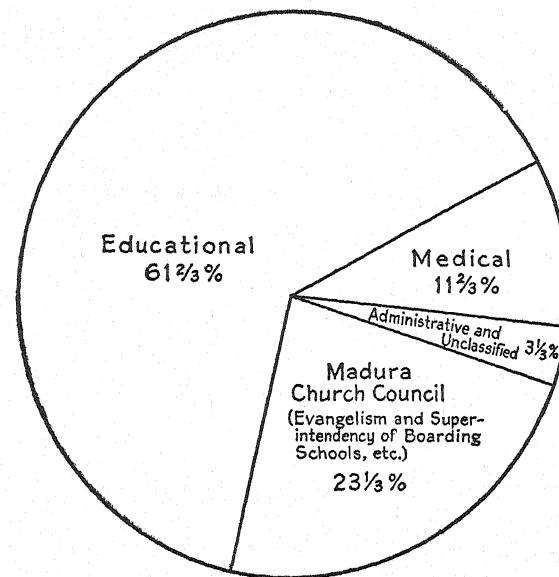
It is estimated that only one village in ten of the total number in this area has been reached by Protestant Christian workers. For example, in the Manamadura Church area there are sixty-five villages in which no work has been done; in Dindigul more than 100 villages in a

radius of twenty miles are unreached, and there is no work in more than 100 villages within the area of responsibility of the East Gate Madura Church.

ALLOCATION

Of the sixty regular missionaries including those on furlough, forty-four are located within four miles of Madura and are engaged mostly in institutional work. Fourteen are assigned to Madura Church Council work but several of these superintend boarding schools and have other

ALLOCATION OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL



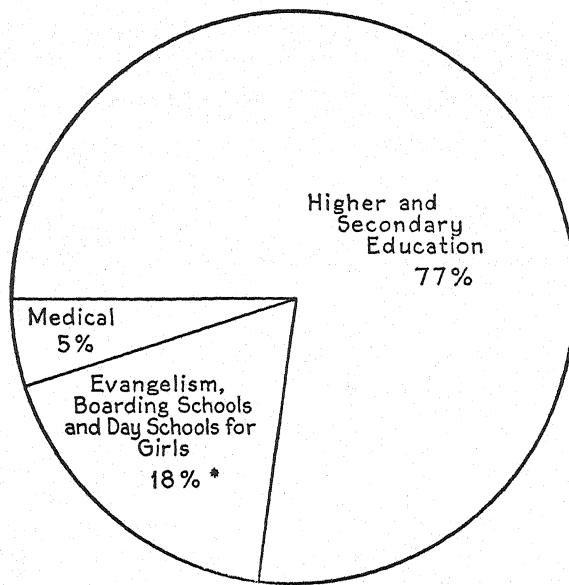
administrative duties. Two located in Aruppukottai are engaged in Bible Women's work. Eliminating those giving full time in administrative work and "unclassified," 23⅓ per cent. are assigned to the Madura Church Council, 11⅓ per cent. are medical, 61⅓ per cent. are educational.

It is significant that out of the total estimated foreign funds for 1931 of \$202,886, the salaries of missionaries will take \$66,683 and "Residence and Buildings" (institutional) will take \$71,500, or 68 per cent. for these two items. It should be noted also that approximately 60 per cent. of that designated missionaries' salaries is paid to those assigned to secondary and higher educational work; and further, that the \$26,185 estimated for "evangelistic" includes provision for "the elementary schools,

both in the villages and in the residential centres, where boarding schools are maintained and many day schools for girls"—all of which means that the cause of evangelism receives a very small allocation of missionary personnel and money and that educational institutions get the bulk of it. The estimate for the medical work is \$6,663.

This division of money and missionaries, favoring educational institutions, at the expense of church and evangelistic work, is a type of

APPROXIMATE ALLOCATION OF APPROPRIATIONS BY A.B.C.F.M.



*Note: If appropriation for evangelism proper could be isolated this percentage would be considerably smaller.

centralization not approved by missionaries assigned to work in local councils, who, however, constitute only a minority.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

The maintenance of a theological seminary, for both men and women, and of a Bible school represents institutional provision for increasing the number and quality of Indian church-leadership.

Since 1871 support of the Indian pastors of the organized churches has been indigenous; that is, no foreign-board appropriations have been used, although in a few cases increments from foreign funds creep into

pastoral support. Really to understand this general policy of self-support one should bear in mind the fact that fifty years ago there were thirty-one organized churches (only three fewer than now), that thirty years ago there were four more churches than at present, and that the procedure with reference to self-support has been to increase the size of churches, in part, by increasing the number of affiliated villages rather than by developing a sense of stewardship within existing groups. It should be noted, however, that the average per capita contribution from the Christian community in 1869 was 6½ annas, in 1889, 10½ annas, in 1909, 14 annas, and in 1929, Rs.1/5; that is, within a period of sixty years the per capita giving has risen from fifteen cents to forty-seven cents; but the per capita earnings and wealth of the Christian community is estimated to have increased much more rapidly. Indian contributions for 1929 showed an increase over the previous year of Rs.2,000 for pastorate expenses, but a decrease of Rs.2,116 for benevolences. A large per cent. of the contributions of churches where there are educational institutions—higher, high schools and boarding schools—comes from Christians in church council and mission employ; for example, Pasumalai, Dindigul, Batlagunda, Tirumangalam, Aruppukottai and Manamadura.

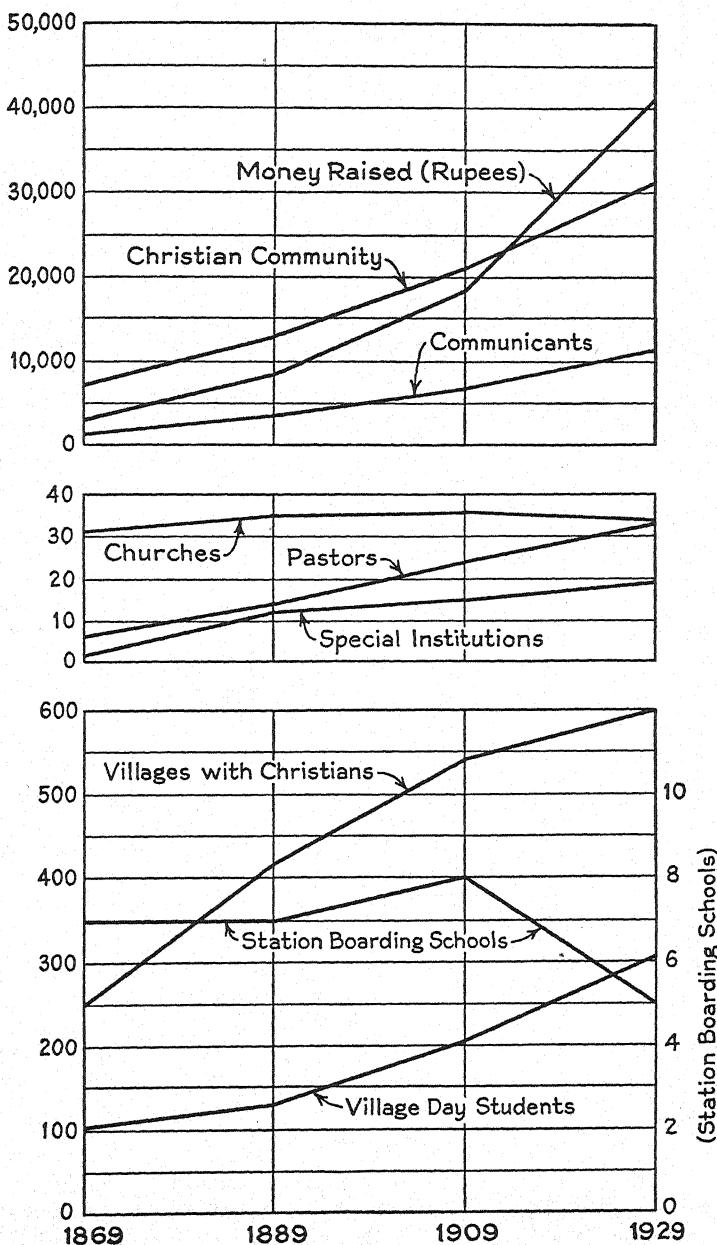
It is significant, apropos of self-support, that even in Madura City within its East Gate, North Gate, South Gate and West Gate churches, where there are colleges and other institutions, all of the contributions were used for pastorate expenses, which totaled Rs.7,103, except Rs.1,047 for "building and repairs" and Rs.89 for benevolences. The total benevolences in 1929 for the thirty-four churches were only Rs.1,749, or an average of 2½ annas (or 5½ cents) per church-member—a slender margin above nominal self-support. The pastor's salary constitutes the first claim on all contributions. It is not uncommon for a tithe of the catechist's wages to be deducted for benevolences.

Of the existing organized churches, twenty-five were organized between 1836 and 1870; four were organized between 1871 and 1900, and five have been organized in the present century. It should be noted that coincident with this decrease in the organization of new churches, special institutions began to expand rapidly. The following enumeration is significant:³

	1869	1889	1909	1929
Christian community.....	7,000	12,875	21,276	31,336
Church-members.....	1,372	3,562	6,932	11,159
Churches.....	31	35	36	34
Special institutions.....	1	12	15	19
Station boarding schools.....	7	7	8	5
Villages.....	247	417	545	600
Village day schools.....	102	129	205	306
Indian workers.....	137	448	741	1,010

³ Chandler, John S., *Seventy-five Years in the Madura Mission*, p. 453, and American Madura Mission Report for 1929, Table II, following p. 51.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH



INDIANIZATION

The inferiority complex of Madura Christians has not been abated by the patronizing attitude of missionaries during the last century. Even in 1921 the Indian leaders of the Central Local Council, apropos of the presence and retention of missionaries, said:

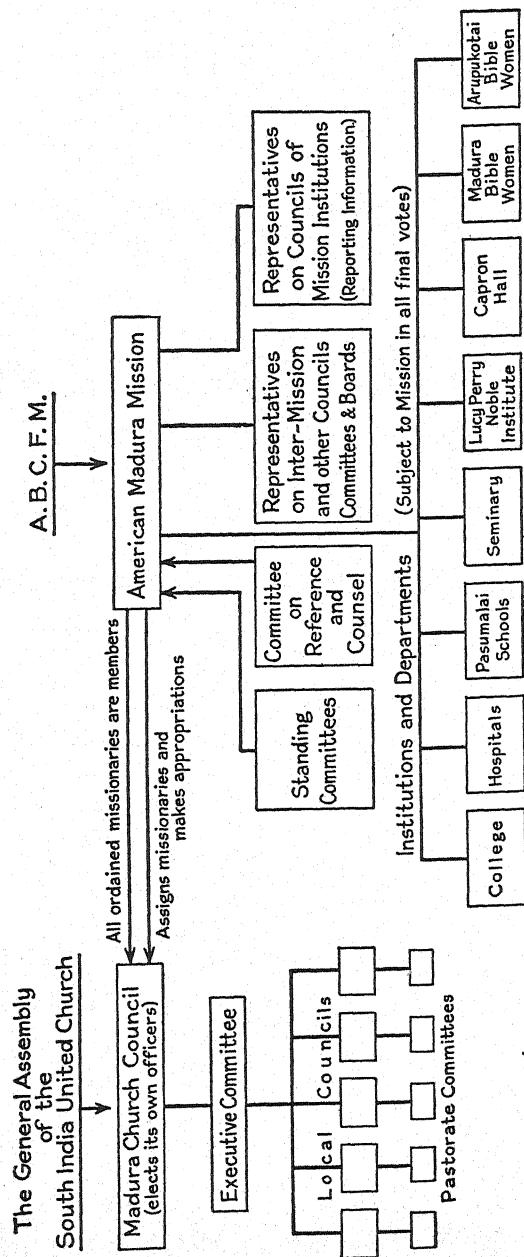
The esteem in which the missionary is held by the people, both Christian and non-Christian, his color, his connection with the ruling race, his influence with the Government officials as well as with his own church at home, are no mean factors which can be disregarded in deciding this question.

In churches where caste Christians are few it sometimes occurs that the other members persistently refuse to elevate well-qualified caste members to any office. The first Indian was ordained as pastor in 1855, or twenty-one years after the organization of the mission.

Indianization in the Madura Mission really began in 1894, when it was agreed that five pastors be invited to sit with the mission for one day a year to discuss subjects selected by the missions. In 1902, pursuant to this experience of selected Indians in respect to mission methods, the "Manamadura experiment" provided that a station committee, consisting of missionaries and pastors within the station, be entrusted with the actual conduct and supervision of the work. Prior to this the missionary alone functioned in this capacity. This was the first time that the missionary's authority was limited, by giving the final word to a committee whose membership was ordinarily one-half Indian. As a result of this experiment, a District Conference was established in 1910, composed of representatives from both the church and the mission. With certain safeguards, the whole care and supervision of village education and evangelistic work were transferred to it by the mission. The mission was strongly paternalistic and all of the pastors (Indians) were not members of this District Conference. This bi-cameral organization was not entirely satisfactory. In 1917 the present Church Council was organized as the successor to the District Conference and has continued to function with the occasional enlargement of its powers. The following have *ex-officio* membership in the Council: "All South Indian United Church ministers, Indian and foreign, within the bounds of the Council; all pastorate chairmen who are such with a view to ordination; all officers of the Council and local council chairmen."

In 1923 the power to elect all its own officers was transferred to the Madura Church Council by the mission. In 1929 the mission appointed a large committee to consider the next step in Indianization. This scheme, intended to become operative within three years, will, if adopted, bring the mission as an administrative body to an end, and in every committee and council the Indian element will predominate, except that

INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN THE MADURA AREA



funds contributed from America are to be handled by a central group of chosen representatives from the Church Council and the various institutional councils.

For decades, Indians have continued to urge rapid and complete Indianization. The mission has slowly acquiesced fearing loss of efficiency, absorption of pastors in administrative work, decrease of interest in evangelism and undue temptations for Indian leaders in the handling of funds.

The order of service for public worship recommended by the General Assembly, South India United Church, is generally followed in the urban and town churches. In some of the older churches, benches are used almost exclusively. In other churches and in villages fewer benches are found, or none. In general more hymns than lyrics are used in services; that is, the music and words are predominantly Western. The architecture is usually Western, Indians often preferring it when missionaries would prefer something more Indian. There is increasing interest, however, in Indian music in worship and in Indian attitudes and procedure while worshiping.

Sermons are usually Western but this is "expected," since Hinduism has no parallel as to congregational worship or public teaching. Pastors are conservative in theology and conventional in the construction and presentation of sermons. The administration of church affairs is measurably efficient by Indian standards. All the thirty-four churches in the Madura area are self-supporting; that is, they pay the pastor's salary at least. Good years and bad years agriculturally occasion fluctuations in contributions but Indian methods of collecting contributions have not been adequately utilized.

Only faint evidence of syncretism is discernible. Many missionaries assume and maintain that "the spirit and genius of the people" are embedded in Hinduism and cannot be disengaged from it in thinking and devotion.

Until recently all church property was held in the name of foreigners. Negotiations, complicated by legal difficulties, culminated last December in the turning over of the property of twenty-one churches to the South India United Church Trust Association. The value involved was Rs.92,027. The finances of local churches are handled by the churches themselves: The Madura Church Council is responsible for appropriations allocated by the mission to be spent in "evangelistic" and elementary school work.

From the beginning Western impact was positive and still dominates. The older leaders are Western-minded. Nationalism seems to have made little impression on the Christian community. The impact of Christianity on the city itself is not obvious. Theosophists and Arya Samajists are aggressive in speech, in counter-movement centers and in the production of literature.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

A "theological school" was opened in Tirumangalam (1842) which was moved to Pasumalai (1845), where theological and Biblical instruction were given in connection with secular subjects until 1870, when it became a separate department under the supervision and instruction of the principal of the college. This provision obtained until 1892, when it became a separate institution under a missionary who, as principal, gave it his full time. In the beginning the students were lads of twelve who received five years of simple training. In 1860 the seminary was finally reduced to a vernacular basis. In 1870 a two-year course was offered. In 1915 this institution became the "Union Theological Seminary." In 1919 the seminary became affiliated with Serampore in the L.Th. course. Between 1892 and 1919 a regular three-year course and a special two-year lay course were given. At present there is the English (L.Th.) course of three years and the "regular" (vernacular) course of two years; an L.Th. class is taken in every third year and a vernacular class each year. The wives of seminary students all study "certain courses." The faculty, when complete, consists of four full-time teachers, three of whom are Indians and a variable number of part-time lecturers. In 1930-31 the number of L.Th. students were five (all seniors); "regular" course students numbered ten seniors and six juniors; the wives of students "studying" were sixteen.

Students in the Normal Training School near-by taking Bible study and "Religious Education" are listed as "special."

The objectives appear in the following statements by the principal:

The seminary was founded as a school for training catechists, evangelists and pastors for the work of the Madura Mission in South India.

The original purpose of the seminary has not had to be changed for it contained no limitations as to content or method. . . . Each principal and his associates have adapted the needs of the school to their times.

What changes have taken place in the seminary have been due in large part to the principal at the time being.

The principal is appointed by the Madura Mission. All other staff-members are chosen by the Seminary Council except *ad interim* appointments made by the Executive Committee. This Seminary Council consists of the principal and one other staff-member, two members of the Madura Mission, two members from the Madura Church Council and one each from Jaffna Mission and Jaffna Church Council. This plan has been in operation since 1920; that is, the seminary is mission-controlled.

The Executive Committee consists of the principal, who is chairman, and two elected members of the Seminary Council, one of whom is a staff-member and the other a missionary representative on the Council.

Students are admitted to the vernacular class who have passed Standard VIII, or who have been "trained as elementary lower teachers"; exceptions are made; 40 per cent. is a passing grade. The entrance requirements for the L.Th. class are the Government secondary school-leaving certificate and for Madura students normal training or some college training; 36 per cent. is a passing grade; classroom work counts one-third. In two years nine students have been granted the L.Th. diploma. The teaching load is divided at the discretion and for the convenience of the faculty, and the decision of the faculty is final, according to the principal, as to "course of study, stipends of students, awarding diplomas and all other internal matters." The principal also states: "We do not arrange our work by courses. There is no wooden system by which everything is done in a cut and dried way . . . all our men take the whole course in which elements cover all kinds of work"—all of which seems to mean that individualism and flexibility rank standardization and discipline, but efficiency is not so easily inferred. One of the Indian staff declared that "Christianity must be stripped of its Western garb."

As a part of the field training all students are required to do Christian Endeavor, Sunday-school and village evangelistic work without remuneration and under faculty "supervision."

The principal is college and seminary trained. One Indian lecturer holds a B.D. degree from Bangalore, another lecturer is a graduate of Pasumalai and a tutor has an L.Th. diploma from Pasumalai. The average student is mediocre. The theological attitude of the staff is conservative but irenic and the classroom methods are elastic and the materials of instruction variable; the trend as to content is toward Indianization.

Daily chapel services are held, attendance being compulsory. Students conduct these services four days a week. The order of service provides for one lyric and one hymn (Western). Communion is not administered. Annual retreats are held, about 25 per cent. of the students attending. A student Tuesday evening prayer meeting is held. Members of faculty meet the students socially. Some recreational facilities obtain in the open, such as Badminton, croquet (women) and soccer. Medical service is available in adjacent institutions.

The library has about 3,000 volumes, of which about 200 are duplicates, and a limited number of general magazines and newspapers. No money is set aside for books and magazines.

Living quarters are provided for all students and they receive stipends for living expenses "in accordance with the salary the student was receiving as catechist or teacher," plus one-half of his books. There is no recruiting plan—"students are sent by mission or Church Council in whose employ they are."

The Church Council requires all workers (about 400) to take courses

in Bible, methods of work, etc., and the scheduled increments in pay depend on their passing the annual examinations, which are conducted in pastorate centers by the pastor, local teacher (or missionary).

An annual Institute is held at Pasumalai and called the "Northfield of South India." About 300 workers attend. Statistics of theological training in the Madura Mission field for 1921 show that of the men in charge of congregations of Christians only 36 per cent. had been trained in any seminary; of these 45 had taken a lay course (two years), 48 studied for three years ("regular" course), two had taken the three years' English course and 168 were "wholly untrained." Since 1921, out of nineteen taking the English (L.Th.) course, only nine have passed the Serampore L.Th. examination.

The condition and possibility of theological education in this field invite measurement and clear-visioned evaluation.

WORSHIP

The order of service manual of the South India United Church is generally followed quite closely in city and town churches. Regular Sunday services are conducted by the pastors of organized churches and in the affiliated villages by catechists. The Indian workers are usually more conservative than the missionaries. Western patterns are followed in sermonizing. As a rule, self-support scarcely reaches a higher level than meager provision for the pastor and necessary repairs. Financial policies and plans are indefinite and inadequate. Resourceful efforts to exhaust the possibilities of giving are not evident. A low grade of workers occupy the pastoral charges, which are too large, and these workers show little initiative in the construction and operation of aggressive programs. The few missionaries assigned to the work of the Madura Church Council are so unavoidably absorbed in the management of boarding-school duties and general mission administrative tasks that any real part in the creation and execution of plans for local churches goes by default.

Intra-mural groups for prayer, instruction and service are often perfunctory rather than enthusiastic. Most of the churches and congregations have mid-week prayer meetings of a simple informal type. Some churches have a small woman's society, which often functions only occasionally and quite socially. More than three hundred Christian Endeavor societies are listed for 1929, with an enrollment of nearly 13,000, but most of these are fluctuating groups of children who meet irregularly without a genuine program. Indian leaders (with exceptions of course) can hardly be characterized as aggressive as to instructional programs and efforts.

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

The Madura Church Council has no committee on Religious Education. Most of the Sunday-school work is of the conventional kind. Only

a comparatively few schools are roughly graded or use graded materials. The average village Sunday school is not a school but a brief village gathering of all ages for a song and story service conducted by one leader. In the Pasumalai Church (theological seminary and training school center) religious education is gaining recognition and some modern methods are being partially tried. In the total area 271 Sunday schools are reported, with an enrollment of 11,262 pupils and 567 teachers—an average of little more than two teachers per Sunday school and nearly twenty pupils per teacher. There are 388 villages in which there are Christians but no Sunday schools. There are nearly one hundred congregations with regular services where there are no Sunday schools.

LITERATURE

(See I, "Arcot," on Tamil Literature.)

EVANGELISM

The Madura Church Council spent on evangelistic itineracy, in 1929, only Rs.829. A special evangelistic fund (Bates) provides for evangelists who must do new extensive work only. Catechists do some extensive and intensive evangelism, their primary task, however, is being village teachers who receive Government grants. Numerous villages request evangelists and baptism which cannot be granted. Many pastors cannot accept converts or open new villages because they "have no means of shepherding them." A week of evangelism is observed. Students and village Christians "go on tour." But some pastorates are already too large for efficient nurturing. More converts only increase the liability unless more and better-trained workers are provided. Money spent on catechist-teachers for village schools is not always patently profitable; for example, in the village of Kuthiargunda near Pasumalai, no religious teaching was being done and although the work was forty years old there were no literate adults or Christians in the village. In the village of Siliaman, near Tirupuvanam, there is a school of thirty-five pupils, two teachers and a Bible woman, and although the work has gone on here for thirty years, with the same teacher for the last twenty years, there are no literate adults and no Christians. These are not typical, neither are they isolated exceptions.

In the Madura Church Council annual statement, 1929, are the following significant facts: Rs.36,034 were expended for "pastorate expenses" while the total receipts from subscriptions, offerings and Indian friends were Rs.33,073. Catechists received Rs.29,545; Bible women, Rs.6,094; itineracy, Rs.829. A total expenditure, including "churches" labeled "evangelistic," is given as Rs.71,127. Expenditures, "educational"; that is, boarding schools, Hindu girls' schools and day schools, amounted to Rs.122,890; repairs and additions to property, to Rs.14,040; office charges and travel, to Rs.23,133.

The sources were: Indian contributions, Rs.35,073; fees, Rs.19,307; Government grants, Rs.80,005; the American Boards, Rs.48,847; Woman's Board, Rs.22,729; foreign friends, Rs.13,887—making a total of American funds of Rs.89,388. It should be noted that more money was spent for "pastorate expenses" of the thirty-four organized churches than the total contributions of the churches (including subscriptions of missionaries and hundreds of mission employees); that the sum spent for catechists, Bible women and for literacy is only 29.5 per cent. of the amount spent for the educational work of boarding schools, Hindu girls' schools and day schools; and that of the grand total of Rs.236,148 Madura Church Council receipts for 1929, 14.4 per cent. came from contributions of Indian Christians, 42 per cent. from school fees and Government grants, and 33.6 per cent. from American givers, the remaining 10 per cent. being for miscellaneous and balances.

Some missionaries and Indian leaders urge that more missionaries be assigned to intensive district work.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

It may be said in general that Community Service through organized welfare organizations receives little consideration; temperance effort, however, is considerable.

COMITY AND UNION

The Madura missionary enterprise is a part of the South India United Church. There is a committee on comity and the secretary of the mission gives much time to the promotion of the greater church union in South India.

At Tranquebar, where the first Protestant missionaries landed in 1706, a group of thirty-three men, mostly ministers of the Anglican and South India United Churches, all but two being Indians, met in 1919 and drew up a statement concerning union in which it was sought to combine three elements: the Episcopal, the Presbyterian and the Congregational. This statement was forwarded to the General Assembly of the South India United Church, which responded the same year expressing fullest sympathy and appointing a committee for conference. In 1920 the Episcopal Synod of the Anglican Church in India reciprocated and appointed a committee. The Mar Thoma Syrian Church demurred. The Wesleyan Methodist Church joined negotiations from the fifth meeting onwards. The joint committee has held nine meetings since 1920 and presented to the interested churches, after many alterations, by unanimous vote a "Proposed Scheme of Union," which is now under consideration by various church bodies.

In October, 1929, the General Assembly of the South Indian United Church adopted a special committee's report and transmitted it and the

Proposed Scheme of Union to the next General Assembly (meeting in the fall of 1931). The Wesleyan Synod and the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon passed "resolutions" which were considered by the ninth session of the Joint Committee on Union (November, 1930), which, with changes, has become a Continuation Committee.⁴

The uniting churches or parts of churches concerning which union is proposed, are the following:

(1) The Church of India, Burma and Ceylon (formerly known as the Church of England in India), with regard to the dioceses of Madras; Tinnevelly, Madura and Ramnad; Dornakal; and Travancore and Cochin.

(2) The South India United Church.

Note—This Church is itself the result of a movement which brought into organic union the churches of South India and Ceylon established by the missions of certain Presbyterian (Reformed) churches in Great Britain and the United States of America; the London Missionary Society and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, both of which are supported mainly by Congregational Churches; and (in the Malabar District) by the Basel Evangelical Mission, a union mission supported by Lutheran and Reformed (Presbyterian) Churches in Germany and Switzerland.

(3) The South India Province of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, including the Districts of Madras; Negapatam and Trichinopoly; Hyderabad; and Mysore.

The basis of union involves acceptance of the historic episcopate in a constitutional form, the Apostles and Nicene Creeds, the Sacraments of Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, and includes provisions concerning the initial ministry, membership, worship and the independence of the United Church.

Implications of the scheme as to communicants and ministers in the United Church and intercommunion with other churches were adopted as an appendix to the Joint Committee's report by this committee at its ninth session November, 1930.

The constituencies involved in this proposed union are as follows:

	Communi-cants	Other Baptized Persons	Unbaptized Adherents	Total
Anglican.....	106,362	228,142	61,379	395,883
Wesleyan.....	17,187	82,727	11,642	111,556
S. I. U. C.	43,749	138,042	49,644	231,435
	167,298	448,911	122,665	738,874

⁴ Proposed Scheme of Union (revised), 1931.

INTEGRATION

Coördination is incomplete. The parallel organizations of mission and church council, and the claims of church and evangelism as over and against educational claims, make integration of the total effort difficult. The independent democratic organizations, mission and council, which are without a common authoritative superintendency, increase the difficulties of correlation.

ACHIEVEMENTS

This enterprise has accumulated property, especially educational, of considerable value. Its successive, and partially successful, experiments in Indianization of administration are suggestive and the proposed Indianization plan, if and when it becomes effective, may issue in efficient integration. The quantity, and to a degree the quality, of its constituency, in a compact area, is a notable achievement. The educational institutions in and of themselves are distinguishing. As to influence, this missionary enterprise may claim much that is of permanent value, even though the missionary impact on the central city itself may not be readily seen.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

Tendencies are detectable (1) to defend existing policies; (2) to grant Indianization at least in church administration, but to minimize Indianization of worship; (3) to make education primary and church and evangelism secondary; (4) to multiply the administrative duties of missionaries in the field so that time for personal contacts is not available.

III

THE MARATHI WORK

(Congregational)

BACKGROUND

This enterprise, begun in 1813, is conducted in Bombay, and in Ahmednagar, Satara and Sholapur districts of the Bombay Presidency, astride the nineteenth parallel north. The area of responsibility includes about 5,000 square miles and contains approximately a population of 1,895,000, which is principally of Maratha (Scytho-Dravidian) stock, whose language, Marathi, designates this work. The elevation of occupied districts on the Deccan Plains, excluding Bombay and the Western Ghats, ranges from 1,500 to 2,500 feet. The climate is semi-arid, and the natural resources are predominantly agricultural. The chief products are

cotton, wheat and pulses; large textile factories operate in Bombay and Sholapur.

Aryan, Maratha and aborigines are the principal races. Urdu and Marathi are the languages generally spoken. Mohammedans are strong in Ahmednagar and Sholapur. The Brahmins, though a minority, dominate Hinduism. Bombay is the nerve-center of nationalism in India.

SET-UP

ORGANIZATION

In the Marathi work there is no organization, except the Missionary Committee, which is exclusively missionary. A General Council, abiding by the decision of the Prudential Committee and the rules and regulations of the American Board, is composed of (a) regularly appointed missionaries who have achieved certain attainments in the Marathi language and such as were entitled to vote prior to 1919, (b) Indian missionaries, (c) Indian members chosen from station councils on a representation basis, and (d) six co-opted members from the United Church of Northern India. The privilege of sitting in the General Council is accorded all missionaries and other members of station councils. The Missionary Committee consists of all the missionaries of the American Marathi Mission and reports its action for record in the Minutes of the General Council. The Station Council includes all the foreign missionaries and Indian missionaries located in a station, of which there are eight.

There is an Indian Mission Board of the General Council and responsible to the General Council. It is at present composed of two missionaries chosen by the General Council and of Indians chosen by the General Council, the Ahmednagar Church Council and the Indian Mission Board; the Rural Council has recommended that other church councils elect one member each.

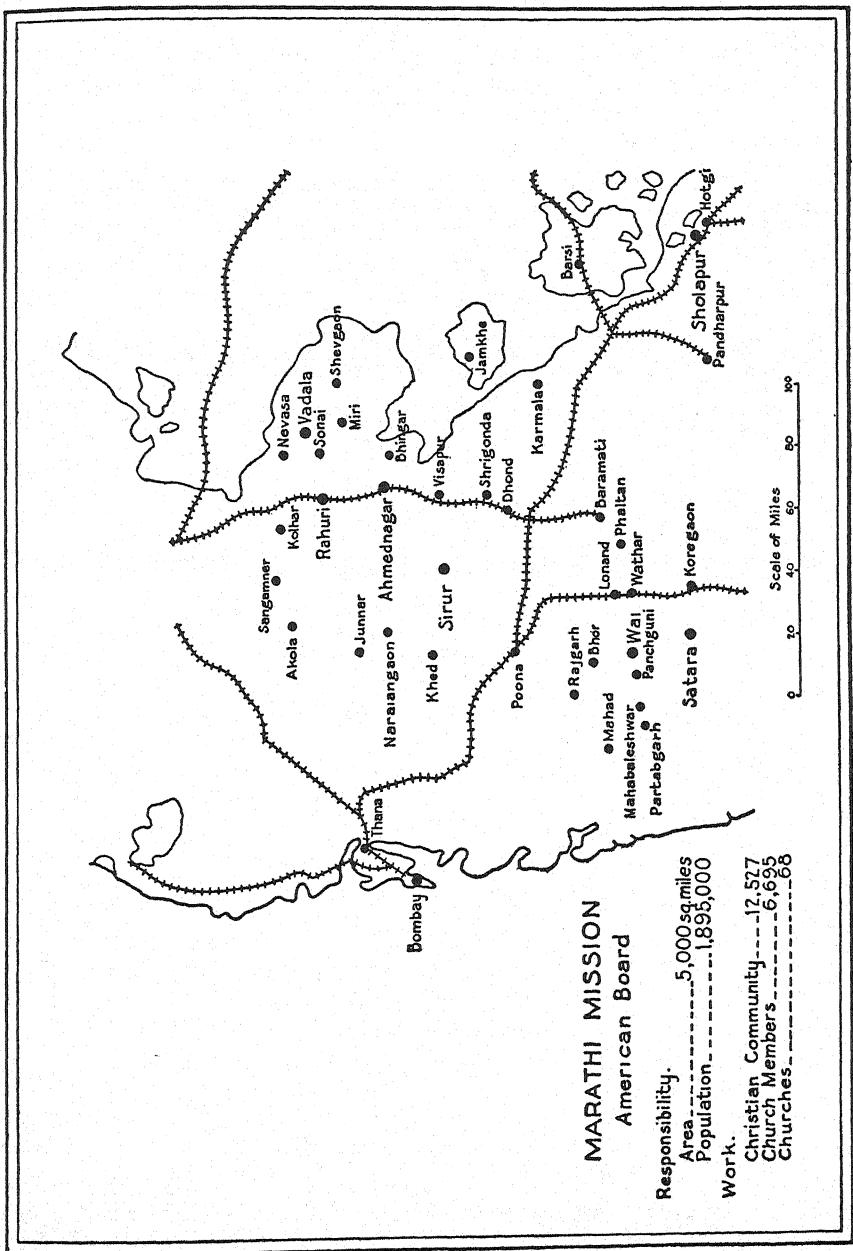
The churches of this enterprise are a part of the United Church of North India and belong to the Synod of Maharashtra, the ancient name for this mountainous region of the Western Ghats inhabited by Marathas. This Synod consists of four church councils, viz., Godavari, Ahmednagar, Kolhapur and Bombay. These church councils are divided into districts.

The relationship between the Indian Mission Board and the church councils, as approved by the General Council, involves an increase of representation from the church councils in proportion to the increase in financial aid from the church councils to the Indian Mission Board.¹

INSTITUTIONS

There are sixty-eight churches, one theological seminary (Union, at Poona), one Bible training school, three other training schools, eight secondary schools, six industrial schools, two hospitals, eight dispensaries, and several social and welfare centers.

¹ Constitution and By-Laws American Marathi Mission (with 1929 amendments).



CONSTITUENCY

There were fifty-three missionaries under appointment (1929), of whom ten were ordained men, four unordained men, fifteen wives, twenty-four single women, and in addition two physicians (men), and one physician (woman); and four special workers in Ahmednagar City.

The Indian force consists of thirty-nine ordained and thirty-eight unordained preachers, 358 teachers (men and women), thirty Bible women and eighty-seven other workers—a total of 552 Indian workers.

The Christian community, including communicants and adherents (baptized and unbaptized), numbers 12,527, of whom 6,695 are communicants.

This constituency is almost entirely from the depressed classes—Mangs and Maharas. The economic status of these Christians, especially villagers, reflects famine conditions; extreme poverty is common, and freedom from debt exceptional. The average annual family income of the Christians in twenty-one villages (probably typical) was estimated at Rs.74.

The quality of Indian leadership in several urban churches and occasionally elsewhere is superior, but a majority of the village pastors and other evangelistic workers are little trained and lack initiative and energy. Of the total evangelistic force of fifty-four pastors and preachers and thirty-one Bible women, only one is a passed matriculate. The 1930 Evangelistic Survey Committee reports “A majority of our evangelists are self-satisfied.”

The number of literate persons—all ages—is given (1929) as 4,444, or 35 per cent. of the total Christian community. The majority of these literates are found in urban Christian groups. The number of literate persons in 1924 was given as 5,690. The percentage of adult literacy, however, among most village Christian groups, is very low; for example, in a village with ninety Christians no adults were literate, although the work was thirty-five years old, and similar conditions obtained in other villages visited. The Christian attainments of village groups are usually simple and few, and often mixed with indigenous religious beliefs and practices.

OBJECTIVES

It appears to be quite generally but not exclusively presupposed that Christianity still has some message and some service for India and that there is probably some way out of the present unsatisfactory situation.

In the Rules of the Conduct of Work adopted by the General Council, July, 1927, and January, 1928, in respect to everyone in charge of workers, regular meetings are required to emphasize “the fundamental necessity of personal Christian service” and “the importance of relating the Christian message to India’s religious teaching and aspiration, and the duty

of every Christian worker doing something or other to improve social conditions." In the General Council's Evangelistic Survey Committee's report (1930), evangelism is conceived as referring "definitely and positively to the propagation of the Christian message, viz. the redemption of mankind through Christ. Our schools, hospitals, training institutions, community and welfare centers are all conducted with the definite purpose of imparting the Abundant Life as manifested in and taught by Christ." The assumptions implicit and the purpose explicitly proclaimed in these affirmations are unusually significant, especially in regard to the condition and activities presupposed, and seem to the observer to outrun the plans actively pursued. In point of comprehensiveness the purpose in operation has been only partially realized. The maintenance of a status quo biding the day of concentration and recasting is unmistakable. Self-direction has been increasingly conceded, and social service has been accented by the younger group.

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

There are eight main stations. Until the middle of the nineteenth century there were four separate missions. Ahmednagar is the center; Bombay is 200 miles to the west; Satara and Wai, 150 miles southeast; Sirur, thirty miles east; Rahuri, thirty-five miles north, and Vadala, forty miles north-northeast. From Sholapur to Bombay is 280 miles. Not only are these stations far apart geographically, but the actual occupation or working of these areas is perhaps less than 4 per cent. In Ahmednagar, the best-worked district, there are hundreds of villages where no vital contact has been established.

Including only 100,000 of the population of Bombay, there is an average of one Indian evangelistic worker for every 22,294 of the population and for every fifty-nine square miles; and one Indian church-member for every 283 of the population in the area of accepted responsibility. In terms of the total Christian community, there is one Christian to every 151 of population, or two-thirds of 1 per cent.

On account of amicable and practicable comity arrangements with the S. P. G. Mission, which works several centers in Ahmednagar and two other taluks, there is no serious overlapping of efforts. With the Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists and two small independent groups, no comity exists. In Sholapur the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, with its fine work for women, coöperates.² The Roman Catholics maintain a stronghold in Rahuri and operate also in Ahmednagar and Nevasa taluks; their work in Bombay dates from the middle of the sixteenth century; in their Ahmednagar district they work in 134 villages and number 14,233. In Byculla (a section of Bombay), there are 13,600

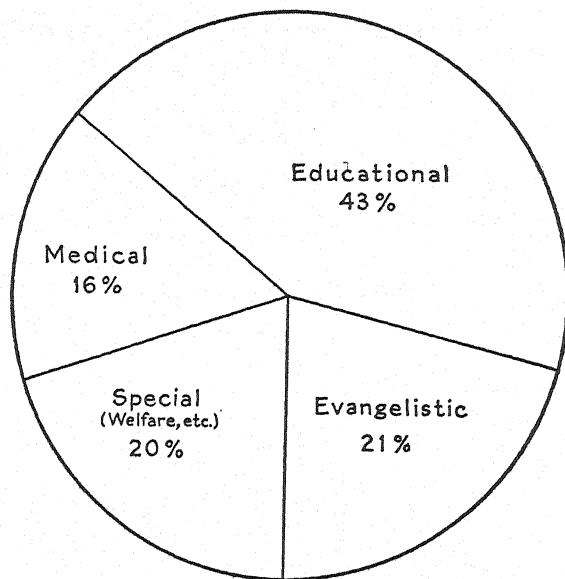
² Evangelistic Survey of the American Marathi Mission (1930).

Catholics in three churches. Their schools and charitable institutions are numerous.³ The usual competition with Protestants exists.

ALLOCATION

In the fall of 1930 there were forty-seven missionaries on the field, including those returning from furlough. Five of the ten ordained men were engaged in direct evangelistic work; four of the total of fourteen men were in educational work two in medical work and three in special responsibilities. Of the thirty-three women missionaries, thirteen are

ALLOCATION OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL



wives of missionaries and work with their husbands. Of the twenty other women missionaries, twelve are in educational work, four in medical and four in special fields. Thus about 21 per cent. of the missionaries are in evangelistic work, 43 per cent. in educational, 16 per cent. in medical and 20 per cent. in special work. The special field workers are chiefly concerned with welfare work. Many missionaries serve in more than one group; for example, evangelistic and educational. Most missionaries have administrative tasks in addition to other duties.

Approximately Rs.90,000 (not including hostels) are the total of mission grants for district, city, station, high and special schools (other

³ Catholic Directory, India (1931).

figures not now available). The Evangelistic Survey Committee declares that "65 per cent. of our mission expenditures goes for educational efforts" and that approximately Rs.32,000 are spent in direct evangelistic effort.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

It has been a part of the general policy of the Marathi Mission to maintain a theological seminary and Bible school for the training of pastors, evangelists and Bible women. The Theological Seminary was removed to Poona in 1930.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

Total Constituency

1924	16,725	[REDACTED]
1930	10,597	[REDACTED]

Communicants

1924	9,253	[REDACTED]
1930	6,695	[REDACTED]

Self-Supporting Churches

1924	23	[REDACTED]
1930	11	[REDACTED]

Regular Meeting Places

1924	173	[REDACTED]
1930	146	[REDACTED]

Total Receipts from Congregations

1924	Rs 16,345	[REDACTED]
1930	Rs 14,248	[REDACTED]

The policy as to self-support is reflected in the following facts: Indian congregations are unable to maintain work in expensive church buildings erected in the past by foreign funds—"Fine buildings are going to waste in Kalgaon, Parner, Jour, Vadala and Rahuri districts." In 1924 there were twenty-three churches entirely self-supporting; in 1930 only eleven, or a decrease of 52 per cent. in six years. The total receipts from congregations in 1924 amounted to Rs.16,345; in 1930, Rs.14,248.

All of the eight stations operating today were operating in 1880. Of

sixty-eight churches, two were organized 1827-1850; seventeen, 1851-1875; twenty-two, 1875-1900; twenty-seven, 1901-1930—this last increase in number being largely accounted for by regrettable repeated divisions in the Ahmednagar Church.

The number of regular meeting places in 1924 was 173; in 1930 it was 146. In 1924 the total constituency was 16,725; in 1930 it was 10,597. In 1924 communicants numbered 9,253; in 1930 there were 6,695.⁴ The following tabulation indicates a trend.

	<i>Organized Churches</i>	<i>Self- Supporting Churches</i>	<i>Christian Com- munity</i>	<i>Communi- cants</i>	<i>Regular Meeting Places</i>	<i>Receipts from Congrega- tions</i>
1924.....	66	23	16,725	9,253	173	Rs.16,345
1930.....	68	11	10,597	6,695	146	14,248

INDIANIZATION

The inherited slave attitude of the first generations of Christians toward their educated Western benefactors is not surprising; nor is it strange that these devoted leaders should expect loyalty. Encouragement toward self-support has stimulated self-respect and self-assertion. The acquisition of a little education created a spirit of self-direction, and partnership was coveted; besides, these Indian leaders tended to become "casty" toward their lowly, illiterate brethren. Although many are still self-careful since they are employees of the missions, some have revolted with ambitions beyond their powers, so that in this mission all shades of self-measurement exist.

The story of Indianization of Marathi administration is a record of cautious concession, mutual suspicion, derisive bitterness and emerging adjustment.

At the beginning of the century Indian leaders desired the privilege of a place in the mission organization. Informal conferences were granted a few selected leaders. In 1910 the mission voted that representative Indians be chosen to sit in its regular semi-annual meetings with voting powers "except on personal matters affecting foreign missionaries." These meetings came to be called "Joint Sessions." In 1910 a mission district was assigned to a committee of Indians with two missionaries as advisers. A second district was assigned the next year. In 1914 the mission prepared a constitution for the Joint Sessions and the total Indian membership became eighteen, including six selected by the mission, the rest being *ex-officio*.

The Joint Sessions did not satisfy the Indians as to scope and authority. After two years of futile conferring, a few missionaries worked out an acceptable plan of organization involving two bodies—General Council

⁴ Statistical Reports for 1924 and for 1930.

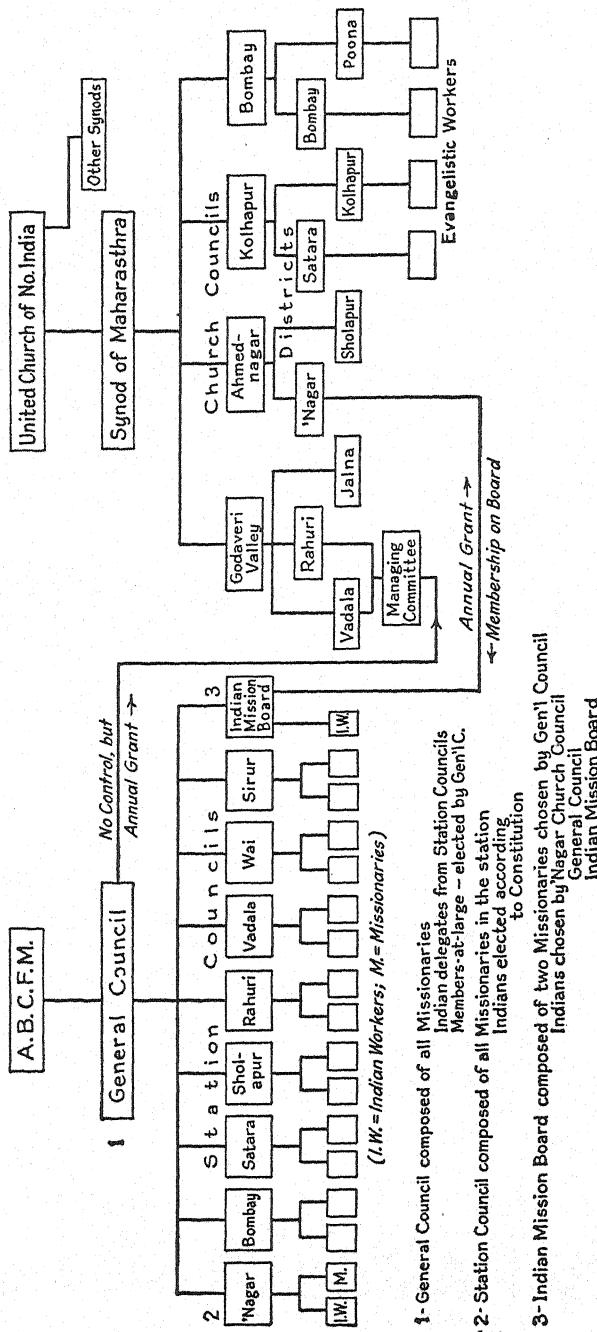
and Church Council. The General Council was to have charge of educational and medical work, and the Church Council to manage churches and gradually to take over the evangelistic work within the mission area. The General Council was at once organized (1919) and has functioned until now with gradual extension of powers and representation. The organization of the Church Council was delayed for several years owing to the existence of similar councils (General Aikya and District Aikya). Indian membership by this General Council scheme was the same as in the "Joint Sessions"; that is, fifteen Indians against thirty voting missionaries; besides there was an added grievance since the Missionary Committee (composed only of missionaries), retained control of all personal matters affecting missionaries. At the same time, station councils with Indians as members but not more in number than missionaries, were organized. Friction increased into bitterness and suspicious stubbornness. In 1921 the location of missionaries was eliminated from "personal matters." Later the nomination of officers by the Missionary Committee was given up. In 1922 the Indian Mission Board was organized by choosing members from the General Council for two years, three members being chosen each year, one of them being a foreign missionary. The church councils elect one member each and the board itself coöpts additional members.

This Indian Mission Board now has charge of four districts; all workers employed and appropriations were transferred to it, but the use of foreign funds has not diminished. In 1924 the term "Indian Missionary" was redefined on an academic basis and given special status. Only one candidate so far has qualified and is *ex-officio* a member of the General Council; many Indians desire the abolition of this rule. Pursuant to the suggestions of the American Board Deputation, which were inspired by Indian dissatisfaction, a new constitution was adopted in 1927 which provides for six "members at large." Station councils were also made more representative. The fact that the General Council retains the right of confirmation of station council membership is resented by some Indian leaders. The present missionary membership of the General Council is to the Indian membership in ratio of three to two. In 1928 the General Council transferred to the Godavari Valley Church Council the evangelistic work in its area with the administration of funds involved. Indians desire full Indianization of educational and other types of work. Missionaries object on the ground that Indianization experiments so far are not convincing.

The position of the Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church, which is closely affiliated with the Marathi Mission, constitutes an influence as to policy and procedure.

Missionaries are too often individualistic in attitude and effort, and Indians are usually mediocre, often quarrelsome among themselves and generally lack the spirit of aggressive adaptation. It is maintained by

INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN MARATHI AREA



many of these Marathi missionaries and Indian workers that Indianization, without something like Episcopal superintendency, is unpromising.

Indianization of worship is seen principally in a limited use of lyrics in city churches, and a more general employment in villages. In cities and towns, church architecture is Western; in some village churches the equipment is limited to simple Indian requirements. In general the worship service is Western in substance and order. The Indian church leaders usually show little interest in Indian religious systems of thought and value. Properties are owned by foreigners. Financial matters of local churches are handled in semi-Indian and semi-American ways; in villages Indian methods prevail.

Western influence dominates. Indian Christian reaction is cautious and appreciative. Movements to win Christians back to Hinduism are generally ineffective. Hindus regard Christian efforts among the outcastes with indifference since "it is only an exchange of superstitions." In Bombay, the nationalists attack the church bitterly as unpatriotic.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Theological education is in transition. Union and transplanting affect procedure. Observations are limited and fallible.

In 1878 the Marathi Mission established "The Ahmednagar Theological Seminary" at Ahmednagar. The founder remained principal until 1919. The impact of this rugged personality determined policies and student life and thought. The same year of his retirement this institution adopted the name "United Divinity College," since the United Free Church (now the Church of Scotland Mission) joined in the general conduct of this leadership training center. In 1929 the coöperation of the American Presbyterian and Methodist Episcopal missions was secured. In July, 1930, the Governing Board, representing the coöperating missions and the Maharashtra Synod of the United Church of Northern India, decided to move this college from Ahmednagar to Poona. January, 1931, was set as the date of Union operation. It is now known as "The United Theological College of Western India." Fifteen classes and three short-course classes, comprising 224 students, have been graduated. The school is operating (January, 1931) in rented inadequate buildings with two full-time and two part-time teachers. The student enrollment is fourteen. The library is small—fewer than 2,000 volumes—some of which are more or less recent. The matriculation requirements are adjustable, although vernacular final passed is generally expected. All teaching is in Marathi, as recommended by the National Christian Council in December, 1930. English is encouraged so that students may be able to refer to English books. A special three-year course is open to wives of students and if they pass they receive a diploma.

The Indian theological student "must learn to make the religion of Jesus an Indian religion by remembering all the time that Indian culture and ideas are factors to be reckoned with, though never to be over-emphasized." "Teachers must overcome all contempt for Indian culture and all inability to use the Indian languages." "Our aim," says the principal, "is to send out such ministers as shall conserve the best in the Indian Church, lead it into deeper evangelical experience and into more voluntary service and qualify it to meet the religious demands of modern India."

This institution is under a Governing Board composed of representatives from the coöperating missions. The first meeting of this Board was to be held in February, 1931. Significant facts are elusive, during these hazy days of hesitant reorganization.

WORSHIP

The Evangelistic Survey Committee reports the statement "Our Mission is at a low spiritual ebb" with regretful agreement. An observer attending church services finds little contagious Christianity. Although inspiring exceptions appear, church services of worship often lack spiritual glow, sermons are conventional in construction, and presentation, and prayers are too often formal and cold. Hymns and lyrics are sung indifferently. The architecture of the larger church structures sometimes reflects a cautious adaptation of Indian symbols. Village churches are quite generally modest Western imitations; the worship, however, is usually more indigenous in character. Administrative methods follow the Western groove. Finances continue to be handled in Occidental ways, except as unavoidably modified by village customs.

INTRAMURAL GROUPS

Mid-week prayer services are generally maintained. A women's society is found in most of the larger churches. The number of Christian Endeavor societies and also the membership in attendance are declining; for example, the number of these groups in 1924 was forty-nine; in 1930 it was thirty-nine; membership decreased from 1,537 to 1,491 in the same period. The quantity and quality of instructional effort are diminishing.

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

Theoretically, Christian nurture has been cardinal in the Marathi Mission, but during later years programs and methods have not been adjusted to the pace of modern procedure. In a few churches interest in modern methods of religious education is detectable. Some excellent pioneer work is being done in the integration of educational effort in the week-day schools at Vadala and in the Union training schools at Ahmednagar. "At present there is no graded course in religious education." The

number of Sunday schools in 1924 was 165; in 1930 it had fallen to 129; membership in 1924 was 8,056; for 1930 it was 6,681. The village gatherings at the Sunday-school hour can hardly be called "schools." The International Uniform Lessons are in general use where any are employed. Very few village workers are acquainted with the objectives or methods of modern thought concerning Christian nurture.

EVANGELISM

The evangelistic force is small. Many of these workers are not qualified for aggressive, enthusiastic, efficient work. The total Indian evangelistic force in active service numbers eighty-five, of whom twenty-seven are between the ages of thirty and forty; twenty-one between forty and fifty; twenty-nine between fifty and sixty, and eight are over sixty years of age. Forty-five of these eighty-five have served the mission more than twenty-five years; indeed twenty of these have served for over thirty-five years. Of the thirty preachers, only eighteen have been "trained." Six of the Bible women have been trained in the present Bible Women's Training School at Ahmednagar. A majority of the Bible women are widows; fifteen are over fifty years of age. Of the total number of workers, with the exception of one matriculate, only seven have passed the VIII Standard. The number of preachers, ordained and unordained, in 1927 was fifty-seven; in 1930 it had increased to sixty-seven.

The reorganization of the evangelistic program and the revision of methods are sought by missionaries and Indian leaders. It has been suggested that empty buildings, suitably located, become social service centers as points of contact for evangelism, especially in view of the fact that many village schools are to be discontinued. A program of "concentration" aiming to make "born Christians" (children of Christian parents) really Christian has been seriously proposed.⁵

COMMUNITY SERVICE

A superior piece of pioneer work is succeeding in Bombay—the Nagpada Neighborhood House—under missionary specialists in social service. (See Dr. Cressey's Report *in loco*.) The purpose of the Nagpada Neighborhood House is to provide a center to assist in cultivating the higher interests of the Nagpada Neighborhood, to initiate and to maintain educational and philanthropic enterprises, to investigate and to improve social and economic conditions and at all times to work for the public welfare of the City of Bombay. The only creed in the House is a genuine respect for the best that is found in all creeds.

Young men's hostel, dispensary, infant-welfare center, lectures, concerts, religious meetings, cinemas, games, clubs, athletics, night-school, dramatics, employment bureau, training in social service are maintained.

Membership in the Nagpada Neighborhood House Association is open

⁵ Evangelistic Survey, Marathi Mission, 1930.

to all who contribute to the funds of the Neighborhood House. The only special privilege of membership is the privilege of coöperating in a most important bit of neighborhood building.

In Sholapur an industrial settlement is functioning successfully with Government support. The social contacts are viewed as promising. There is a community center with a social contact and service program in Ahmednagar. The community service programs in these centers are comprehensively conceived and the methods followed are modern.

COMITY AND UNION

Comity in this area has been promoted by Marathi Mission leaders. Coöperation is generally maintained between this mission and the S. P. G. Mission. Comity arrangements are effective with other organizations which are included in the United Church of Northern India. With a few small and independent groups operating in this area comity arrangements are not entertained. Church union, as yet only nominally effective, is slowly emerging into unity.

INTEGRATION

Coöperation is incidental. Independence is coveted and claimed. Integration is not on the horizon.

Apropos of the situation in Ahmednagar, the Evangelistic Survey Committee reports "a tendency for each one to feel no responsibility outside his own particular job." With reference to the total work, this committee is "fully convinced that the mission's entire vision and effect in Christian evangelism will be widened when closer coöperation between different institutions and individuals is maintained." Frequently relations within groups and among groups are tense and distracting.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Valuable property has been accumulated, some of which is unused and depreciating. Many of these investments are structures too large and expensive for Indian maintenance or full use. Some rather expensive buildings are unoccupied. Bungalows are usually modest.

Perhaps this enterprise has shown some of the results of delayed Indianization, at last rapidly conceded, with too little sympathy and guidance on the part of missionaries. It has given Indian influential leaders, for example, Narayan Varnan Tilak.

Among the intangible but real achievements is the abiding influence of great missionary leaders, past and present.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

1. A more aggressive request on the part of Indian leaders for at least an equal share in administration, including the handling of American contributions.

2. Survey interest and effort in various phases of the total enterprise that more efficient procedure may be tried.
3. Increasing emphasis on concentration, with an evident bias in favor of the social approach instead of relying so largely on contacts through village school work.

IV

THE TELUGU WORK

(Baptist)

BACKGROUND

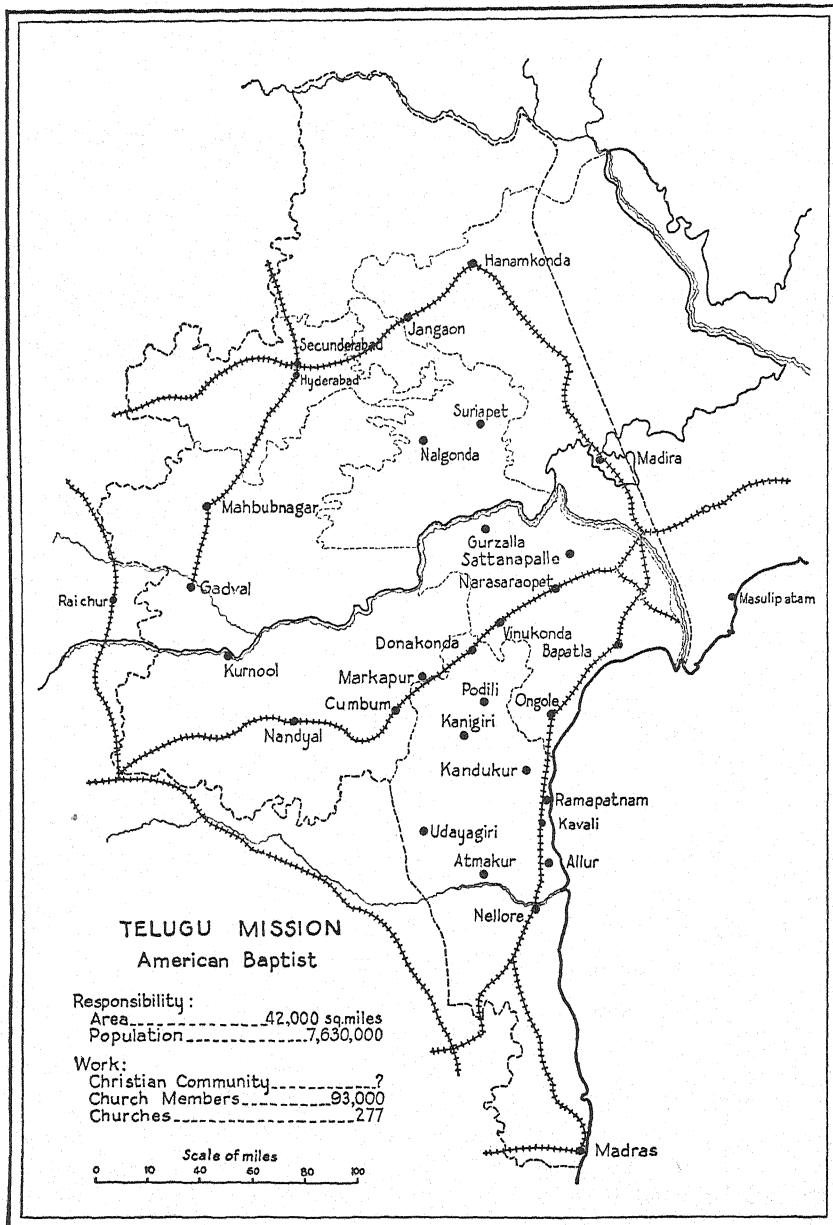
The American Baptist Telugu Mission was organized in 1838. It includes Kurnool, Nellore and a part of Guntur districts of Madras Presidency, and a section of Hyderabad, and lies between parallel 13° and 19° north. This area contains about 42,000 square miles and has a total population of approximately 7,630,000; by general agreement with other missions operating in this area the mission holds itself responsible for 5,500,000 of this total. The eastern section is a coastal plain which runs into the range of the Eastern Ghats. The western section consists of broken hills and tablelands bisected by rivers. Forests cover the rough country. The climate is torrid and semi-arid. The natural resources are largely agricultural and forests. The chief products are rice, cotton, pulses and timber.

Aryan and Dravidian are the principal races. The Telugu language is the chief medium of expression. Within Kurnool district which is largely Mohammedan, lies a petty Mohammedan state. In the total area Hinduism predominates. The religion of the depressed classes and of the criminal tribes is animistic. Agriculture is the usual occupation. Except Nellore district, this mission field is in a comparatively backward section of the Telugu country.

SET-UP

ORGANIZATION

The missionaries are organized as a Conference, which is the highest administrative body on the field and which meets once a year. The Reference Committee of the Conference which meets quarterly actually carries on the work of the Conference. This committee allocates appropriations from America, frames the budget and assigns missionaries. The Conference as a body is responsible to the Board of Managers (American Baptist Foreign Mission Society) or to the Woman's Board, in matters of administration delegated to it. The Reference Committee consists of nine persons, six men and three women; the average age of the members



is sixty years. The members of the Conference are divided into five groups according to the five associations of the mission, each of which elects one member of the Reference Committee, and the Conference elects four members at large. This committee exercises on behalf of the Conference and subject to its revision, both executive and advisory powers.¹

The Indian Christians of this field meet in annual convention (which dissolves) composed of representatives of the churches and field associations, but this convention has no administrative functions, except that it has complete charge of the home missionary field (Kandukur). Field associations of different types organized by station missionaries, as each deems best, function throughout the year. There are twenty-eight stations, in nearly all of which field associations of some kind have been organized. Efforts are being made to standardize these associations.

The relation between these missionary and Indian organizations may be seen in the following facts: Missionaries attend the annual Convention and take part in discussions, but do not vote; they attend the meetings of the field associations where their influence is determinative. Five fraternal delegates from the Convention may attend the Conference but may not vote or attend executive sessions.

INSTITUTIONS

In this field there are 277 organized churches, one theological seminary, two Bible training schools, three normal training schools, one industrial school, nine hospitals (total beds 287), several dispensaries, four training schools for nurses, four high schools, besides schools of elementary grade.

CONSTITUENCY

Missionaries number ninety-one, of whom thirty-three are men (twenty-four ordained), thirty are wives and twenty-eight are single women and widows.

The Indian force consists of sixty-one ordained preachers, 702 evangelistic workers (460 men and 242 women) and 1,596 teachers of all kinds. Church-members number about 93,000 (church-members' figures are based on adult baptism). Nearly all of the older Christians are from the depressed classes (Malas and Madigas); there is, however, an increasing number of Sudra converts. The Christian constituency is often only nominally Christian. The material resources are very meager, many living on the verge of starvation, although certain irrigation projects promise improved economic status for the favored sections. Zemindars are exacting even in bad seasons and usually oppressive. The large majority of Christians are illiterate (dependable figures not available). Of the Indian

¹ Constitution and By-Laws of the Conference of the American Baptist Telugu Mission.

church and evangelistic force (763), only six are college-trained workers. Of the total Indian teaching force (1,596), including high-school and training-school teachers, only eleven are college trained.²

OBJECTIVES

It is quite generally presupposed that spiritual satisfaction and security are only possible to those who accept Christ and are baptized and that those in past generations who did not have the privilege or ignored it are irretrievably lost; that Hinduism carries no values worthy of conservation.

The objectives proclaimed are winning converts, baptizing them and gathering them into organized self-supporting congregations. The purpose entertained and followed is to bring to the lost the joys of salvation; to baptize converts and enroll them in congregations; to increase contributions of Christians to the level of supporting their pastors; to provide *some* mental training for leaders and to claim the evangelistic values of medical work.

These objectives lack comprehensiveness. Self-direction is not seriously entertained; limited educational provision is desired; social obligations are obscure.

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

The degree of concentration may be measured by facts such as these: There is one missionary in the area of accepted responsibility for every 60,440 of the population; one ordained Indian preacher for every 1,524 members of the Christian church and one Indian evangelist for every 7,835 of the population.

The extent of occupancy is illustrated as follows: In Donakonda station (Ongole), with a population of 94,000, there are Christians in 105 of 118 villages, the number of church-members being 5,606; in the Nellore area, with a population of 249,000, there are Christians numbering 1,776 in 43 of 186 villages; the Nalgonda area of 3,375 square miles has a population of 295,000 living in 700 villages, 225 of which contain 5,500 Christians. In the Udayagiri station there are Christians in ten out of 180 villages.

COMPETITION

Overlapping and competition are conspicuous. The Salvation Army, Seventh Day Adventists and Indian Christian Mission do not observe any comity rules and do not confine themselves to any particular community and cannot claim to be working in unoccupied areas. These bodies enter fields long occupied and take over workers and congregations wholesale; restiveness and animosity ensue.

² South India Mission Report for 1929, Tables I and II.

The Anglican Church and the American Baptist Telugu Mission are covering the same ground in parts of Kurnool District and in the southern portion of the Warangal District. The Canadian Baptists and the Anglicans are overlapping in parts of the Kistna District.

The American Baptist Telugu Mission and the Andhra Evangelical Lutheran Church are working in the same territory in parts of the Guntur District and in the Markapuram Taluq of the Kurnool District. The Canadian Baptist Mission and the Lutheran Church are similarly working on the Samalkot side in the East Godavary District.

The American Baptist Telugu Mission and the Wesleyans are overlapping in the Alir neighborhood of the Warangal districts.³

Where age-long bitterness between Malas and Madigas (non-caste groups) is abetted by rival Christian bodies which work exclusively with one group or the other, "the worst results of denominationalism and communalism exhibit themselves."

The Roman Catholics maintain a strong mission in Nellore, Guntur and Kurnool civil districts. Their constituency numbers 28,449. The bishop of this diocese has his seat in Nellore. There are thirty-eight priests, twenty-two churches with resident priests, 238 sub-stations and 104 chapels; also twenty-six educational institutions, which include two theological seminaries, nine convents, two high schools, three industrial schools, three hospitals, training schools and orphanages.

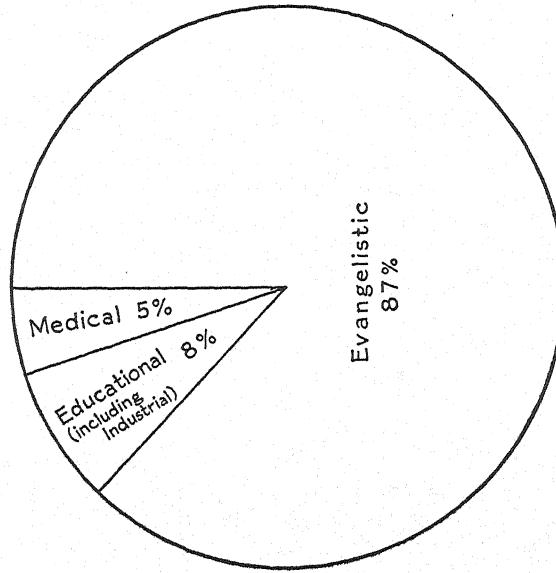
ALLOCATION

The statement that "foreign money should be used chiefly for the support of missionaries and for work in unoccupied villages," when coupled with other statements of the field secretary, such as, "In our mission we need no more institutions" and "We have three high schools for boys in the mission with over 500 Christian boys and more Hindus, but many of us think that one big high school of predominantly Christian teachers and pupils would be better," indicate that "evangelism" absorbs most of the personnel and appropriations.

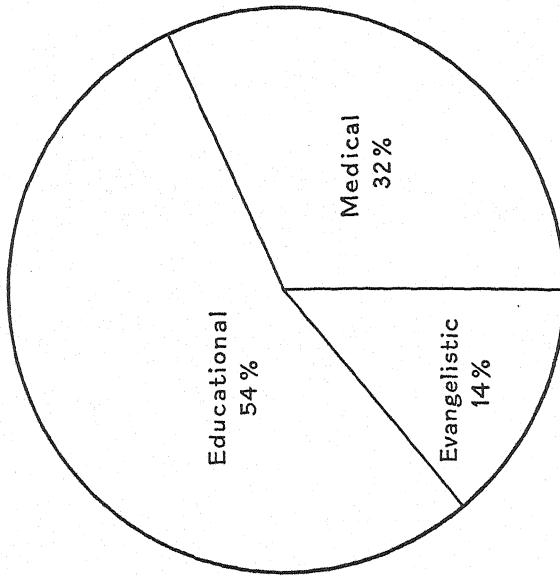
A majority of men missionaries assigned to institutions also have charge of the field work of the stations where they are located. Since it is the policy that no Indian shall have charge of a station or be principal of an institution, and since a number of the missionary force are year by year on furlough, double and even triple assignments are common. Only five of the men are assigned to educational institutions. There are three men medical missionaries on the field, one of whom is also in charge of station field work. There are sixty-three "General Board" missionaries in the field. Twenty-two of the Woman's Board missionaries are assigned to nine stations, which leaves nineteen stations without representatives from the Woman's Board. Thirty-two per cent. of the Woman's Board mis-

³ Minutes of Andhra Christian Council, November-December, 1929.

APPROXIMATE ALLOCATION
OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL
(UNDER GENERAL BOARD)



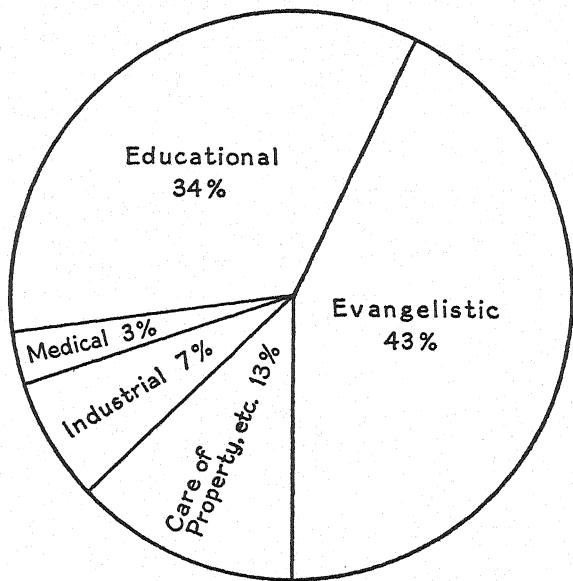
ALLOCATION
OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL
OF WOMANS BOARD



sionaries are in medical work, 54 per cent. are in educational and 14 per cent. in evangelistic work. The majority of these representatives of the Woman's Board work in the institutional centers of Nellore and Ongole. It should be noted also that now and then several wives of station missionaries are assigned tasks in educational institutions.

The "General Board—Mission Work Schedule Appropriation—1929-1930," which totals Rs.120,678 (including Rs.14,804 Care of Property)

**ALLOCATION
"GENERAL BOARD—MISSION WORK SCHEDULE
APPROPRIATION — 1929-1930."**



was divided as follows: 43 per cent. to evangelistic work, 34 per cent. to educational, 3 per cent. to medical and 7 per cent. to industrial. The gross appropriation totals Rs.139,232 (including General Mission Expenditure, Reserve and Rs.5,000 for Madras Christian College). The percentages of this total for evangelistic, educational, medical and industrial work are: 37 per cent., 30 per cent., 3 per cent. and 6 per cent. respectively. These figures do not include field salaries of missionaries, which total for the same year approximately Rs.180,000; inasmuch as the great majority of these missionaries give full time, and all but a few part time, to evangelistic work, it follows that the percentage of total field budget for evangelism certainly exceeds all other percentages combined.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Institutional provision for Indian Christian leadership is evident in the establishment of a theological seminary and two Bible training schools, even though the teaching staffs in these institutions are not composed of men and women very well trained in their specialties.

The general policy and procedure of this missionary enterprise has been to organize and develop churches. In fact, there has been a tendency to organize churches too rapidly; for example, a standing resolution was adopted by the Conference in 1902, viz.:

The minimum qualifications for the constitution of a church:
 (1) The reception, discipline and dismission of members; (2) the maintenance of a roll of members and a record of proceedings;
 (3) stated meetings and the observance of the ordinances.⁴

The following figures are in point:

	1909	1919	1929
Organized churches.....	136	181	277
Churches entirely self-supporting.....	28	41	105
Church-members.....	59,551	74,257	93,040
Average number of members per church.....	438	410	336

The ideal of self-supporting churches has been emphasized with more or less regularity in many sections. In spite of the fact that these Christians live in an area much of which is semi-barren, and under exacting oppressive zemindars, out of 277 churches 106 are reported as self-supporting; seventeen of these attained self-support during the past year. Systematic efforts are being made to develop a sense of stewardship, to encourage an attitude of self-dependence, that is, an intelligent desire to support the workers and work by their own self-denial. In the Minutes of the Reference Committee (1929) the following statement appears:

The Committee would register its conviction that the provision of the Coles Estate Fund involves a menace to the ideals we have set before us of developing indigenous self-supporting, self-propagating church life among the Telugus. This sentiment seems to be widespread among our missionaries.

In 1909 there were twenty-eight churches "entirely self-supporting"; in 1919 this number had been increased to forty-one and by 1929 there were 106.⁵

After fifty years, it seems to me a tragedy that any station in our mission should be giving Rs.7 mission money for every Rs.1

⁴South India Mission Report for 1929, p. xii.

⁵Telugu Minutes, 1929, Church Report, p. 24.

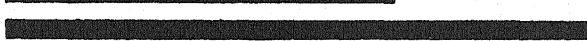
contributed by the people. In a number of stations, the Indian churches are contributing as much or more than the total amount received from mission funds for evangelistic work and this includes such items as taxes, and the missionary's personal touring expenses.

The decrease of the number of missionaries who alone have charge of "stations" seriously affects evangelism; for example, Atmakur Station

(Compare Arcot and Madura figures)

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

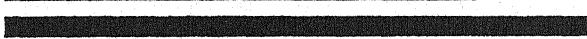
Organized Churches

1909	136	
1919	181	
1929	277	

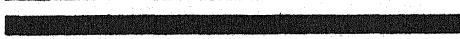
Churches entirely Self-Supporting

1909	28	
1919	41	
1929	105	

Church Members

1909	59,551	
1919	74,257	
1929	93,040	

Average Number of Members per Church

1909	438	
1919	410	
1929	336	

had been without a missionary for seven years preceding 1929. (The Board Commission was "much chagrined" at the situation found.) It is significant that twelve station bungalows, valued at Rs.300,000, an amount exceeding that of the combined Reserve Funds, are empty.

During the last five years, there have been some 25,000 baptisms with an increase of church membership of 11,000. During the previous five years, there were 19,000 with an increase in membership of some 7,000. It is not too great to expect an increase of 20,000 church members in the next five years. This would mean

at least 50,000 baptisms, 10,000 yearly with the very heavy losses that we ordinarily have from deaths. It does not seem too much to expect with our increased emphasis on evangelism.⁶

There were only 900 Christians in the home mission field in 1919. Since then, 1,043 have been added to the Christian community. In sixty-one villages there are six organized churches. The twelve preachers, all untrained, receive a total for *all* of Rs.600 annually. The trained teachers have left, owing to irregular, insufficient pay. The financial burden is too heavy to carry. The development of the church in this field is discouraging.

INDIANIZATION

Indian normal self-assertion is not in evidence in the Telugu mission. Even the few educated Indians are cautious about expressing their views. The autocratic policy of the missionaries has hindered Indian self-expression, although their radiant Christian devotion has increased the sense of self-worth among Indian Christians.

In administration missionaries exercise positive authority; each in his own station is a bishop *par excellence*: "There is a maximum individuality and a minimum of coöperation." Very recently the Convention sent a communication to the Conference, "with regard to the plans for securing for our Telugu churches a larger participation in the directing of the Christian work among us." The Conference replied:

Since it seems to imply that you expect the missionaries to take the initiative in the detailed steps leading to the transfer of responsibility, we quote again from the Annual Report of the Mission, for 1926, which you will note indicates that we await definite proposals from any responsible Indian group to undertake some definite responsibility both administrative and financial and we pledge ourselves again to carry out the offer made in 1926. Our proposition stands as follows:

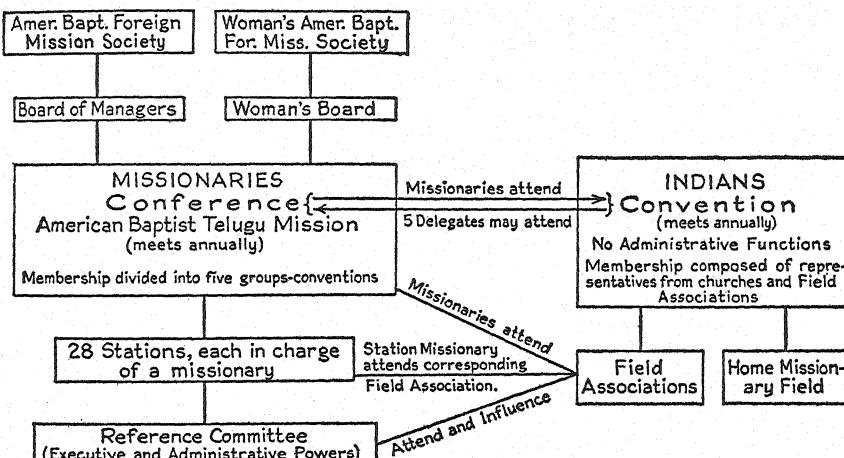
"Leadership,—We welcome any plan that will call out, develop and equip Indian leaders who may assume large responsibility in all forms of indigenous efforts. However, we wish to declare our conviction that the divinely appointed human agent for setting apart such leaders for service is a church or group of churches. Whenever and wherever an indigenous body will assume some definite share in the support of the mission field or institution and will indicate its choice of an Indian Christian worthy to take charge of such a field or institution, the mission body will be ready to transfer that field or institution to the indigenous body which will assume responsibility for its management, the mission body retaining only such powers as may be deemed necessary to safeguard the work until the indigenous body may be able to

⁶South India Mission Report for 1929, Reference Committee Minutes, pp. 23, 27.

assume its full support. Any bona fide proposal coming from the churches of any field asking for an increased share in the work of that field will be most welcome. Such proposals should first be made to the missionary in charge."⁷

Missionaries assert that "generally they (field associations) control all the funds raised on the field with Government grants and other income," but the Indians contend that the missionaries control these associations. A tithe is deducted by the missionaries from the salary of Indian workers, and from Government grants. In one field the missionary rents tank-bed land from the Government and allocates portions to Indians for tillage on condition that they pay a tithe and taxes. One pastor and

INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN TELUGU AREA



one teacher secured lands, but were compelled by the station missionary to surrender their success—they were transferred. Some years ago an Indian teacher was made principal of a high school by a "young missionary"; finances became tangled and he was arrested. "We have not had any Indian principals since," writes the field secretary with apparent approval! The Telugu missionaries seem to have little confidence in the business standards and methods of Indians, who, asserts the field secretary, "are bad enough when they handle Indian and it would be much worse when they used foreign money, which they did not earn."

In response to outspoken criticism by Indian Christian leaders of the mission-centered policy the Conference offered the Indian, in 1919, complete control of the Home Missionary Society Work at Kondukur. This was reluctantly accepted. Indian leaders affirm that the Conference

⁷ South India Mission Report for 1929, Reference Committee Minutes, pp. 34, 35.

crowded the home missionary field (Kondukur) upon them, and then "washed their hands of it." As to administration in the Telugu enterprise it may be said that sympathetic Indianization has scarcely begun; it is mission-centered in its confidence, organization and procedure.

Indianization of church buildings obtains only in villages where simple inexpensive structures are the rule. In towns, the church architecture and the order of service are unmodified Western style; some lyrics are used. In villages one finds few benches, if any, and the procedure is more or less Indian. Syncretism is unknown.

Property is held by the mission, even when (in many cases at least) the Indians have built the meeting places. Methods of collecting offerings in the churches and elsewhere are predominantly Indian; the Indian methods are most productive.

The initial religious impact of the West has been little modified. The Arya Samaj is active in many places—these counter-reformists being willing to baptize Christians of outcaste origin in caste wells. Other forms of intellectual interaction are scarcely traceable except as represented by small groups in three or four town churches where educational institutions are located.

The rise of nationalism has stimulated a revival of ancient customs and religious intolerance. In addition to the penalty of social ostracism accorded converts, village Christians must often endure indignities, economic duress and even bodily injuries on account of their steadfastness in the faith. Some lapse.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

In 1870 the Telugu Mission Conference resolved "that in our opinion a theological seminary is an immediate necessity." Ramapatnam, then an important town, was selected and an institution was established. At first it was very elementary. The principal of this seminary in his first annual report said:

It is our purpose to raise up a class of fairly educated men, simple in their habits, with no artificial or imported wants—a ministry that the poor churches will not find it impossible to support.

In 1896 the low standards were raised by adopting the Government primary examination as entrance requirement. Men and their wives studied together for four years. In 1906 a higher course was provided for students of lower secondary grade and some English was introduced. In 1919 the period of study was reduced to three years and advanced, regular and women's courses were arranged. From 1920 to 1926 the Canadian Baptists joined in a Baptist union institution. During this period the enrollment reached high-water mark, but since has

rapidly declined. This decrease in attendance is attributed chiefly to lack of assurance as to adequate economic support in the field for graduates.

ENROLLMENT

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
1924-25.....	73	41
1928-29.....	37	18
1930-31.....	16	9

The teaching staff for men consists of one missionary and four Indians. Three women missionaries give part time to the task of conducting the women's course.

"The great purpose of the seminary is to train ministers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." It is a school for "training an indigenous ministry for the Telugu Baptist people." "The Bible is the center and ground work of all our studies; every textbook used must be in harmony with it; it is God's word from cover to cover."

This theological seminary is thoroughly Baptist. Control is vested in a Board of Trustees composed of five Telugu Baptist missionaries holding office for three years, nominated by the Conference and ratified by the Board of Managers in America, and two Indians appointed by the Convention holding office two years. The president is usually named by Conference or Reference Committee on recommendation of the Board of Trustees. In actual practice the trustees accept the recommendations of the president as to selection of teaching staff, rules, textbooks, curriculum and other internal matters; in theory the sanction of the Board of Trustees is required and final. All members of this board must be Baptists actually engaged in mission work of the Baptist Telugu field; experience in evangelistic work is required.

All members of the instructional staff must be Baptists. "The school is one of the old-fashioned orthodox variety and demands men of such equipment as teachers."

Every student is supposed to have passed as the minimum educational requirements the Sixth Standard examination (frequent exceptions) and have had at least one year in direct evangelistic work under supervision of a missionary or well known and experienced Telugu evangelistic worker.

Religious experience is determinative. No degrees are given; no affiliation obtains; diplomas for three years' work indicate the course the student has taken—advanced, regular or women's. In addition to the Bible, such subjects as theology, church history, comparative religion, homiletics and Sunday school appear on the "Division of Class Work" posted and operative for 1930-31. Only wives of students may take the

women's course, which includes, besides Bible and Sunday school with regular course classes, sewing, child-training, physical culture, hygiene and sanitation, midwifery, physiology and first aid. In all three courses 75 per cent. is the passing grade for each year and for the whole course.

Student opportunities for field work consist of evangelistic efforts during summer vacation in their own local fields, week-end tours in surrounding villages, but especially in a practice lesson during January of each year, when the entire student body is divided into groups for two weeks' evangelistic work under supervision of a missionary or "trusted Indian pastor."

The academic qualifications of the Indian members of the teaching staff are limited indeed, only one of the four holding a B.A. degree and none a B.D., although three are graduates of this seminary. The average teaching load of the Indian staff is twenty-two forty-minute periods per week. The president teaches thirteen periods per week and carries the administrative load.

The compound consists of 108 acres. The seminary building (proper) is a fine structure of laterite stone, with teak woodwork in the interior, the replacement value of which is estimated at Rs.60,000. The endowment is \$26,256.59. The budget for 1929-30 was Rs.11,792, of which Rs.1,605 was from Telugu sources. There is one "scholarship" yielding \$26.45 yearly, which is divided between two students.

Attendance at chapel services, held twice daily, and at a monthly communion service is compulsory.

There are about 2,000 volumes in the library, mostly in English and hence little used, and generally obsolete. No magazines are provided and no money is available for books or periodicals.

Living quarters are provided for all students, bachelors living in a four-room building, and married students in one-room structures with an additional cook room. There are no bathrooms for students, and no toilets of any kind. Accumulated rules for students are numerous. Discipline is rigid and administered usually by the president.

Outdoor recreation, such as volley ball and tennis are available, under direction of a faculty member. A mission dispensary in charge of a trained nurse, is connected with the school, with a dispensary ward for three patients, an obstetrical ward and an isolation ward. Treatment is given for a nominal fee.

Student expenses are provided by monthly payments of Rs.8 for bachelors and Rs.14 for "families." Besides free living quarters they are supplied with textbooks and stationery.

Recruiting is pursued by faculty members at large associational and conventional gatherings; by students and teachers visiting mission stations and by station missionaries whose recommendations of prospective students from their own stations is necessary.

This institution is a flaming denominational and evangelistic center. The president is an ardent pre-millennarian. The Indian staff members are devout, ardent, orthodox, and their experience as teachers and evangelists constitutes most of their training for their tasks. The students are intellectually mediocre with little educational preparation. The original policy of providing simple training for evangelists, who will be content to serve village churches which the poor can support, has been sustained. The value of such a leadership-training program is recognized by missionary and Indian leaders in other fields where there are too few places acceptable to their better-trained men.

The Bible Training School for Women at Nellore counts one hundred graduates. Two courses are given with an enrollment (1929) of twenty-nine students from twelve mission stations. A school garden, tilled by students, provides practical work and food. Teachers conduct five affiliated Bible classes for women in the town.

PUBLIC WORSHIP

Public worship is held regularly in town churches, occidental as to architecture and furnishing, and in village structures of Indian style. In town churches the order of worship service is conventionally Western; hymns outnumber lyrics; prayers are informal and animated; preaching is simple and evangelistic. In village churches lyrics, prayer and exhortation characterize unconventional programs.

The administrative side of congregational life, nominally democratic, is fairly efficient, missionaries and the local Indian leaders being directly and indirectly influential. Usually careful plans are made and kept in reference to the collections of offerings; tithing is stressed, though often involving stern self-denial.

Prayer meetings are regularly and frequently held during the week and are generally marked by evangelistic fervor. Information concerning women's societies and Christian Endeavor societies is not available; besides Sunday schools there are only sixty-four "other religious organizations." The type of service most emphasized is winning relatives and neighbors.

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

Christian nurture is of the conventional, orthodox, Bible-centered kind. The Conference Sunday School Committee for 1929—one meeting held during the year—reports that "Our Sunday schools are not touching the lives of the pupils" and that "Our Sunday-school workers as a whole are untrained and indifferent." In towns where there are institutions, Sunday schools are roughly graded and day-school teachers serve. The International Uniform Sunday School Lessons are used, if any. In the villages, Sunday schools are group gatherings, consisting

largely of adults who hear a Bible story and share songs and prayer. In 1929 Sunday schools numbered 970, teachers 1,394 and pupils 25,866; which means an average of about one teacher and a half for each school; Sunday-school enrollment which consists chiefly of parents, is less than 28 per cent. of church-membership. It is evident that systematic efforts to nurture the immature are feeble in kind and short.

LITERATURE

The special Literature Propaganda Committee for this mission reports "indifference"; the amount of literature sold at associational and conventional meetings (hundreds of leaders attending) is almost negligible. A hymnal has been published by a Baptist literature committee with headquarters in Bezwada.

The Christian Literature Society of Madras has published a great variety of books, pamphlets and handbills in Telugu; the "village series" containing pamphlets on sanitation is valuable. Most of the Telugu journals, about a score, are denominational.

EVANGELISM

The extension of organized Christianity is the major interest in this field; all educational efforts focus on this point; religious contact motivates medical service and dominates ecclesiastical programs and methods. This field has experienced a series of mass movements, beginning in 1866. There was a great ingathering in 1878—1,000 baptisms in one year. Missionaries say that the earlier mass movements were followed by many years of "disastrous neglect." Shepherding mass-movement recruits was not spectacular or even attractive. Christian values did not filter down from the better-cared-for institutional mass-movement centers, such as Ongole and Kurnool, to the rural mass-movement Christians, and the resulting conditions of neglect are "repugnant." There was overstress without intensive care; for example, premature attempts to force self-support have produced unhappy reactions. The proper proportion of time, personnel and funds which should be assigned to qualitative effort during the periods of group-gravitation into the Christian community is under discussion; the urge for quantitative results seems to smother intensive claims. The evils of neglect are so entrenched as to affect adversely all Christian leaders and handicap present and future progress.⁸

Organized welfare work with community service programs does not receive measurable consideration.

The Telugu missionary leaders are sturdy individualists and positive denominationalists, although the mission maintains representatives on inter-mission boards and institutions, such as Andhra Christian Council,

⁸ See Curtis, J. A., *Neglect of Mass Movement* (pamphlet).

Madras Christian College, Madras Representative Council. There is little vital interest in church union. The alleged reason for not participating in the proposed scheme of union for South India is that the autonomy of Baptist churches would be jeopardized by accepting the episcopacy proposed. Perhaps not less potent, but not so patent, is the cautious theological conservatism of the missionary leaders, and the high value placed on their approved form of the ordinance of baptism.

The only noticeable integration of effort obtains through the common denominational purpose which gives a certain set and trend to operations. Each field is under the individualistic leadership of the missionary in charge. This makes for diversity of experiment and local efficiency. And although each field reflects the supreme interest and natural capacity of the missionary in resourceful adaptation to the perplexities and exigencies of his local field, the values of coördination are not achieved. Furloughs and retirement prevent balance and continuity of plans.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Among the achievements are a suggested variety of policies, programs and methods; instructive experiments in church-building and self-support; a demonstration of the strength and weakness of a modestly trained evangelistic ministry intended for, contented to serve and acceptable to poor village constituencies, especially as related to the maintenance of religious zeal and to the problem of qualified leadership for undelayed Indianization. The spirit of aggressive evangelism has been sustained unabated through successive generations, but the paucity of strong outstanding Indian leaders is lamentable.

These Telugu Baptist Christians illustrate that naïve, unfaltering faith, experiential satisfaction, glowing prayer-life and passionate evangelistic drive found in the book of Acts.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

1. An increasing number of Indian leaders whose desire for Indianization of Telugu administration in churches and institutions is becoming boldly vocal and intense.

2. A decreasing number of candidates for the indigenous ministry at a time when the number of missionaries is also decreasing.

3. A shift in emphasis, owing to the impending retirement of old-guard missionaries—about 27 per cent. having served thirty years or more—and to the increasing percentage of younger successors who believe in a more comprehensive policy.

4. A nascent change in the intellectual, social and economic character of the constituency by an increasing number of converts from the Sudra caste groups—a phenomenon approaching mass-movement proportions in other missions tilling the same general area.

V

THE METHODIST WORK IN BENGAL, LUCKNOW, NORTH INDIA AND NORTHWEST INDIA CONFERENCES**BACKGROUND**

This area may be roughly described as a part of the Gangetic Plain reaching from east of Calcutta northwest to Delhi, a distance of nearly 1,000 miles, with an average width of 275 miles. Most of it lies within Bengal, Bihar and the United Provinces. Work was begun at Bareilly in 1856.

With the exception of mountain stations, this territory has an average elevation of less than 500 feet. Within this area, approximately six times the size of Pennsylvania, is a population of more than 115,500,000, of which 106,500,000 are rural. There are about 85,000 villages in Bengal, 48,000 in Bihar and 104,000 in the United Provinces. The density of population is 578 in Bengal, 409 in Bihar and 414 in the United Provinces. The climate is tropical and generally dry. The light rainfall in the United Provinces is supplemented by extensive irrigation systems. The soil is very fertile. The natural resources are chiefly agricultural; coal is mined in Bengal. The chief products are: rice, wheat, other grains, pulses, jute and coal.

The principal races are Aryan and Dravidian. The tongues generally spoken are Bengali and Urdu. Hinduism predominates in Bengal; Mohammedanism is strong in the United Provinces; Lucknow, for example, being a Mohammedan city.

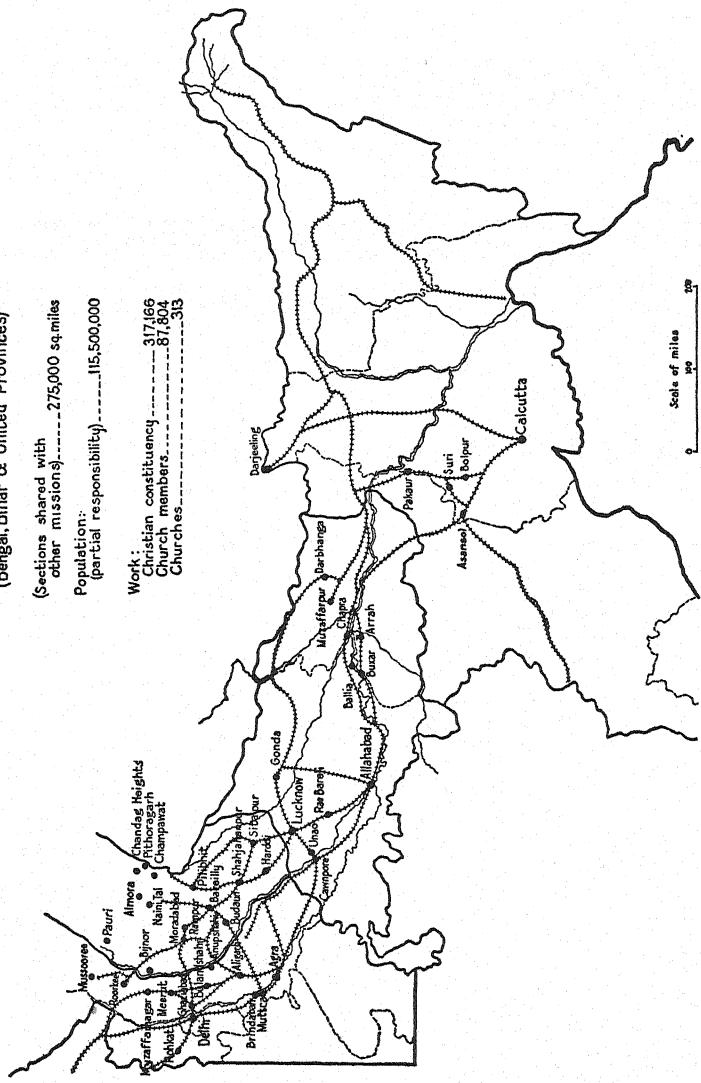
SET-UP**ORGANIZATION**

These four conferences form a part of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Southern Asia. Methodism in India is organized in a Central Conference, which is the "legislative and general administrative body for mission and church work in India." The membership must be 50 per cent. lay and 50 per cent. ministerial. The *ad interim* committee of the General Conference is called the Executive Board, which is the property-holding body for the Board of Foreign Missions and the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, and transacts all legal business for the Board and Society in India. The total number of annual conferences, under three bishops, each with his own area, is eleven. The annual conference is the normal unit of administration, and functions both as mission and church. No racial distinctions are recognized in the annual conference or its committees. The Finance Committee performs the functions usually known as mission functions, is the official repre-

METHODIST EPISCOPAL WORK
(Bengal, Bihar & United Provinces)

(Sections shared with other missions) ----- 275,000 sq.miles
Population:
 (partial responsibility) ----- 115,500,000

Work:	
Christian constituency	----- 317,166
Church members	----- 87,804
Churches	----- 313



sentative of the Board of Foreign Missions in the conference, and has full responsibility for the administration of funds supplied by the board. This Finance Committee is composed of all the district superintendents and a group of laymen and ministerial members elected by the annual conference. It can make redistribution of appropriations from the board.

The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society functions through its Field Reference Committee in each conference. It is limited to seven members elected by the Women's Conference. Of these seven, four at least must be W. F. M. S. missionaries. The final control is lodged in the missionaries of the W. F. M. S. Sometimes an Indian, or a missionary's wife, is placed on this committee.

The annual conferences are divided into District Conferences, of which the district superintendent is chairman. All annual conference members are also members of the district conference, and in addition, all local preachers, exhorters, and missionaries and certain laymen such as Sunday-school superintendents, presidents of Epworth Leagues, etc. The District Conference, meeting annually, has general supervision of the work of the church within the district. The congregational organizations within each district are called Quarterly Conferences. The district superintendent holds two or three Quarterly Conference sessions each year.

INSTITUTIONS

There are in these four conferences 313 organized congregations (city, town and village) and 149 church buildings, ranging from mud-walled, thatched-roof structures to very substantial stone buildings. The smallest number of churches is in the Bengal conference—thirty-seven. There are two colleges above matriculation standard, three industrial schools, one hospital and a few small dispensaries, one theological seminary and two training schools for village teachers; also high schools and elementary schools.

CONSTITUENCY

In these conferences the missionaries number 178, classified as follows: men, 41; women, 38; "all others," 2; W. F. M. S., 97. The Indian force consists of a total of 2,960 Christian workers, of whom 2,305 are "paid workers." Of this number, 182 are conference members, 169 ordained local preachers, 554 unordained local preachers.

The total Christian community for these three conferences is given as 317,166, of whom 67,804 are full members of the church. (Statistics of church-membership are not entirely dependable and their qualitative significance is questionable.) The Christian community is largely composed of depressed-class people whose economic status, with the exception of a few groups, is very low. For example, in the Central Hindustani Church, Calcutta, the membership is made up largely of men who

have left their families behind them in upper India. It is estimated that 10 per cent. of these, working in offices, earn an average of Rs.50 per month; that 30 per cent. are mechanics with an average income of Rs.30 per month, and that 50 per cent. are domestic servants with an average income of Rs.18 per month. In another Calcutta church (Bengali) most of the members are menial servants who earn about Rs.15 per month and a large percentage of whom are unemployed. In the cities of Lucknow and Cawnpore the economic status of Christians is higher, but the village Christians round about these two centers are very poor. Some belong to beggar groups and the majority in many villages live continually on the edge of starvation.

In the North India Conference, the average family income of village Christians is estimated at not more than Rs.65 per year. In one circuit, where there are eighty-four villages with 600 Christians, the average annual family income is estimated at Rs.48, plus the left-over food from the houses where they serve. In Bareilly Central Church, all except four of its 100 families are mission employees. Six of its church-members earn Rs.100 or more per month; eleven earn Rs.50 to 100 per month; fifty earn less than Rs.20 per month. In Moradabad District, many of the Christians are Chamars, whose economic status is more satisfactory, since many of them own and till bits of land. The pariah or "sweeper" Christians are poor. In Central Church, Moradabad, about one-third of the full members are employed in mission service. Approximately 20 per cent. earn more than Rs.100 per month; 10 per cent. between Rs.50 and 100; 70 per cent. less than Rs.50. In the Dang Mohalla Church, where the members are mostly sweepers, cooks and coolies, they earn from Rs.7 to 20 per month. The village Christians in the Moradabad District earn much less than those who live in Moradabad.

In the Northwest Conference the income of village Christians is very small. In many villages the daily wage is $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 annas. The "sweeper" Christians in the mohallas of Meerut City earn from Rs.8 to 12 per month. Village Christians in the Ghaziabad District earn from 2 to 4 annas a day.

Debt is the common lot of most of these Christians, and the rate of interest is 25 per cent. and upwards.

The percentage of illiteracy among village Christians and those living in the mohallas of towns and cities is between ninety and one hundred; for example, a survey of 1,300 families (2,180 adults) showed that only 121 men and 49 women were literate—that is to say 7.8 per cent., and this is probably too high (see Harrington survey). In one of the Calcutta churches (Howrah-Sibpur) all members are illiterate. It is a common experience in visiting villages in each of these four conferences to find that there are no literate adults among the Christians. In the Firdapur circuit of the Bareilly District there are fourteen literate people to be found in the seventy villages among the Christians. In five

villages visited in the Budaun District there were only five literate adults. In ten villages visited in the Bareilly District there were only two adults literate. In the Ghaziabad District, eleven adult literates (men) were found in one village of Chamar Christians; in another village, four literates; in others, none. In Ghaziabad itself reporting more than 2,400 baptized Christians, no adult over thirty years of age was literate. This condition as to literacy is doubtless due to the general lack of primary schools. Although representatives of the Woman's Board are doing heroic work in starting and maintaining simple elementary schools, the quality and length of instruction does not insure literacy; also, although Government schools are maintained in many of these villages, parents affirm that both pupils and teachers, being caste folk, make their children's attendance unwelcome and even unbearable.

The Christian attainments of these Christians, except in centers where educational institutions are maintained, are few, simple and often mixed with paganism. This shortage in attitude and action is not an indictment of Indian religious capacity or loyalty, but is the logical result of incomplete provision for their Christian nurture. In a recent survey of 1,300 Christian families it was found that "all but fifty-one adult couples out of 1,100 were married by non-Christian rites and that 33 per cent. of these 1,300 families have idols or shrines or maintain temple relationships, and also that 34 per cent. of them wear *chutiyas* (sacred scalp-lock)." The average village Christian shows slight acquaintance with the teaching, life and death of Christ.

Although we find capable devoted Indian leaders, the great majority are very poorly trained and lack religious enthusiasm and purposeful aggressiveness. Indian leaders serving as district superintendents are very reluctant to dismiss workers even when their inefficiency is conspicuous. Missionaries when serving as district superintendents are usually too busy with other administrative tasks to be inspiring comrades or efficient superintendents. Indian workers are discouraged on account of the extension of their areas of responsibility and service, and on account of the frequent and often sudden reduction of their income.

OBJECTIVES

It is generally presupposed, although less notably so than formerly, that the Methodist Episcopal Church has a service to render everywhere in India; that Christianity is superior and unique to such a degree that it involves a definite step of renunciation and a new allegiance. It is quite commonly assumed also that village and mohalla Christians can learn little and give little.

Among the objectives proclaimed is a stronger emphasis on education, especially secondary, with a growing recognition of the value of elementary education; the training of lay leadership in villages; the very positive stressing of self-support; the necessity of proclaiming the

evangelistic message and increasing the distribution of literature and the importance of modern attempts at religious education.

Among the objectives consciously pursued are: the maintenance of the status quo geographically; practical efforts in many districts to develop village lay leadership; some extension of simple Christian nurture; surveys to ascertain actual conditions, and the sales value of more or less artificial statistics. The Women's Foreign Missionary Society is more interested in qualitative results and works among caste people.

The objectives actually pursued in these conferences roughly correspond with the announced objectives, except in the self-propagating phase. With reference to the specific Jerusalem fourfold standard, intellectual development is chiefly accented. The traditional Methodistic fervor is not obvious. The physical and social phases are not seriously entertained; hospitals are few, centers of social contact and services are almost unknown.

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

"The year 1870 marks the beginning of a new era in the history of Methodism in India, when the work was carried beyond the Ganges. This was the first step in the process of expansion that has resulted in putting the Methodist Episcopal Church on the map of all Southern Asia."¹ The work of William Taylor brought into existence Methodist congregations in Cawnpore, Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Secunderabad, Madras, Bangalore and other cities. "This was what changed the course of Methodism in India and led our church out of its provincial boundaries and made us a national factor."² Through extension and division, the whole of India was occupied. "Thus, in sixty years—from 1864 to 1924—the one conference in India had grown into ten, covering the whole of Southern Asia."³ These official declarations reveal the general policy and procedure by which the Methodist enterprise in India became so widely diffused geographically. Within the Conference area to which the great Gangetic Plain is allocated, many other denominations carry on mission work, so that it is difficult to fix their respective areas of responsibility. The following figures are the only reliable ones available.

In 1927, when there were more missionaries and Indian workers than now, the total number of such workers to each million of the population was 69 for Bengal Province, 107 for Bihar and Orissa and 107 in the United Provinces. (For the sake of comparison, note the following: Assam, 460; Delhi, 448; Hyderabad, 250; Madras, 467).⁴ This means

¹ Historical statement, Chap. 2, *Supplement to the Discipline of the M. E. Church for Southern Asia*, 1924.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ National Christian Council Statistics, 1927.

that there is one Christian worker in Bengal, counting all branches of the church, for every 14,493 of the population; in the United Provinces, one Christian worker for every 9,308 of the population. It should be noted, however, that the multiple occupancy of territory is largely confined to great urban centers, so that the number of Methodist church workers per million of population in rural districts—where frequently there is no overlapping—is comparatively small.

The proportion of villages actually occupied in any given area where the Methodist Church assumes exclusive responsibility, is small indeed. The villages in which there are Christians—often only a few in number—are so widely scattered and the workers so few that adequate service is impossible. For example, in the Asansol district of the Bengal Conference, Methodist Episcopal work is carried on in one hundred out of 1,000 villages, and even this work is less and less efficiently done on account of decreasing funds and number of workers. Ten years ago there were seven missionaries and thirty-seven Indian workers; now there are three missionaries and three ordained Indian pastors; buildings that used to be meeting places are falling into ruin.

In the Lucknow District work is carried on in a few villages in a desultory way. Outside of Lucknow City there is one church building (Barabanki) in a dilapidated condition, now used only as a dwelling for a minister; there are no primary schools, only one ordained preacher and three traveling preachers. In this district, including Lucknow, there are nineteen paid workers whose total salary for the year is Rs.491/10, or an average annual income for each worker of Rs.26. These workers are discouraged and indifferent.

One worker is responsible for fifty villages about Bareilly. In another circuit a padre, or pastor, is responsible for seventy villages in which there are Christians, and in still another circuit, one worker is responsible for eighty-four villages in which the average number of Christian families is two. In the Budaun District (about one-third the size of Connecticut) one W. F. M. S. worker is responsible for 1,100 villages. She superintends fifty-two teachers, only one of whom has had any training, and only two of whom have even been in Bible school. The work here is fifty years old and these very simple village schools were inaugurated seven years ago.

In Moradabad District there are 15,344 "Christians" in 1,042 villages. In about 40 per cent. of these villages, which are widely scattered, there is an average of ten Christians each, most of whom are Chamars. The number of workers is decreasing.

In the Ghaziabad District (30 by 35 miles) there are Christians in 217 of 405 villages. Today there are twenty paid preachers, including three whole-time teachers, while twelve years ago there were thirty-seven paid preachers, including six whole-time teachers. Since this district

was smaller twelve years ago the comparison really stands thirty-seven then as against seventeen now.

The average number of Christian families in the scattered villages, nominally occupied, in many districts and larger sections, is fewer than three families to a village. The bearing is obvious of this general isolation of immature Christians upon Christian attainments and self-support.

The overlapping of Protestant effort is extensive, since the conference areas are inclusive. In cities like Cawnpore, Allahabad, Delhi *et al.*, the churches of the various denominations are so located that actual overlapping is minimized. British missionary societies, such as the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, operate in sections of this great plain with a minimum of friction. Competition with the Salvation Army is lessening. The Seventh Day Adventists are intrusive competitors.

ALLOCATION

Few reliable statistics are available concerning the allocation of missionary funds and personnel. This situation is complicated by recent successive cuts in appropriations, and by reason of the fact that much of the work is supported by special gifts solicited from America through correspondence of missionaries interested in special projects. Further, it should be noted that missionaries acting as district superintendents, are so absorbed in administrative duties that they can devote little time to strictly evangelistic work; on the other hand, missionaries engaged in educational work do a certain amount of evangelistic work. In general, it may be said that medical work receives comparatively little attention and that social work is neglected. Large sums of money have been invested in educational institutions and in administrative buildings. There is little evidence that any considerable sum of money is being spent at present for church buildings.

The following table reveals significant facts for the year 1930:

	Bengal Conference	Lucknow Conference	North India Conference	Northwest India Conference
Number of missionaries.....	21	12*	22	12
Appropriations from U. S. A. (not including Woman's Board):				
Educational.....	\$10,492	\$ 8,221†	\$45,617	\$20,698
Missionary support.....	4,450	4,250	11,700	6,437
Work.....	6,042	3,971	33,917	14,261
Medical work.....			\$ 185	
Evangelistic.....	\$24,419	\$44,087	\$55,882	\$44,766
Missionary support.....	16,220	20,750	27,173	13,383
Work.....	8,199	23,337	28,709	31,383

* Lucknow Christian College, 14 missionaries.

† Lucknow Christian College: Missionary Support \$19,820. Work \$17,897. Total \$37,717.

Total appropriations for education, Lucknow Conference and Lucknow Christian College, \$45,938.

In addition to these items are the following:

- | | |
|---|---------|
| (1) <i>The Indian Witness</i> appropriation..... | \$2,300 |
| (2) The Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore, appropriation | 1,200 |
| (3) The Woodstock School at Mussoorie, for American children, appropriation | 4,400 |

This means that (excluding *The Indian Witness*, Henry Martyn School and Woodstock School, with appropriations totaling \$7,900) the following percentages obtain as to Board Appropriations (not including Woman's Board but including the salaries of missionaries):

	<i>Educational</i>	<i>Evangelistic</i>	<i>Medical</i>
Bengal Conference.....	30.0%	70.0%	
Lucknow Conference *.....	51.0	49.0	†
North India Conference.....	44.9	55.0	
Northwest India Conference... .	31.6	68.4	

* Including Lucknow Christian College.

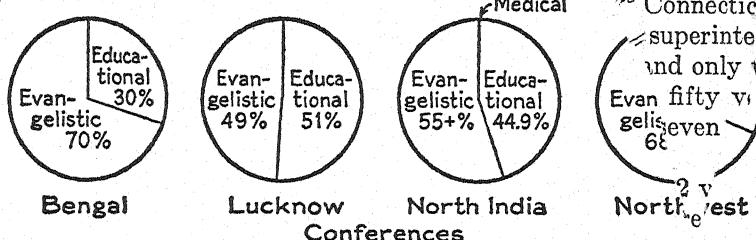
† Less than one-fifth of one per cent.

It should be noted in evaluating these allocations that some provision is made for the medical work by the Woman's Board, and that special gifts supplement various aspects of the work in general.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Methodism in these conferences has been church-minded, and at least simple training has always had a place in the general policy. This policy,

ALLOCATION APPROPRIATIONS BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS (not including Woman's Board)



however, may be described as an attempt to organize churches rather than to develop churches. More recently, owing to the handicap of decreasing funds, fewer churches have been organized.

Although handicapped by language differences, such as Bengali and Urdu, institutional provision for training leadership obtains in a theo-

logical school at Bareilly, in Bible-training institutions and institutes and in a theological college at Jubbulpore. In addition, Methodism has for each conference a working plan of study and examination under a conference board of examiners, which is a four-year course applicable to all Indian workers under the B. D. standard.

Much has been said but little realized in the way of self-support. At present, owing to the exigencies arising from successive cuts in board appropriations, the burden of self-support is being hurriedly piled on the shoulders of Indian churches and Indian leaders. Indian leaders are disheartened by this procedure and their number is being depleted. No small portion of "benevolences" comes from a compulsory tithe of the Indian workers' salaries, deducted at the source. Sometimes the Indian worker is allowed to "volunteer" to tithe, but he knows that if he does not, his tenure is very insecure. The so-called "self-support" is allocated to workers as an amount which they *may* raise on the field; that is to say, a worker is told when a cut comes that he must reckon a third of his salary perhaps, as "self-support," and usually a tiny fraction of this is actually collected in the villages. In addition to this, many workers have a chance to "volunteer" to go on full "self-support" if they expect to be retained. For example, the superintendent for the Cawnpore District reports:

The amount of self-support as reported to the Annual Conference and cut from the salaries of the preachers is Rs.1,160. The amount of self-support actually raised by the preachers in the villages is Rs.92/12/6. . . . Benevolences raised in the district is Rs.1,492, out of which Rs.1,048 were raised in the cities of Allahabad and Cawnpore. The rest was paid from the tithe of the preacher. Nothing was contributed by the village Christians toward the benevolences.

The following are the facts⁵ concerning "self-support" in these conferences:

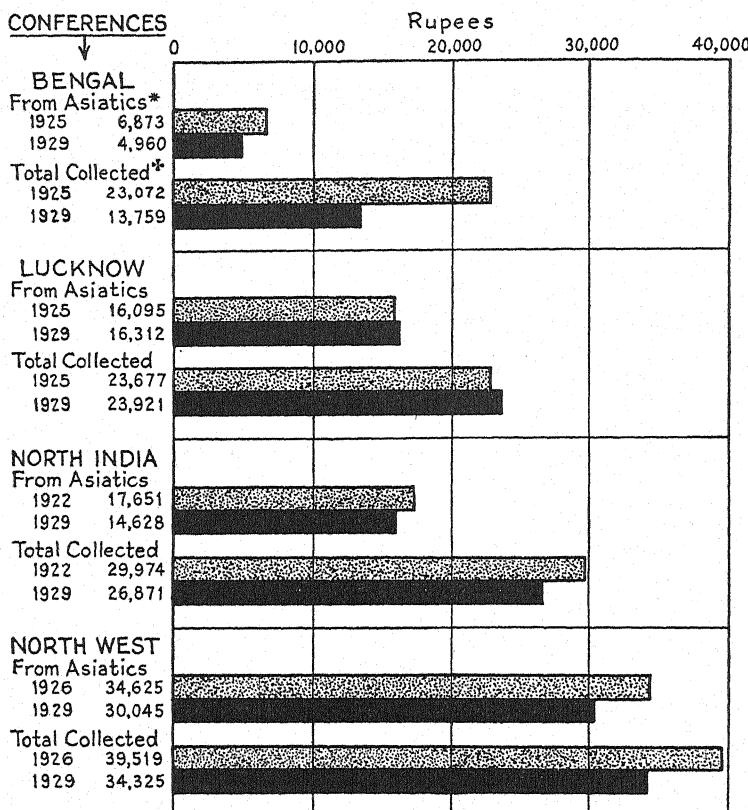
		<i>From Asiatics Pastoral Support for Indigenous Churches</i>	<i>Total Collected for Ministerial Support</i>
Bengal.....	1925	Rs. 6,873	Rs.23,072
	1929	4,960	13,759
Lucknow *	1925	16,095	23,677
	1929	16,312	23,921
North India.....	1922	17,651	29,974
	1929	14,628	26,871
Northwest India.....	1926	34,625	39,519
	1929	30,045	34,325

* This showing in Lucknow Conference is chiefly due to three city churches, namely, Allahabad, Cawnpore and Lucknow.

⁵ See Annual Reports of these Conferences—years as indicated.

It should be noted that, although the general policy has resulted in forcing "self-support" upon more Indian workers, it has also resulted in decreasing the number of workers and in diminishing contributions from Indians for the Indian church. Because of the number of workers

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT TRENDS — SELF-SUPPORT



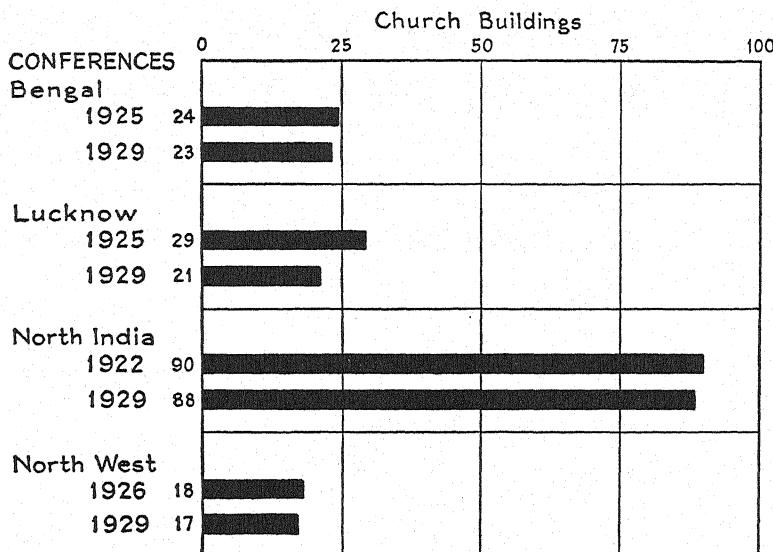
* From Asiatics — Pastoral Support for Indigenous Churches.

† Total collected for Ministerial Support.

"volunteering" to go on "self-support," the easy but erroneous inference is that self-support is growing. Churches in town school centers are usually called "self-supporting" churches, but the fact is that 60 to 85 per cent. of the contributions come from missionaries, teachers and other mission employees.

In regard to the expansion of the church, the general policy in past years has been to baptize any and all who were willing, with little reference to the area covered and the probable care of these isolated converts. This was especially true in mass-movement days; in recent years, however, Christian leaders have had to extend themselves to hold the far-flung line even in a nominal way. More effort is now made to increase the number of communicants although little stress is put on preparation. Many Indian leaders and workers feel, although pressed from

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT - TRENDS



above to show "results," that it is folly to increase the size of the Christian community at a time when diminishing funds and force make it impossible to compass the present task. The Inter-area Conference (April, 1931) declares, "We recognize the fact that concentration is being forced upon us."

Facts are not available concerning the number of churches organized and disbanded in recent years, but it is evident from scores of villages visited in these conferences that generally village properties are neglected and village churches are marking time or diminishing in efficiency. General procedure as to expansion in these conferences is reflected in the following table:⁶

⁶ See Annual Reports of these Conferences—years as indicated.

		<i>Church Buildings</i>	<i>Communi- cants</i>	<i>Christian Community</i>
Bengal.....	1925	24	2,753	9,754
	1929	23	3,178	9,606
Lucknow.....	1925	29	3,597	24,771
	1929	21	3,317	25,761
North India.....	1922	90	30,222	77,549
	1929	88	23,550	92,011
Northwest India.....	1926	18	36,071	181,445
	1929	17	37,759	189,788

A field study of an adequate number of representative samples in these conferences leads the observer to infer that the situation is not even as good as the above figures might indicate.

INDIANIZATION

The fact that there is no distinction between mission and church has tended to lessen the inferiority complex of depressed-class Christians. The number of paid workers, however, who are supported largely by American money, has created and tends to continue the subservient attitude. In regard to administration, Indianization is more apparent than real; missionaries are still the medium of financial support and are predominantly influential both directly and indirectly in administration. The influence of the Finance Committee, which is possibly but not yet actually Indian, is the determinative factor in administration. In one conference the bishop's plan to make all the district superintendents Indian, suddenly and often without any adequate preparation on the part of those elevated, is not wholly successful. In other conferences a similarly sudden transfer of district leadership to Indians, apparently stimulated by the financial crisis consequent upon successive cuts, operates feebly. Some Indian leaders who have reluctantly accepted district superintendencies feel that they have taken the helm of a disabled vessel. Pastors of city churches have been made district superintendents in addition to their other duties.

Worship in the city churches is decidedly Western, but many Indian pastors desire to Indianize worship procedure and some progressive missionaries approve and are helping. In villages a simpler service contains more Indian element. Evidence of syncretism is almost entirely lacking.

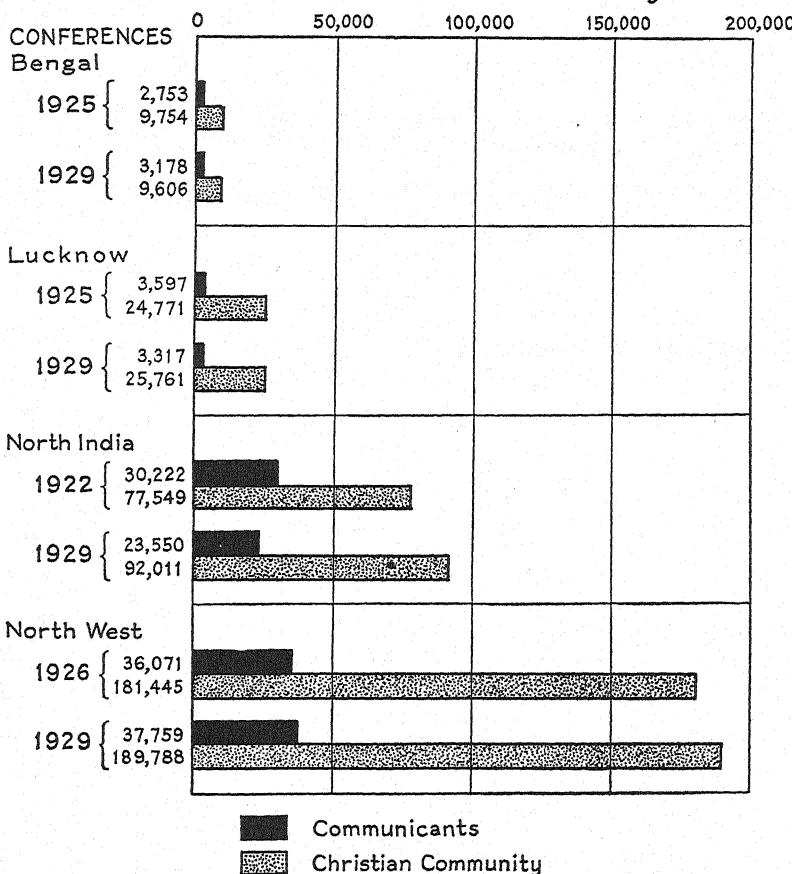
The Board of Foreign Missions and the W. F. M. S. virtually control all property in India through the Finance Committee and the Executive Board. In matters of finance, however, the Finance Committee is practically autonomous on the field with regard to the administration of funds sent to it by the Board, but the Field Reference Committee of the W. F. M. S., which is controlled by missionaries of the W. F. M. S., handles all problems relating to finance and property apart from the

Indian church. At present missionaries control the Finance Committee which, however, could become largely or wholly Indian.

It is conceded that if left to themselves, the Indian Christians of these conferences could not even meet the upkeep of the properties, not to

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT - TRENDS

Communicants and Christian Community



mention the menacing clutch of indebtedness now so near the throats of so many institutions.

Western characteristics still predominate in the religious life and thought of these Christians. The average missionary in these conferences has been so preoccupied with administrative duties that he has not become familiar with Indian religions and social structure. The Indian

leaders, on the other hand, educated in mission schools, have not been taught to appreciate the better elements in their own Indian heritage. The depressed Christian constituency has generally accepted without discrimination the Western expression of Christianity.

Certain phases of inter-action are significant. Arya Samaj and Moslem propagandist groups are more anti-Christian in North India. There is a tendency in some quarters for the Hindus and Mohammedans both to be more tolerant of Christianity than ever before. At the same time there are reform groups like the Arya Samaj and the Moslem Kadianis or Ahmadiyas of Qadian in the Punjab, which are developing an increasingly hostile attitude toward Christianity in favor of their own religions. The attitude developed on the part of certain intelligentsia among the Hindus is that Christianity has nothing new to offer, and that Hinduism has virtually everything that Christianity has in the way of conversion and development of superior living. The Arya Samaj is aggressive, establishing itself alongside Christian institutions, and adopting their methods. Many Christians have been re-won to Hinduism by this process.

PROGRAM AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Four Methodist institutions for training religious leaders were studied, namely, Bareilly Theological Seminary, Ingraham Bible Institute, Narsinghpur Theological Seminary and Jubbulpore Theological College.

Bareilly Theological Seminary (questionnaire not returned) was established in 1872 and graduated its first class two years later. The present enrollment is forty-one men and eighteen women. The entrance requirement is sixth-class pass. The average monthly stipend is about Rs.15. The present budget of the seminary is carried largely by income from endowments. The buildings are adequate. Library facilities are limited. The student body is generally from the depressed classes in the villages. The enrollment has decreased in recent years, the meager and uncertain support of graduates being given as a cause. In 1918 there were 127 students; in 1921, eighty-three; in 1930, fifty-nine. The seminary is Conference-controlled. Steps have been taken toward reorganization including curriculum. There is a women's department for the wives of married students.

Ingraham Bible Institute is located at Ghaziabad (east of Delhi). The course is short and practical, related to village life and work. Students learn weaving and carpentry in addition to their regular classroom work. Women study hygiene, sewing, etc. The present enrollment is eighteen (six married couples and six single men). Entrance requirement is sixth-class pass, but exceptions are made. It is an inter-conference institution. The teaching force consists of two men, one of them Jubbulpore-trained and the other a matriculate and their wives. Village uplift is stressed.

At Jubbulpore is the India Methodist Theological College. It offers the degree of B.D. (English). The faculty numbers seven, full time and part time. The enrollment in 1929-30 was twenty-two. The Board of Governors is wholly a ministerial body. There is no definite recruiting policy. All students receive stipends. The annual income of the seminary is \$16,794, largely from Board of Foreign Mission endowments and designated gifts. Courses are given in Old Testament, New Testament, theology, comparative religion, philosophy, history, pastoralia, sociology and economics, sciences and literature, religious education and physical education, with Indian emphasis and application. The library has about 5,000 volumes and includes a good selection of magazines. A sum of \$800 is allowed annually for new books and magazines. Daily chapel services are held; students share with the faculty in leading. Communion is held monthly. Recreation facilities are provided, and also free medical service for the students. The faculty is strong. All the full-time professors have earned college degrees; several have graduate degrees (three M.A. and one Ph.D.); all have had teaching experience. Entrance and graduation requirements are according to Serampore standards and are adhered to rigidly.

This theological college is young and may pioneer. It was opened in 1923. In 1925 the sum of \$100,000 was given as a memorial endowment. Plans are afoot to raise \$200,000 more for additional endowment and property developments, and sufficient funds have been received so that with a donation of land by the Government the college now has a compact campus of twenty acres with some good buildings.

The Narsinghpur Theological Seminary and Bible Institute located at Narsinghpur, Central Provinces, takes students as low as the sixth-class pass. They must be at least seventeen years of age and recommended by their Quarterly Conference and district superintendent, and further they must agree to serve the church for at least three years after completing the course of four years. Stipends of Rs.14 per month are provided for single men, and Rs.18 for married men. Wives receive instruction. Two classes are maintained for the four-year course. A new class is received every two years. Training for village service is foremost.

WORSHIP

In towns and cities divine services are held regularly. The order of service, sermon and hymns is generally Western. Simpler services are held in the villages where there are qualified Christian workers and where the scattered location of village Christians permits. These services consist usually of songs and exhortations and are often held irregularly. Owing to the few Christian families in a village and the distance between villages, attendance is small and the services often lack religious fervor. The administration of church matters is according to the Methodist Epis-

copious discipline but is lacking in quality and efficiency on account of the general illiteracy of the Christian community and the nominal character of its Christianity. In Ushagram a promising experiment in Indian worship is in progress.

The financial resources of the churches in cities and towns are largely lodged with missionary employees, and aside from these, with very few exceptions, the resources are pitifully small. In the villages, the economic status of Christians is very low. Doubtless these Christians could contribute more—even twice as much perhaps—if systematic training were adopted concerning stewardship, and if there was less allegiance to Hindu shrines, priests and customs.

INTRAMURAL GROUPS

In city and town churches more or less formal prayer meetings are held regularly. Epworth League programs are generally practical but the attendance is variable. Some women's societies have worthwhile programs, usually dependent, however, upon missionary attendance and leadership. Social and recreational programs are less frequent. In the villages religious activities are limited largely to occasional Sunday worship services and to simple group prayer meetings, which are held now and then. It is not understating the case to say that in the majority of villages no religious services of any kind are held, except when an Indian worker pays a hasty visit, or a lady missionary appears once in two or three years in her regular rounds.

CHRISTIAN NURTURE

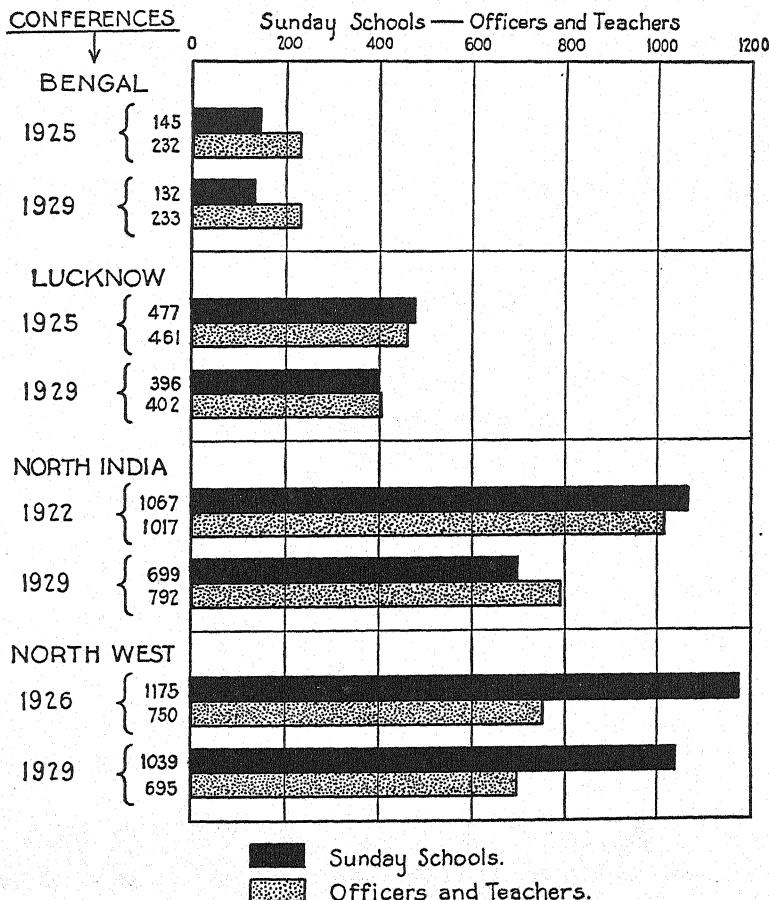
The Sunday-school statistics given in the annual conference reports cannot be called reliable. In city and town churches affiliated with educational institutions, there are good-sized Sunday schools with intelligent officers and teachers. Such schools are roughly graded and generally use the International Uniform Lessons. The Charter House program for Religious Education is generally regarded as too theoretical for use even in these church schools. In the villages, the Sunday schools are usually only such in name, generally consisting of adult groups who listen to a Bible story and some words of exhortation. More could hardly be expected in many districts where villages are so widely separated, the partly trained workers so few and the constituency almost wholly illiterate.

The official figures given on the following page should not be taken too seriously since all too often they are generous estimates qualitatively and quantitatively.

With no evidence to the contrary, it is assumed that the estimates given for the year 1929 are not less generous than in former years, so that it is safe to infer that the Sunday-school trend is downward. Attention is called to the fact that according to 1929 official figures, the num-

		<i>Number of Sunday Schools</i>	<i>Officers and Teachers</i>	<i>Total Number of Pupils</i>
Bengal.....	1925	145	232	5,225
	1929	132	233	5,422
Lucknow.....	1925	477	461	14,825
	1929	396	402	12,261
North India.....	1922	1,067	1,017	30,148
	1929	699	792	20,910
Northwest India..	1926	1,175	750	39,390
	1929	1,039	695	33,274

CHRISTIAN NURTURE—TRENDS

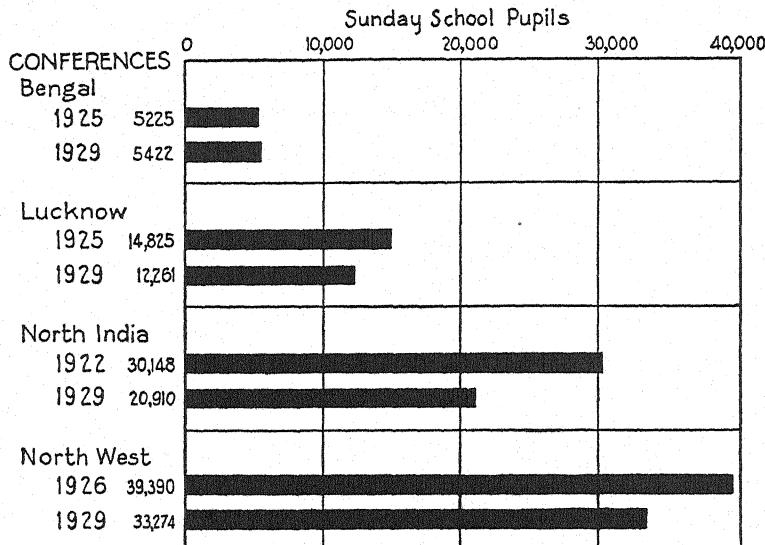


ber of Sunday schools totals 2,266 and the number of officers and teachers totals 2,122, for these four conferences, which means that there were for this year 144 more Sunday schools than the total number of officers and teachers.⁷ Comment on the quality of work done under these circumstances is unnecessary.

LITERATURE

The Methodist Episcopal Publishing House at Lucknow issues annually a large amount of vernacular literature. This press prints and finances the following journals: *The Indian Witness* (English weekly), *Kaukab-I-Hind* (an Urdu monthly in Roman characters), *Children's Friend* (a monthly in Hindi and Urdu) and *Woman's Friend* (a monthly

CHRISTIAN NURTURE - TRENDS



in Hindi and Urdu editions). The press also prints annually 600,000 Hindi tracts and 300,000 Urdu tracts for distribution in the villages. One W. F. M. S. missionary had printed in vernacular at her own expense 400,000 copies of Bible stories. The Charter House plan and materials for religious education are idealistic, comprehensive and up-to-date, but this plan has not yet won large acceptance. The general use of this modern scheme is hindered and delayed by the illiteracy of the constituency and the limited intellectual attainments of Indian workers.

⁷ See Annual Reports of these Conferences *in loco*.

EVANGELISM

Extensive work has almost ceased in many districts on account of the rapidly diminishing field force which finds itself wholly inadequate for even a minimum of nurture work where it is sadly needed. Comparatively little effort is made in the majority of districts of these conferences to recruit numbers by evangelistic appeal. In the mohallas of the cities where there are churches, some bazaar preaching is conducted. In the villages, because of limited personnel and the scattered location of Christian families, the worker's time and energy (so much as he gives) is unequal to the task of occasional visitation and fragmentary instruction. Workers generally feel that further addition to the Christian community by baptism, which cannot be followed by instruction and pastoral care, is unwarranted.

In the mass-movement areas of these conferences the situation is critical. Perhaps mass movement is a misnomer since there was really neither mass nor movement except on the part of missionaries and Indian workers who were under constraint (both inner and outer) to go into villages widely scattered where one or more sweeper families were willing to be baptized. One prominent missionary defends the policy by affirming that they had to go where the Holy Spirit led, but conceded that occasionally a village was too far away to be worked. Leading Indian workers, district superintendents and others affirm that these mass-movement Christians, as a rule, are just where they were (religiously) two generations ago. One Indian district superintendent—recently a candidate for bishop—declares that all these mass-movement folks can only be called "baptized non-Christians." In one of these mass-movement districts where he was superintendent, he tried repeatedly through several years to have these mass-movement Christians attend communion—without a single communicant appearing. Even quite recently baptism quotas were expected to be produced by workers, and instances are cited as not unusual where these Christians were repeatedly baptized as new converts.

The salvaging of the mass movement is regarded as a critical problem by Christian leaders in many districts.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

The most that can be said for community service, except nominal and simple programs in connection with a few churches, is that some simple efforts are occasionally made and that temperance activity is noticeable.

COMITY AND UNION

Theoretically, comity arrangements have been made with other denominations working within the areas of these conferences; practically,

these arrangements are working out slowly and satisfactorily. With some minor aggressive bodies no comity arrangements have been made.

Interest in church union has been manifested by the presence of Conference delegates at the preliminary discussions relative to a more inclusive United Church of Northern India.

INTEGRATION

The Episcopal system in operation in these conferences makes for integration wherever the local constituency responds, local leadership coöperates and efficient superintendency obtains. Unfortunately, all of these factors are not always present, which handicap, however, does not reflect necessarily on the wisdom of the system but is due rather to the policy of diffusion which in turn has developed situations difficult to coördinate.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Among the achievements of these four conferences is the accumulation of valuable properties, although carrying heavy indebtedness; a demonstration of the Indianization of the church when based on coöperative membership in one organization; leadership in the education of women (Isabella Thoburn College was the first for women in Asia), and a challenging experiment in theological education at Jubbulpore.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

1. A more intensive and widespread willingness to survey the total situation and the work being done.
2. A growing conviction on the part of some missionaries, and especially in the minds of Indian leaders, that a policy of concentration is necessary for the preservation and success of the missionary enterprise.
3. A speeding up of Indianization in administration pursuant to the decline of American support.
4. More or less systematic efforts to develop voluntary lay leadership.
5. A tendency to favor secondary education in allocating the burden of successive cuts in appropriations.
6. A growing conviction on the part of representatives of the W. F. M. S. that work among caste people must be done.

VI

THE NORTH INDIA AND PUNJAB PRESBYTERIAN WORK

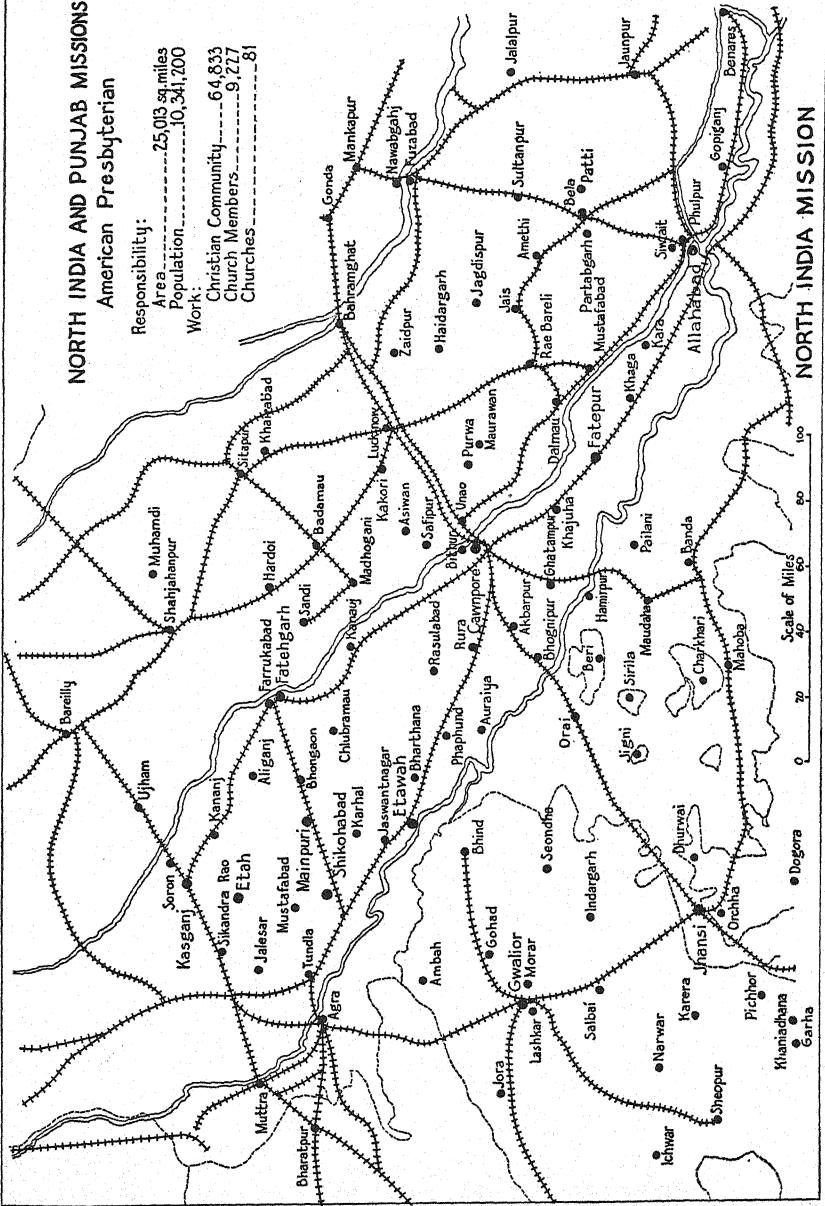
BACKGROUND

The North India Mission, established in 1836, lies for the most part in the United Provinces. The Punjab Mission, established in 1834, lies

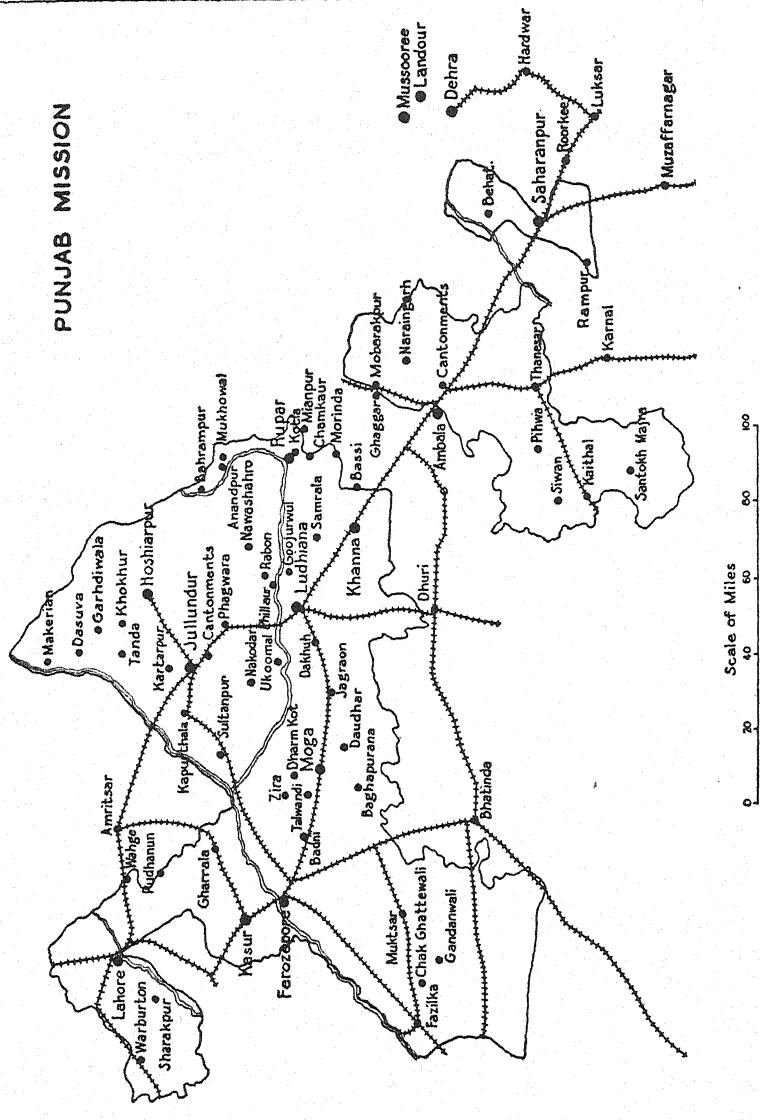
NORTH INDIA AND PUNJAB MISSIONS American Presbyterian

American Presbyterian

Responsibility:	
Area	25,013 sq miles
Population	10,341,200
Work:	
Christian Community	64,833
Church Members	9,227
Churches	81



PUNJAB MISSION



largely in the submontane region of the Punjab and in the extreme north-western section of the United Provinces.

Most of the work of the North India Mission is between the Ganges and Jumna rivers, in a strip of territory reaching from Allahabad northwest for approximately 300 miles, but Gwalior and Jhansi stations are south of the Jumna. The area of responsibility is approximately 11,000 square miles, with a population of 5,041,000.

The Punjab Mission reaches from Saharanpur to Lahore, a distance of 250 miles, and consists of three separate sections with an area of responsibility of approximately 14,000 square miles and a population of 5,302,000.

The climate in the stretch of the Gangetic Plain occupied by these missions is tropical and dry. Except near the Himalayas, the rainfall is slight and confined generally to a three months' rainy season. Irrigation from wells and canals is extensive. The natural resources are chiefly agricultural. Sugar cane, wheat and other grains are produced. The vast majority of the people are of Aryan origin, but many of the depressed classes are of mixed Dravidian extraction. The Hindus outnumber the Mohammedans about six to one in the North India field, while the Mohammedans predominate in the Punjab field. Sikhs stand third numerically. The depressed classes are generally animistic.

SET-UP

ORGANIZATION

The foreign organization consists of the North India Mission and the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. under its Board of Foreign Missions. These two missions elect two delegates each to the Council of the three Presbyterian Missions U. S. A. in India (including the Western India Mission). This Council names the following permanent committees: Evangelistic, Educational, Medical, Force, Policy and Finance. Each of the missions has its executive committee, department committees—educational, evangelistic and medical—and others. The national organizations are the churches belonging to Allahabad, Farrukhabad, Lahore and Ludhiana Presbyteries. These presbyteries, with the addition of Sialkot Presbytery, make up the Synod of Northern India, which is one of five synods in the General Assembly of the United Church of Northern India. The relation, however, of these presbyteries to the General Assembly of the United Church is more or less nominal. The traditional relationship (and partial dependence) of the churches in these two mission areas to the Presbyterian churches in America is vital and perplexing. The ordained missionaries in these two missions may be members of the presbyteries. Indian pastors and other leaders are not members of the Missions or Council. Serious efforts at adjustment have been made during the last ten years and further negotiations are under

way. At present Allahabad and Farrukhabad Presbyteries and the North India Mission have partially adjusted their differences by a compromise plan of coöperation known as the "Cawnpore Plan"; a similar compromise between the Lahore and Ludhiana Presbyteries and the Punjab Mission is known as the "Saharanpur Plan." Both of these plans involve "joint-committees" such as evangelistic, educational and medical, which are composed of missionaries and Indians. In the North India areas there is also a Central Board and in the Punjab area an Intermediary Board. These "plans of coöperation" are only partially successful and not satisfactory.

INSTITUTIONS

There are eighty-one organized churches in these two missions, one theological seminary, two colleges, three normal schools (in Punjab), two industrial institutes, four hospitals, twelve dispensaries, one leper asylum and two nurses' training schools.

CONSTITUENCY

The Christian community numbers 64,833, of which 9,227 are communicants, or about one in seven. This constituency is composed almost entirely of depressed-class folk. The economic status, except of those in mission employ as teachers and comparatively few others, is depressingly low; those in the western part of the Punjab area are not quite so poor as those in other parts of these missions. The average annual family income of Christians in more than eighty villages visited in these two missions is generally estimated as less than Rs.90. For example, in the Kasur district (considerably above the average) this income, including "kind," is estimated as Rs.100; in the Saharanpur district many of the village Christians do not have enough to eat and the average annual family income is probably about Rs.50, including chapatis (bread) and kind. This income in twenty villages visited in the Fatehgarh-Farrukhabad area was found to be approximately Rs.70.

The small number of villages and mohalla Christians who can read and write brings the percentage of literacy down toward zero. For example, in eight villages lying about Ludhiana only one literate adult was found and he had learned to read in a Government school; in the Saharanpur district only one of seven villages visited contained literate adults—three in number; out of ten villages visited in the Mainpuri district, only three had adult literate Christians—seven in number; in the Etah district no adult literates were found in eight villages visited, although several literates were found in mohallas. It is estimated that there are one hundred adult literate Christians in the Etah district. Of the 1,557 village Christians (101 villages) in the Moga district, it is estimated that approximately one hundred can read the New Testament.

The percentage of literacy among Christians in Allahabad is high. The literacy of Christians in educational centers is higher than elsewhere. The Christian attainments of most of the mohalla and of the village "Christians" are few and feeble; pagan elements often dominate. "In only one or two places have the Christians been able to speak intelligently about their religion."¹ This is probably a generous estimate, and as such, applicable to other districts in the whole area. A devoted missionary in the Saharanpur district says that in her center of eighty-eight villages (in eight of which are "Christians") there is "none that should be called Christian." In more than four score villages visited, Christians were seldom found who had an intelligent grasp of simple Christian principles, and whose loyalty was undivided; but it should be noted that the devoted Bible women, and other faithful Indian workers assisting missionaries, come from these same, or like, villages.

The total missionary force is 190 (1929), of whom fifty-four are ordained men, thirteen unordained men, sixty-three wives and sixty single women (not including special term and affiliated missionaries). This means one missionary (evangelistic, educational and medical) for every 132 square miles of responsible area and for every 54,428 of the population. The total Indian force is 852, of which fifty-seven are ordained. Other men workers are 564, and women workers 231; but it should be noted that many of the Indian force are not engaged in church work proper, and some are voluntary workers.

In the Punjab area (1928), for example, there were 173 workers engaged in evangelistic work in the villages. Of these, three were Indian evangelists "in responsible charge," sixteen were ordained ministers, seventeen were licentiates, eighty were other workers, nine were Bible women, two were colporteurs and forty-six were day-school teachers. The quality of Indian leadership, with some notable exceptions (Lahore and Saharanpur), is less than mediocre and "generally unsatisfactory." Most of the ordained men and licentiates are seminary trained (with elementary preparation), many of the teachers have had some special training, and the others have had no regular training. Some of these people are devoted, some are satisfied and others are indifferent and discouraged.

OBJECTIVES

The primary importance of doctrinal standards is generally presupposed. It is also assumed that preaching is the appointed means of evangelization and that the present critical situation in regard to diffusion, funds and workers will somehow clear itself! The following objectives are proclaimed:²

¹ See Farrukhabad District Evangelistic Report.

² Indian Council A. P. Mission, 1930, p. 56.

- (a) "Direct Evangelism, Proclaiming the Good News by Word and printed page, in public and in private.
- (b) Building up indigenous, self-propagating, self-governing and self-supporting Church.
- (c) The Education of the Christian community. This includes both secular and religious education.
- (d) Such practical forms of service for the welfare of individuals and of society as will adequately express the Spirit of Jesus Christ."

The objectives obviously pursued are preaching salvation, pressing self-support—in some districts, as in Saharanpur, rigorously—and delaying adjustment in Indianization. In comprehensiveness these missions emphasize self-support, balk at self-direction and generally ignore self-propagation. Much time and energy is consumed in heated controversy about the relation of mission and church. As to the proportion of interest in the spiritual, mental, social and physical aspects of missionary work, the spiritual, with doctrinal stress, stands first, and the mental, for those enrolled in secondary and higher educational institutions, is second; the physical receives consideration and the social is generally omitted.

GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

Diffusion, rather than concentration, characterizes the work of these two missions. There are about two and one-half Christians to each square mile of the area of responsibility. About six-tenths of one per cent. of the population is Christian. In some districts the missionary superintendents have been changed so frequently that there is no continuity or stability of policy. The extended line is held, often feebly, as an inherited duty. Capable and devoted missionaries, men and women, give themselves unwearingly to what seems to the observer to be an impossible task, so great is the diffusion compared with the force. In the Ludhiana district (area about 3,000 square miles) there are about 700 villages, and Christians are to be found in one-seventh of these. There are about 1,000 Christians in the whole district. Christians are found in three out of ten mohallas in Ludhiana City. In the Ludhiana district there are one district missionary, three ordained pastors and two teachers. In the Kasganj district area (approximately 1,000 square miles) there are seventeen workers for the 400 villages in which there are Christians. In the Saharanpur district (area 1,750 square miles) there are Christians in 500 villages with only seventeen workers, and in the Bhat center of this district there are Christians in eight out of eighty-eight villages. There are no primary schools in Saharanpur City or district, and no Sunday school outside of the city. In eighty-eight villages in the Etah district the

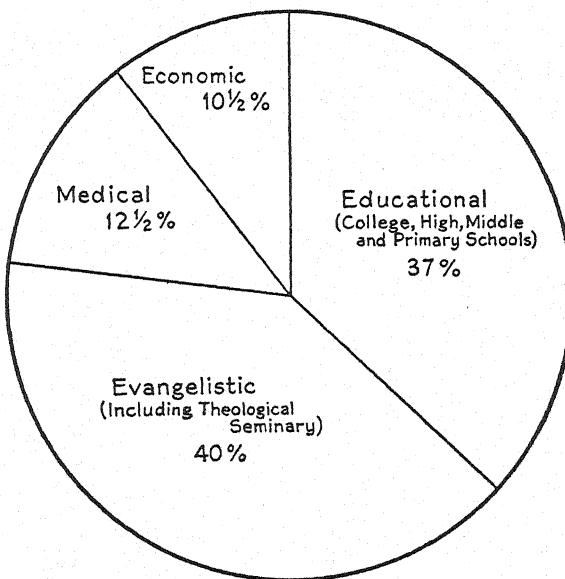
average number of Christian families is three per village. In the Mainpuri district there is one Indian worker for every 100 square miles. In the Farrukhabad district each worker cares for forty villages on the average.

In the Punjab area Christians are found in 1,398 out of 11,005 villages; that is, work is carried on in 12.7 per cent. of these villages.³ Similar figures for the North India area as a whole are not available.

ALLOCATION

Allocation of missionaries for the North India Mission in 1930 was as follows: Educational (college, high, middle and primary schools), 37 per

ALLOCATION MISSIONARY PERSONNEL NORTH INDIA

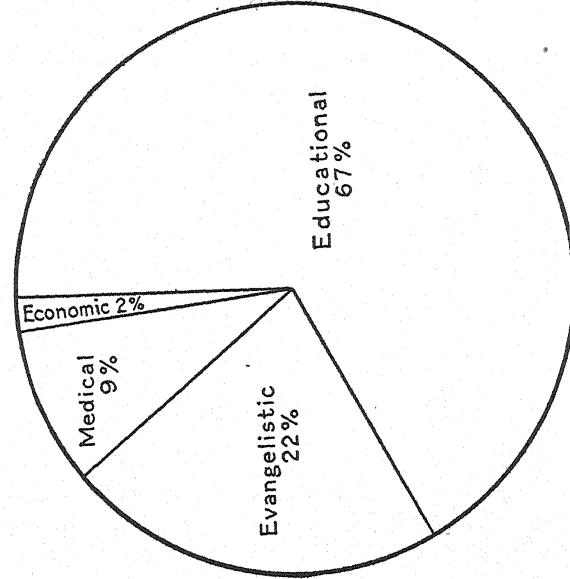


cent.; evangelistic (including theological seminary), 40 per cent.; medical, 12.5 per cent.; economic, 10.5 per cent. In the Punjab Mission missionaries are allocated as follows: Educational (elementary, secondary, higher), 41 per cent.; evangelistic (including theological seminary), 40 per cent.; medical, 11 per cent.; economic, 3 per cent.; administrative, 5 per cent.

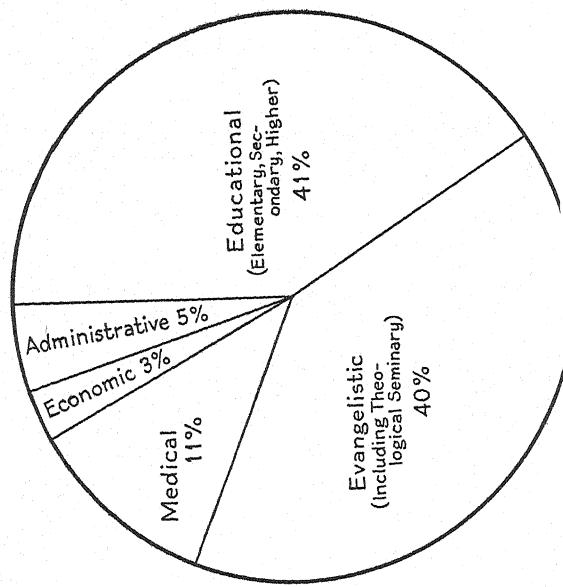
The allocation for 1930 of foreign funds' (Board appropriation and

³ Survey—Evangelistic Work, Punjab Mission, 1929.

ALLOCATION FOREIGN FUNDS
FIELD BUDGET - NORTH INDIA



ALLOCATION
MISSIONARY PERSONNEL
PUNJAB



special gifts) field budget of the North India Mission (not including \$51,164 for repairs, rents and special appropriations for buildings other than churches, which is 19 per cent. of the total field budget) was as follows; Educational, 67 per cent.; evangelistic, 22 per cent.; medical, 9 per cent.; economic, 2 per cent.

The allocation in 1930 of foreign funds' field budget for the Punjab Mission, which totals Rs.238,856 and does not include items of Rs.66,747 for new buildings and Rs. 14,826 for repairs, was as follows: Educational (elementary, secondary, higher), 43.6 per cent.; evangelistic, 38.8 per cent.; medical, 4.1 per cent.; economic, 2.6 per cent.; administration, 10.9 per cent. It should be noted that in 1930 special funds amounting to Rs.284,853, largely collected in previous years, were expended for new site and buildings for Forman Christian College.

The following facts are indicative of trends in the Punjab Mission as to the allocation of missionary personnel and funds:

	PERSONNEL		FUNDS	
	1920	1930	1920	1930
Education.....	49	41	\$ 68,932	\$104,062
Evangelistic.....	35	40	82,848	92,645
Medical.....	9	11	8,833	9,853
Economic.....	5	3	11,458	6,204
Administrative.....	7	5	12,269	26,092
Total.....	105	100	\$184,340	\$238,856
Repairs.....			12,109	14,826
New buildings.....			49,565	66,787
Grand total.....			\$246,014	\$320,469

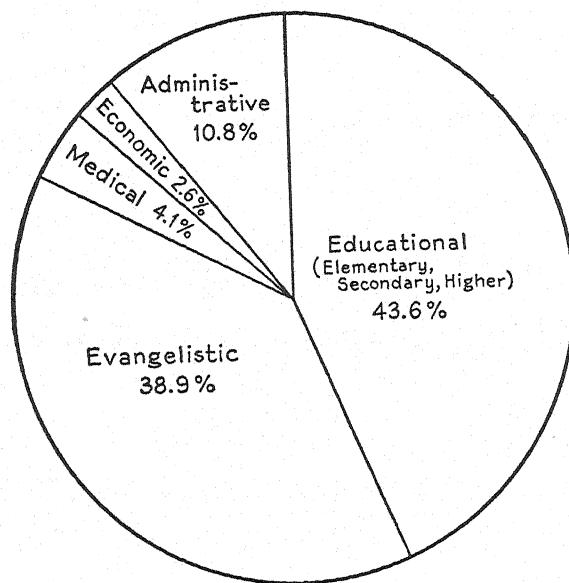
Similar data for the North India Mission are not available, but the following facts are pertinent and significant as to trends. There were ninety-four missionaries in 1920 and ninety-seven in 1930, but the increase in funds received for district work, including village schools, has been about half of the increase for the work in general. In the North India Mission, during the last decade, the various forms of work have received proportionate increase as follows:⁴

	Per Cent.
District work and village schools.....	20
Educational institutions (including conscience grant).....	133
For Christians (including those under the Evangelistic Com.).....	36
For non-Christians.....	382
Medical work.....	230

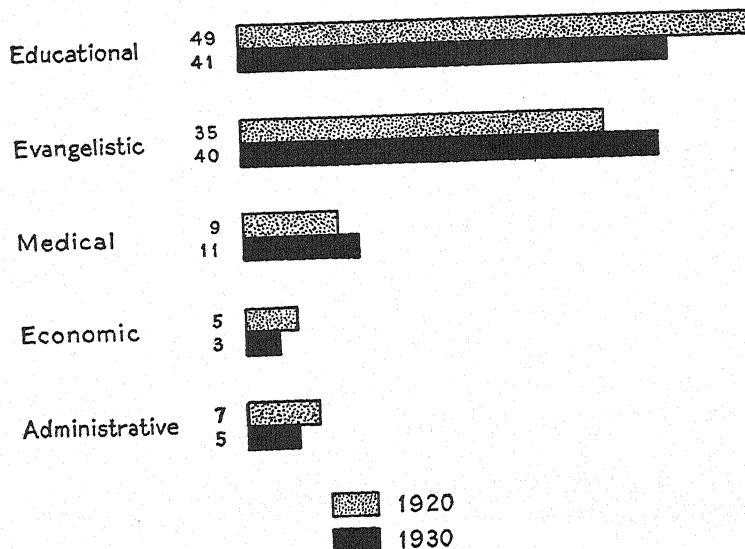
The North India Mission seeks a larger per cent. of the funds being divided between the three Presbyterian missions.

⁴ See Dodd's Report on Allocation of Funds—Three India Missions.

ALLOCATION FOREIGN FUNDS FIELD BUDGET - PUNJAB



TREND - PERSONNEL - PUNJAB

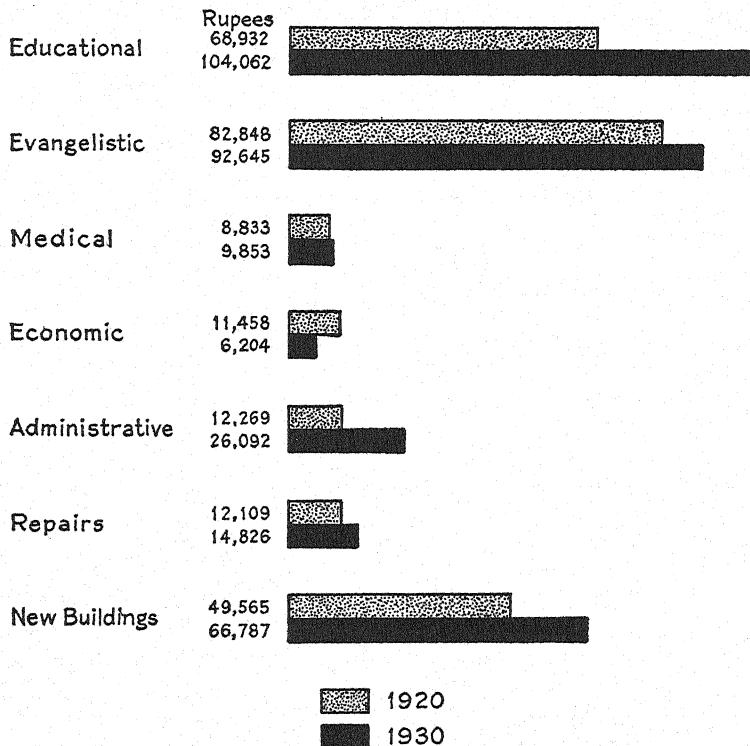


CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

Church leaders are trained in a centrally located theological seminary, but comparatively few of the church workers are seminary trained. In the Farrukhabad District Evangelistic Report it is said that Indian workers are "low paid and poorly trained, with poor judgment and retiring nature and do not exert a very strong influence." The report adds:

Of our eight village churches seven are churches in name and on paper only. The eldership is not kept up. It is hard to find desirable men to fill the places. There is not interest enough in the village to have stated meetings. Elders, not able to conduct meetings, give workers no support.⁵

TREND - FIELD BUDGETS - PUNJAB



Self-support is increasingly emphasized. Studies have been made to ascertain the potential giving possibilities of Indian Christians. In 1920 there were thirty-one organized churches of which nine were entirely self-

⁵ See Farrukhabad Evangelistic Report, February, 1928.

supporting in the North India Mission; while in 1929 there were thirty-five organized churches, eleven of which were entirely self-supporting. In 1917 there were thirty organized churches, of which seven were self-supporting in the Punjab field, and in 1929 there were forty-six, of which thirteen were entirely self-supporting. It is well, however, to distinguish between the immediate and ultimate sources of "self-support," since much of this self-support comes indirectly from America. For example, in the North India Mission the total amount received for church work during 1930 was approximately Rs.18,538. The sources of the contributions that made up this amount were as follows:

Missionaries.....	Rs.7,634
Mission employees.....	6,542
Independent members of congregation.....	4,362

The sum spent the same year for repairs and taxes almost equals this amount. In addition to the above, Rs.2,729 were raised and spent on home missions.

In the Punjab field the contributions of the village Christians (Christian community in towns and cities excluded), in 1917, were Rs.4,041 and in 1927, Rs.4,761—a small gain. Villages in which Christians live numbered 1,217 in 1917 and 1,398 in 1927; communicants (villages) in 1917 were 3,283, and in 1927 only 370 more—a gain of 11 per cent. in communicants. In the North India area comparative figures for 1909-29 inclusive show trends as to self-support, expansion, etc. For example, the offerings declined after 1916 and did not return to the same level until 1922, when the amount was Rs.10,777; by 1929 offerings had reached Rs.15,036 but wages had doubled since 1918 and the salaries of missionaries increased approximately 75 per cent. "The American Church is sending out Rs.100,000 more money than in 1918." Evangelistic workers in mass-movement territory since 1917 have fallen from 106 to 86, and in non-mass-movement territory from 35 to 22. Communicants numbered 5,809 in 1918 and 4,628 in 1929—a loss of 20.3 per cent. Workers numbered 450 in 1918 and 336 in 1929 (in 1909 there were 363)—a decrease of 25 per cent.⁶ Substantial church development in these missions during the last fifteen or twenty years is not obvious.

INDIANIZATION

Influenced by a group of Indian intelligentsia in Allahabad Presbytery, the Indian Christian leaders in the North India area are self-respecting and self-assertive; in the Punjab less self-assertion is found, although more might be expected considering the temperament of the people. In general, throughout these areas, village Christians are subservient in attitude.

There is continued conflict and suspicious coöperation between the

⁶"Comparative Figures North India Mission," compiled by Lawrence.

mission and the church. This controversy has been acute for about a decade. Proposals, counter-proposals and protests have succeeded each other. The Joint Committee plans now in operation in both mission areas (much alike) are not satisfactory to either nationals or foreigners. The plans, correspondence, etc., in this regard are voluminous.⁷ The Saharanpur Plan (Punjab) and the Cawnpore Plan (North India) came into operation in 1923. Disagreement and misunderstandings have arisen, and dissatisfaction is general regarding their continuance. In July, 1920, the North India Mission adopted "The Pledge of 1930" which reads in part:

The Mission believes that God at this time wants us to entrust ourselves in a spirit of love and confidence to our Indian fellow Christians and to the Church in India. . . . We reserve nothing we are at liberty to give, entrusting ourselves and all our available resources.

The Punjab Mission, without adopting the resolution in full, joined with the North India Mission in asking the Synod to study the problem and recommended further that the result of this study be reported to the Executive Committee of the General Assembly of the United Church of Northern India as the ultimate authority. The India Council at its December meeting in 1930, "feels, however, that there are other parties, besides the church, to such an arrangement; therefore, the plans as finally adopted, must be approved by all parties concerned, including the mission, the India Council and the Board in New York."⁸ The end is not yet!

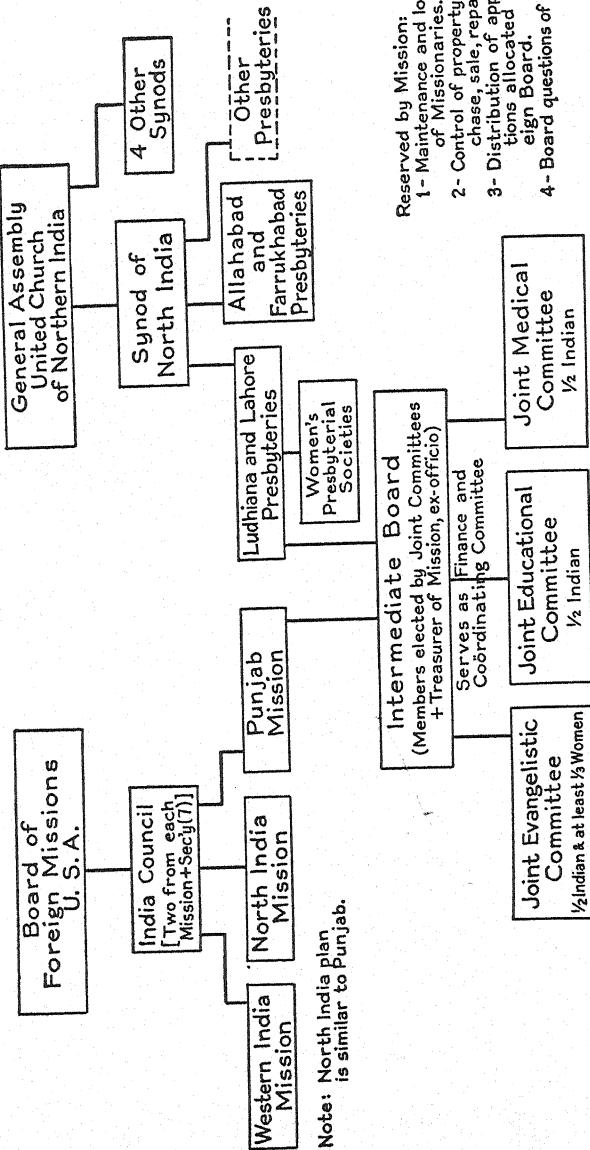
Indian leaders assert that any equality promised in the present Joint Committee's plan is nullified by missionaries who still exercise control over Indian initiative and action, that in practice the mission controls the budget, and that the Gold and Silver Class division is detrimental to the church. This problem of the relation of mission and church, involving such matters as the retention of missionaries, the maintenance of American funds, qualified Indian leadership and self-support, deserves patient and complete consideration. An observer might easily feel that the paucity and quality of Indian leadership, and the isolation, paganism and poverty of Christians in these missions constitute an ominous factor in the situation.

Worship, even in the town and city churches, is Western. Syncretism is not consonant with the prevailing orthodoxy or with the convictions of Mohammedan converts. The Board of Foreign Missions holds title to all property provided from its own resources and contributions. The general impact of Western Christianity on the Christian constituency dominates as at the beginning—the Indians want control, not change. The activities of the Arya Samaj are intensive, extensive and somewhat successful; their

⁷ *Deputation Report on India and Persia*, 1921-22, pp. 171-253; also pp. 623-686.

⁸ *India Council Minutes*, Dec., 1930, p. 38.

INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION IN PRESBYTERIAN FIELDS (PUNJAB)



force is capable and growing, while the opposition of Indian leaders is not effective.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

The North India United Theological College in Saharanpur was originally founded (1884) by the Presbyterian missions—North India and Punjab. During most of its history both English and vernacular courses have been carried and at times a "village pastors" course. It was affiliated with Serampore in 1926, when it became a union institution with the entry of the English Baptist Mission. In 1929 the Anglicans of the Punjab and United Provinces entered as a coöperating body for an experimental period of three years. Diplomas are offered for the English course, none for the vernacular; both are three-year courses. There are six full-time professors. The enrollment in 1929-30 was twenty-two, one student being in the English course. In 1925-26 the enrollment was twenty-three, with six of the students in the English course. The average annual admissions for the decade, 1915-24, were thirteen, of which average one was in the English class, four in the "licentiate" class and eight in the "preparatory catechist and village pastor classes."

The aim of the institution when it became a union college is stated in the constitution as follows:

The aim of the College is to provide, through the coöperation of Christian Communions and Missions in North India, a center of spiritual influence and Christian learning where students, called of God to devote their lives to the cause of His Church and Kingdom, may gain the inspiration, knowledge and practical training that will fit them for the work of the ministry, the task of the evangelist, or for other forms of service designed for the defence and progress of the Gospel.

A member of the faculty states it thus: "First the production of qualified pastors for city congregations, and secondly the production of less qualified pastor-evangelists for village work." The College is governed by a Board of Directors consisting of representatives of the coöperating bodies. "The principle on which membership of the Board of Directors shall be determined is that of representation proportionate to the effective interest of the several coöperating Bodies."⁹

In the selection of the principal the faculty nominates and the Board of Directors elects. Faculty members are nominated by coöperating bodies and elected by the Board of Directors, which is named by coöperating bodies. The faculty determines the scope and content of the curriculum and reports to the board. The salary schedule of the various faculty members is fixed by the various coöperating bodies. The college

⁹See Constitution of North India United Theological College.

budget is made up by the faculty with the final authority vested in the board. The members of the Board of Directors must be members of one of the coöperating bodies—churches or missions. The doctrinal standards required of faculty members are as follows:

The United College adheres to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith held in common by the great evangelical Communion. Among these it affirms, in particular:

- (1) The inspiration of the Bible and its sufficiency and finality in the determination of questions of Christian belief and practice.
- (2) The doctrine of the Trinity.
- (3) The Incarnation and the Atonement of Christ.
- (4) The spiritual depravity and impotence of man apart from the grace of God.
- (5) The divine institution of the Church Universal as a fellowship in faith and service of all those who truly receive salvation through the Gospel.
- (6) The Christian hope of life eternal.

Recruiting is done by coöperating bodies. There are no scholarships or fellowships. Entrance requirements in the English course are according to Serampore standards; in vernacular, middle pass. In the English course the graduation requirements are based on Serampore; in the vernacular course diplomas are granted to students as follows:

1. Completing their course with pass marks; or completing their course with a second class average, and not falling below 40 per cent. in more than one paper; or

Obtaining pass marks, completing their course in not less than six subjects, and in addition, passing in their "referred" subjects after leaving college.

2. That in computing the yearly grades the terminal examinations shall each have a value of 25 per cent. and the final examination a value of 50 per cent.

The following courses are given: Old Testament, New Testament, theology, church history, Hinduism, Islam, apologetics, pastoral theology, religious education and languages. A forty-three-hour schedule is required for graduation. Every student must take at least one year of either Urdu or Hindi, and select one classical language (Hebrew, Arabic or Sanskrit) for at least seven hours during his course. All students are required to do bazaar preaching once a week and to do village work on Saturdays. Middlers and seniors assist in bazaar preaching, which is supervised. Some Sunday-school work is done. Five of the six faculty members have earned degrees (college) and four are seminary trained and the other two are graduates of London and Oxford universities with B.D. and D.D. earned degrees. The foreign members of faculty are scholarly men with years of teaching experience. The Indian members are unusual men. Daily chapel services are conducted by

faculty members. Communion services are sometimes held. Volley ball and cricket teams operate. There are hand-ball courts and an athletic field. There is no trained supervision. Students have free medical service.

The library contains about 6,000 volumes, of which 2,000 are duplicates. Most of these books are old. Among the magazines one finds the *Hibbert Journal*, *Journals of Religion and Theological Studies*, *Moga Journal*, *Moslem World*, *Social Reformer*, et al. Back numbers of many of these (four to fifteen years) are bound. About Rs.400 are available from general funds for new books and magazines. Stipends are paid as follows:

<i>Educational Qualifications</i>	<i>Single</i>	<i>Married</i>
Vernacular middle.....	Rs.13 per month	Rs.18 per month
Matriculation.....	20 "	30 "
Intermediate.....	30 "	45 "
Graduates.....	50 "	70 "

The income of the college totals Rs.5,135 (1929-30), of which the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. gave Rs.3,754, English Baptists Rs.500, Indian contributions Rs.104, and miscellaneous Rs.777. Buildings are good and adequate. The women's department of the college provides regular training for the wives of students.

WORSHIP

The programs of worship of the city and town churches in these missions are Western. In the villages worship is less ordered and carelessly indigenous. Preaching in villages is generally resourceful exposition and exhortation. Sermons usually accent orthodoxy. Church administration generally, in city and town churches, is according to half-Indianized Western procedure. In village churches administration is haphazard and finances are handled more or less carelessly. As to sources and support, practical programs are being followed to increase giving and with some success.

INTRAMURAL GROUPS

Weekly prayer meetings are not held regularly except in city and town churches; with exceptions, these are not significantly inspirational or instructional. No women's organizations or young people's societies are reported in either mission area. Instruction groups (often caste) are conducted by lady missionaries whose devotion, patience and persistent sacrifice are outstanding.

NURTURE

Sunday schools of mediocre character are conducted in city and town churches. Some are roughly graded especially where there are educational

institutions and day-school teachers available who have some training in religious education. The influence of Moga deserves special mention. In the villages Sunday schools are rare and these usually inefficient. Speaking of his district (Farrukhabad) a missionary superintendent says, "So far as I know none of the workers is conducting a Sunday school." In the North India area sixty Sunday schools are reported (1929) with 165 teachers and 3,068 pupils. In the Punjab area there were (1930) 103 Sunday schools, 192 teachers and 2,671 pupils. This means that in the North India area there is an average of only $2\frac{3}{4}$ teachers per Sunday school and in the Punjab area 1 8/9 teachers per Sunday school. In the North India Mission area, in 1918, Sunday-school "attendance" numbered 7,759; in 1923 the Sunday-school "attendance" is given as 2,996. This means a decrease of 61.4 per cent. between 1918 and 1923; attendance has remained almost stationary since. In the Punjab Mission area there were 110 Sunday schools in 1917, and 115 in 1927 (103 in 1920). That is, the number of Sunday schools shows an increase of 4.5 per cent. from 1917 to 1927 and a decrease of 10 per cent. as between 1927 and 1930.

LITERATURE

There is considerable activity in the distribution of literature. Besides Bibles, in the Punjab Mission area more than 11,000 Bible portions were sold and more than 38,000 pieces of literature were distributed free in 1930. The North India Tract Society serving these mission areas (and others) produced eleven new books and twenty-five reprints of books and tracts in 1929-30.

EVANGELISM

The evangelistic programs actually followed consist largely of bazaar preaching, often by missionaries, in the cities and towns, the district-touring by devoted overworked missionaries, including conspicuous efforts by single women missionaries, and such intensive and some extensive efforts as are made by mediocre Indian workers in widely scattered (excluding Kasur district) villages. The mass-movement "Christians" in these areas can be characterized only as part-way or part-time Christians. The present missionary force and the few Indian workers, usually of a poor quality, are unequal to the task of nurturing this inherited constituency scattered far and wide in the midst of an impinging non-Christian environment. This isolated constituency, poverty-pressed, illiterate and untaught, cannot be blamed for its lack of Christian attainments, nor can the present force be expected to improve the situation without radical concentration. Losses, often through the activities of the Arya Samaj, are noticeable.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Generally, community service is a matter of little concern and less effort.

COMITY AND UNION

Mutual understanding, satisfactory division of areas and wholesome coöperation with other missions obtain. Interest in further church union grows. The United Church of Northern India tends to become more and more inclusive; leaders in these mission areas are taking the initiative.

INTEGRATION

There is virtually no coördination by higher ecclesiastical bodies. Single women missionaries are said to control some presbyteries. District superintendents often succeed each other after short periods of service. There is little continuity of policy; each experiments in his own way. For example, in Saharnpur district there have been in six years five different superintendents with as many conflicting policies. In this same district, capable, sacrificial single women missionaries regard effort among scattered groups of nominal Christians as a waste of good time and money, and are giving their attention largely to caste people who manifest increasing interest. Kasur (a compact district) should be mentioned in contrast, where there is stability and continuity of policy and program and, it should be added, under a singularly devoted and efficient missionary.

ACHIEVEMENTS

Within these missions are two notable experiments: The Agricultural Institute at Allahabad and The Moga Training School for Village Teachers at Moga. The Union Theological College is a creditable attempt at ecclesiastical coöperation in the field of leadership training. Achievements in higher education are significant. The personal impact of devoted, outstanding missionaries is immeasurable.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

1. An effort through surveys to take stock of the present situation and to face the facts unflinchingly.
2. A growing appreciation of the grave necessity of concentration.
3. A deepening conviction of the imperative need of centralized authority vested in undivided supervision.
4. Keener interest in and support of the Moga Movement for systematic modern training of leaders and village Christian teachers.
5. A new appreciation of the approachability of caste folk and their possible coöperation in the Christian movement.

VII

THE SIALKOT WORK

(United Presbyterian)

BACKGROUND

This field, initially occupied in 1855, is located in the northwest corner of the Punjab. It is irregular in shape. The greatest distance north and south is 250 miles; east and west, 180 miles. The area is approximately 27,000 square miles and the population 5,400,000. The physical features vary; south of the Jhelum river the elevation of the plain is about 1,000 feet to the foothills of the Himalayas; northwest of the Jhelum the country is undulating, with an average elevation of about 1,800 feet. The climate is hot and dry in the summer and temperate in winter. The resources are chiefly agricultural. Wheat and other grains are produced. Kerosene oil and gasoline are refined in Rawalpindi, which city is the largest military center in India.

The population is largely Aryan. Urdu and Punjabi are the languages usually spoken. Mohammedans outnumber all others. In some districts Sikhs outnumber Hindus.

SET-UP

ORGANIZATION

The foreign organization consists of the members of the Sialkot Mission of the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Two boards are represented, the Board of Foreign Missions and the Women's Board, which are separate organizations with separate control of funds. The representatives of the Women's Board are in the majority and actually in control; the wives of missionaries have no vote in mission meetings.

The national organization consists of the Synod of the Punjab, its six presbyteries and the churches, all of which are under the General Assembly in America.

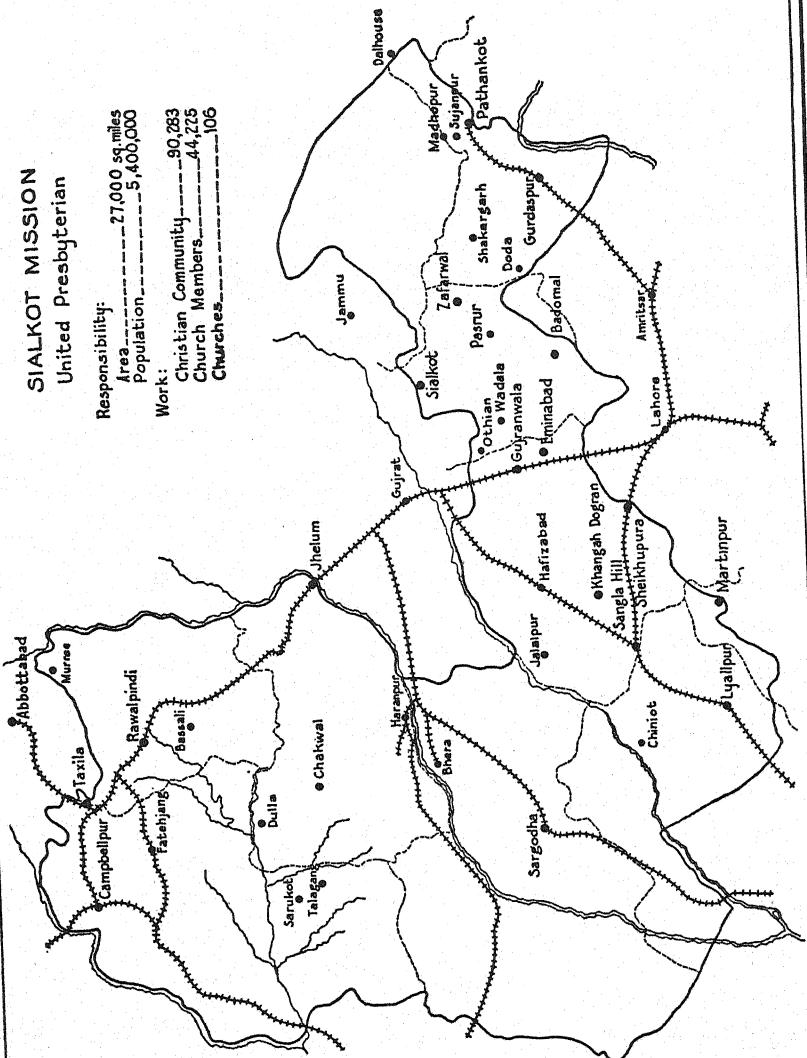
The relation between the foreign and Indian organizations is tense. The Theological Seminary is under the control of the Synod. The mission controls institutions except the Theological Seminary. The Indian members of the Board of Directors of the Theological Seminary outnumber the missionaries. Four districts have been granted to the Synod as Home Mission fields. On the Home Mission Board missionaries serve only as consultative members. Ordained missionaries are members of presbyteries and Synod. Mission, Synod and joint groups struggle with the acute problem of relationship between foreign and national workers.

INSTITUTIONS

There are 106 organized congregations, one theological seminary, one college, one industrial school, five hospitals, three dispensaries, one leper

SIALKOT MISSION United Presbyterian

Responsibility:
Area ----- 27,000 sq miles
Population ----- 5,400,000
Work:
Christian Community ----- 30,283
Church Members ----- 44,225
Churches ----- 106



asylum and one refuge home, besides high schools, middle schools and primary schools.

CONSTITUENCY

The Christian community totals 90,283, of which 44,225 are communicants, or about one-half. The Christian community is 1.67 per cent. of the population. There are 2,033 "villages in congregations and circles." The Christian constituency is almost entirely from the depressed classes. Debt is common among those who have enough possessions to secure credit; the interest rate is about 25 per cent, per annum. Very few own any land. Most of the village Christians are agricultural laborers and are paid in kind and must sell this grain at a low price to get any cash. These laborers receive from thirty-six to forty-eight maunds of grain per year (a maund brings about 12 annas in the open market). Landlords are oppressive. Many Christians do not have enough to eat. Christians in cities are usually employed at menial work, as scavengers, etc. The percentage of literacy among Christians is very low; for example, in the Sialkot district the Chawinda pastorate has eleven villages with a Christian community of 625, but only twenty-five adult Christians or 4 per cent. are literate. The pastor has been twenty-five years in this place. In Chawinda where the pastor lives, only four adults of the 150 Christians are literate. In the Gujranwala district the village of Hinduchak, with twenty Christians, has one literate adult; the village of Jandiala, with 176 Christians, has no literate adults; the village of Kamoke, with 123 Christians, has no literate adults; the village of Marichakharam, with ninety-five Christians, has three literate adults; the village of Ghania, with thirty-three Christians, has no literate adults; the village of Harriar, with twenty Christians, has no literate adults; the village of Ferozwala with 162 Christians has no literate adults. In the Gujranwala Central Church the percentage of literacy among the members is high. In the city church at Rawalpindi the percentage of literacy is estimated at 80 per cent., but in the mohallas and villages attached, it is very low. The Christian attainments of village Christians are usually few and feeble. Some elders are fairly well informed about elementary Christian facts and values. Groups of Christians were found who knew Bible stories and were intensely devout and loyal.

The quality of Indian church-leadership is generally inferior; the leaders are nearly all from the depressed classes and of "mediocre caliber with less than college entrance requirements" before seminary preparation, if any.

In the Sialkot Mission there were (1929) 172 missionaries. Of these, twenty-seven are ordained men and five laymen, twenty-eight wives, sixty-two single women, and fifty missionaries of the Women's Board. The total number of evangelistic workers was 272; of this number seventy-three are ordained men with charge, nineteen ordained men without

charge, nineteen evangelists under presbyteries, eighty-two evangelists under mission. The total number of Indian educational workers was 236; of Indian medical workers ninety-eight; of Indian philanthropic workers seventeen.

OBJECTIVES

It is quite generally presupposed that Christianity exhausts religious values and is inclusive in its claims and commands concerning salvation, and that salvation depends upon accepting the correct theological beliefs exalted in this mission. It is also generally assumed by missionaries that Indians are incapable of intelligent self-direction except in local church affairs. Among the objectives proclaimed are preaching the Gospel, whether men hear or forbear, organizing churches and urging self-support. The objectives consciously pursued are theological orthodoxy, preaching the Word, training lay leaders (elders), crowding positively and exactingly the obligation of self-support on the pastors and churches, and the Indianization of the church but not of institutions. As to the general objectives (self-directing, self-supporting, self-propagating Christianity) self-support receives special emphasis as applied to the church proper; self-direction is unhampered and almost unassisted in home-mission districts, elsewhere it is qualified by missionary prestige in the Synod and presbyteries. As to the more specific objectives (Jerusalem fourfold standard—physical, mental, social and spiritual) the primary accent is on the spiritual and intellectual. The physical (medical) is recognized and the social receives little consideration. The closing of high schools and primary schools, due to decreasing appropriations, reveals a scale of values where the spiritual is supreme.

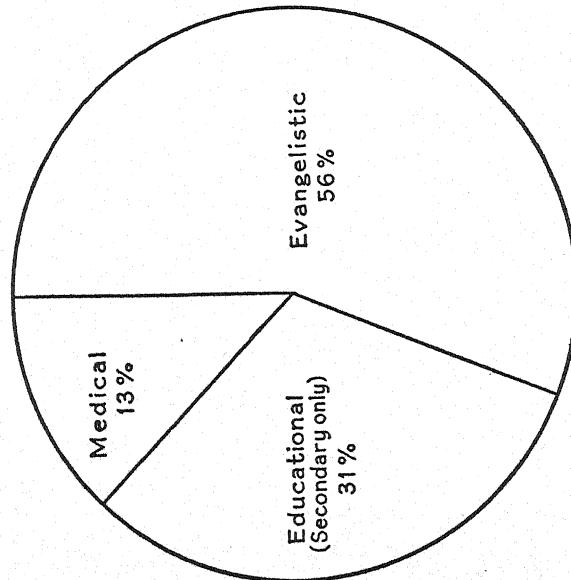
GENERAL POLICY AND PROCEDURE

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

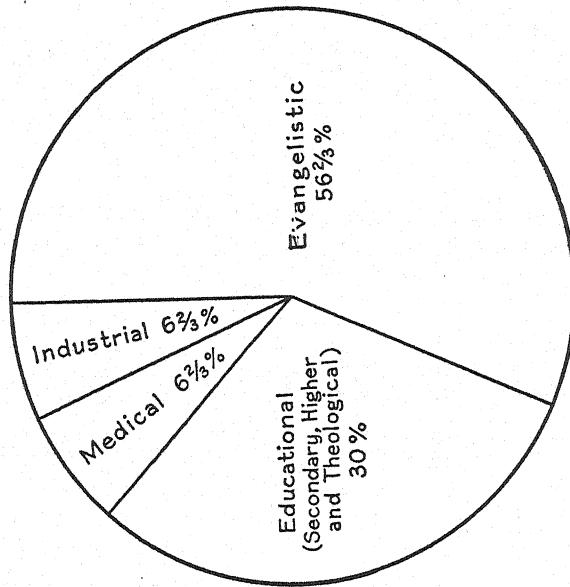
There is one church worker (counting "total staff, foreign and Indian, in evangelistic, book and women's work") for every 16,000 of the population and for every eighty square miles of the area of accepted responsibility.

Work is being carried on in less than one-fifth of the villages in this area. North of the Jhelum River only a small portion of the territory is partially occupied. Work is done in only a few towns and villages in Jhelum, Rawalpindi and Attock districts. South of the Jhelum a larger proportion of the villages is occupied, but each worker has too many villages assigned to him for adequate service. Thus intensive work in many villages is impossible; often the villages making the largest offerings are favored by pastoral visits and services. Even the villages attached to the Central Church in Gujranwala are poorly served. There is little overlapping or competition of missions in this area, coöperation is the rule. The Roman Catholics have work in Sialkot, Jhelum and other districts.

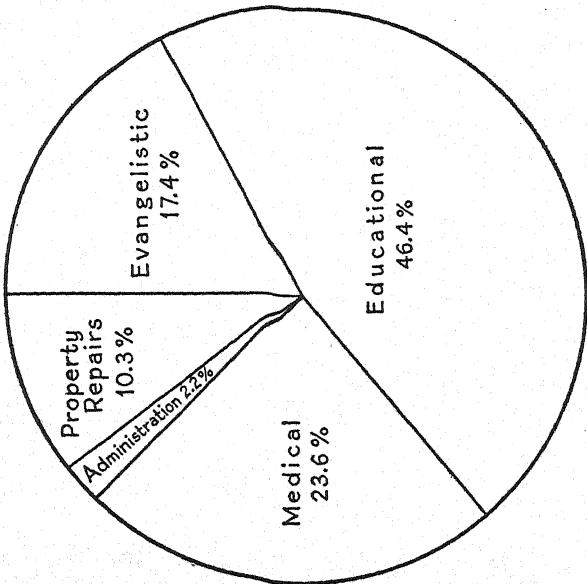
PERSONNEL
WOMEN'S GENERAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY



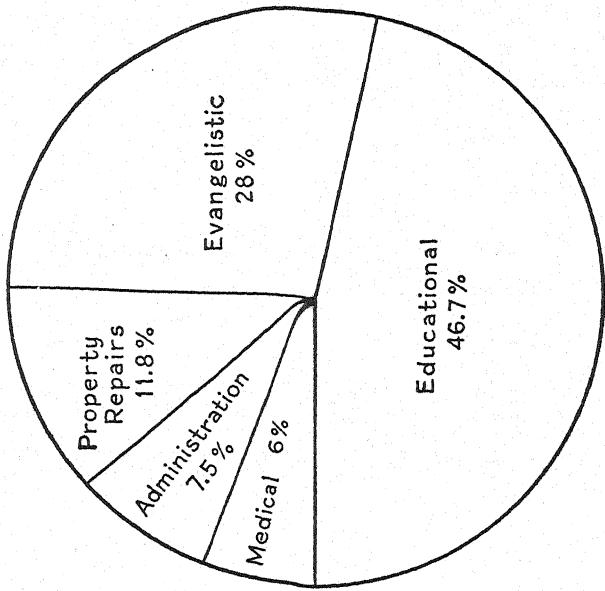
PERSONNEL
BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS



FIELD BUDGET
WOMEN'S GENERAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY



FIELD BUDGET
BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS



According to the 1930 figures furnished by the General Treasurer, the allocation of missionary personnel is as follows: Men's Board, 56½ per cent. evangelistic, 30 per cent. educational (secondary, higher and theological), 6½ per cent. medical and 6½ per cent. industrial (administrative and primary school personnel not included in these percentages). In the statistics for 1929 of the "Foreign Regular," one ordained missionary is listed as serving a primary school for boys and four unmarried women as assigned to primary schools for girls. For the Women's Board, the allocation of personnel was 56 per cent. evangelistic, 31 per cent. educational (secondary only) and 13 per cent. medical.

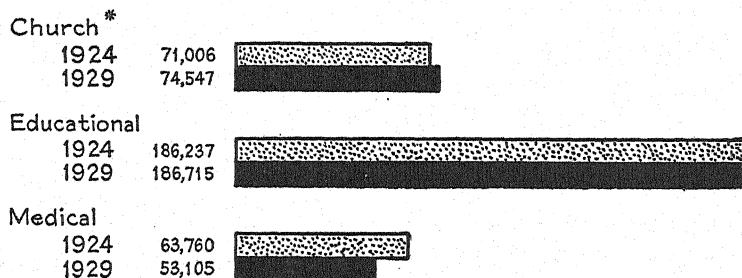
The Men's Board field budget (not including salaries of missionaries, travel, etc.) was divided so that 28 per cent. went to evangelistic, 46.7 per cent. to educational, 6 per cent. to medical work, 7.5 per cent. to administration and 11.8 per cent. to property and repairs.

The Women's Board field budget (excluding salaries, travel, etc.) was divided so that 17.4 per cent. went to evangelistic, 46.5 per cent. to educational, 23.6 per cent. to medical work, 2.2 per cent. to administration, and 10.3 per cent. to property repairs.

	1920	1930
Men's Board—salaries, travel, etc.	Rs.225,147	Rs.215,225
" " —field budget.....	148,922	200,609
Women's Board—salaries, travel, etc.	140,444	147,855
" " —field budget.....	81,862	168,297

These figures show that for the Men's Board the salary budget for missionaries decreased 4.4 per cent. while the field budget increased 34.7

TREND OF FIELD BUDGET BOARD OF FOREIGN MISSIONS



* Includes Evangelistic, Women's Book Work

per cent.; that for the Women's Board the salary budget for missionaries increased 5.3 per cent. and the field budget increased 105.6 per cent.

During the same period the number of missionaries decreased 29 per cent. in the Men's Board and 8 per cent. in the Women's Board.¹

It should be noted further that between June 1, 1920, and May 31, 1922, the mission spent on new buildings and sites Rs.163,300, which was raised by "special drive to provide adequate equipment and living accommodations for missionaries." Nothing was spent for this item in 1930.

The following table shows comparative allocation of funds for 1924 and 1929 (not including salaries of missionaries).

Type of Work	Mission Treasury 1924	Mission Treasury 1929
Church, including evangelistic, women's book work	Rs. 71,006	Rs. 74,547
Educational	186,237	186,715
Medical	63,760	53,105
Total	Rs.321,003	Rs.314,367

These allocations for the years named may have been influenced by marked increase in income for these types of work from Indian sources, Government grants and special sources (income from special sources for educational is the only item showing a decrease).

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT

The general policy of the Sialkot Mission as to training leaders is revealed in the facts that it has a theological seminary with provision for women and systematic parish effort to train leaders, but no specific teacher-training institutions.

A policy of self-support has been in operation for many years and is pressed so vigorously that to many Indians it seems to be an end in itself. Of the 106 organized congregations, seventy are reported as self-supporting (1930). The salaries of village pastors are meager and uncertain, a sufficient number of villages being assigned to enable a pastor to collect his salary if he is aggressive in this respect; pastoral visits and "chanda" (offerings) are often concomitant. The burden of raising their own support from very poor and scattered Christians eats up the time and often crushes the spirit of pastors. In city churches a considerable portion of "self-support" comes from missionaries and Indian mission employees; for example, in the city church of Rawalpindi, of those contributing to the church only six are not in the employ of the mission. This church has been "self-supporting" since 1902.

The contributions of the Indian church in 1909 were Rs.13,477, in 1919 they were Rs.20,633, and in 1929 they were Rs.61,000.

¹ Statement of General Treasurer.

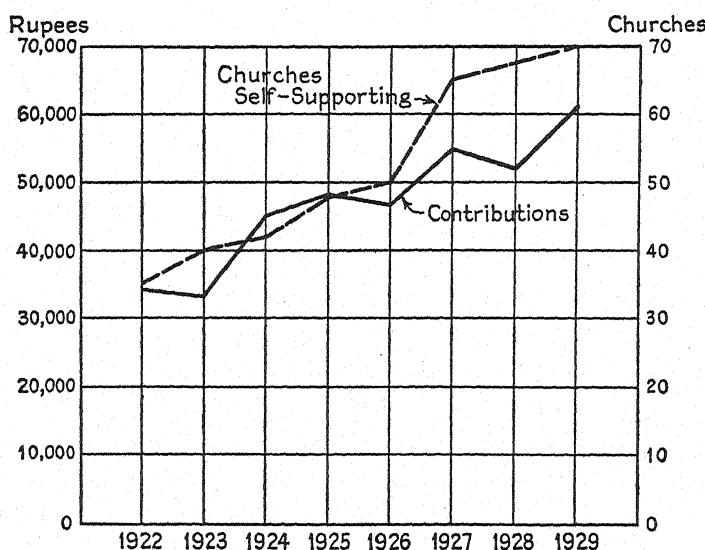
	Contributions of Indian Church	Churches Self-Supporting
1922.....	Rs.34,440	35
1923.....	33,415	40
1924.....	45,284	42
1925.....	48,356	48
1926.....	46,793	50
1927.....	55,000	65
1928.....	52,000	—
1929.....	61,000	70

It is maintained that this growth of Indian contributions and self-support is due in part to the Synod's evangelistic campaign.² The number of organized congregations shows a 20 per cent. increase from 1925 to 1929; during the same period self-supporting churches increased 46 per cent.

INDIANIZATION

The Punjabis are naturally independent and self-assertive, yet the depressed classes lack the self-respect which is normal in a just environ-

DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHURCH

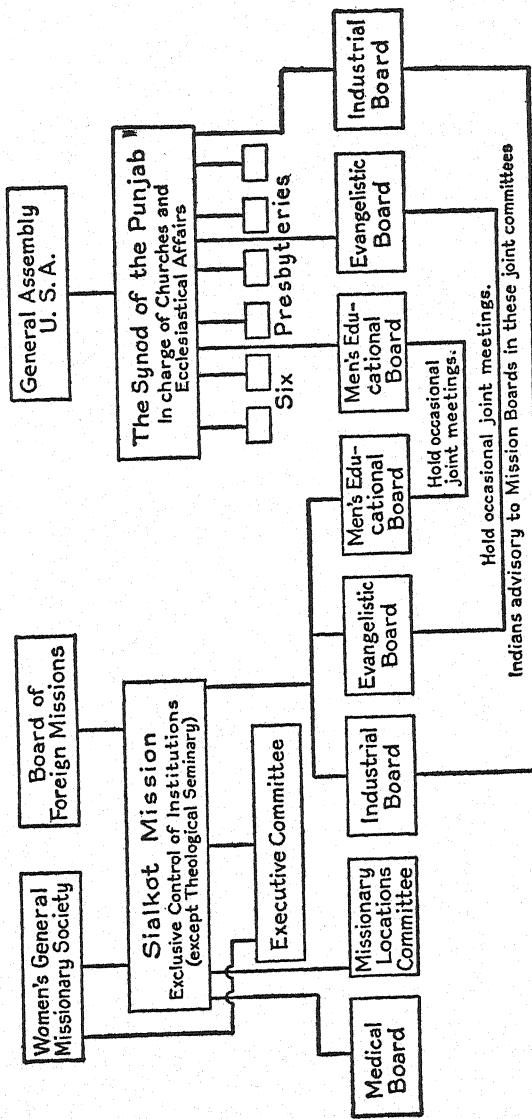


ment. Becoming Christian has tended to lessen this inferiority complex.

The situation in the Sialkot Mission as to the relation between the mission and the Synod is critical. The Indians outnumber the mission-

² Heinrich, J. C., *Evangelism and Church Finance*, p. 2 (pamphlet).

**INDIANIZATION OF ADMINISTRATION
IN THE SIALKOT MISSION (UNITED PRESBYTERIAN)**



10

- 1 - Mission handles all foreign funds.
 - 2 - Ordained Missionaries are members of Synod and Presbyteries.
 - 3 - Laymen (Missionaries) eligible if members of Sessions.
 - 4 - No Indians are members of the Mission or sit with it at regular meetings.
 - 5 - Wives of Missionaries have no vote in Mission meetings.
 - 6 - Women's Board votes outnumber Foreign Board votes two to one.

aries in the Synod. The Indian leaders are aggressive and insistent. The missionaries of the Women's Board outnumber the men of the mission two to one! Wives have no vote. The women ("Regular" and Women's Board) have no vote in the Synod; the Women's Board in America and their appointees on the field have little if any sympathetic interest in the Indianization of administration. The Foreign Board urges closer relationship between the mission and the Synod and some missionaries approve, but these proposals do not affect the work of the Women's Board—the topic is taboo in mission meetings! Some missionaries feel that the mission, which theoretically is the agent of the Board of Foreign Missions, is in reality the agent of the Women's Board! Requests from the Synod have been presented to the mission, committees (mission and joint) have been named, concessions have been made and the Synod has protested the action of the mission. The situation is delicate and solution elusive. On a mission committee of seven, appointed to confer with a Synod committee of Indians, only two members were under sixty years of age and none was younger than forty-five.

Leadership in secondary and higher education is denied to Indians with training and experience. Missionaries lack confidence in Indian capacity for educational leadership. Indians reply that the Government accords high places in education to them and is satisfied with the service rendered.

All schools, except the theological seminary, and hospitals, are controlled by the mission. Of forty-six church buildings, twenty-six are owned by foreigners; all the college, high-school, middle-school and industrial-school buildings are owned by foreigners; of the primary school buildings eighty-six are owned by foreigners and fifteen by the Synod.

Worship may be characterized as unaltered Westernism. Syncretism is unthinkable.

The initial impact of rigid Western theological conservatism is unmodified. Orthodox Mohammedans relish this battle of the books—Bible and Koran. Interaction does not seriously affect either of these orthodoxies. The activity of the Arya Samaj is increasing. The communal claims of nationalism tend to make Mohammedans more tolerant toward Christianity.

PROGRAMS AND METHODS

LEADERSHIP TRAINING

Institutional provision for training religious leaders was brought about by the establishment of a theological seminary in Sialkot in 1877, which was later located at Jhelum, then at Pasrur and permanently at Gujranwala. The Seminary, having for its direct object the preparation of candidates for the Gospel ministry, was started, and has been carried on, by the highest ecclesiastical court, at first the Sialkot Presbytery, and later the Synod of the Punjab. The Synod manages the Seminary

through a Board of Directors. The Theological Seminary was never the possession of the Board of Foreign Missions, having been started and controlled by Sialkot Presbytery, and transferred to the care of the Synod of the Punjab by act of the Monmouth meeting of General Assembly in 1893. It has been supported, however, largely by funds specially contributed from America, and its staff, elected by the Synod, has been predominantly American. Only three Indians (two at present) have served on its faculty, and its principal has always been an American. One Indian professor's salary has been paid from contributions of the Indian church; the other's salary is paid two-thirds by the church and one-third by the mission from foreign funds. There was no settled home for the Seminary until 1912 when the present plant was erected in Gujranwala. The plant was erected by funds specially contributed from America, but is owned by the Synod of the Punjab, through a deed of trust given by the mission. It is a theological seminary and Bible school.

Diplomas are offered for a three-year course in the Theological Seminary (English) and for a three-year course in the Bible Training School (vernacular). There are five full-time professors, three of whom are American (two on furlough 1931). The average enrollment for the triennium, 1922-24, was twenty-seven; for 1925-27, twenty and two-thirds, or a decrease of 23 per cent. The enrollment for 1930-31 was twenty.

As defined in the basic church law, the purpose is expressed as follows: "It is incumbent on His Church to establish and maintain schools of theology in which those who are called to the sacred office may be instructed in the Holy Scriptures and qualified to expound the Word of God and preach the Gospel."⁸ The President states that the purpose of the Seminary is "The maintenance of the Church as an institution, the maintenance of a denomination, the maintenance and promulgation of a body of doctrine and the evangelization of India." This is a denominational institution under the control of the Synod, which is the final authority. The Board of Directors, elected by the Synod, has general supervision of the work of the Seminary and its property subject to the approval of the Synod. The faculty is appointed by the Synod and each member must take a pledge "to teach in accordance with the standards of the Church." Any effort (small) to recruit students is limited to denominational area. Entrance requirements for seminary students are First Art qualifications; for the Bible Training School—Middle Pass. Entrants must be endorsed by presbyteries; exceptions are rare. Students must make a grade of sixty to remain in Seminary, and seventy to graduate. Of the present student body (1930-31) four are taking the English course (Seminary proper) and sixteen the vernacular (Bible Training School). The courses of study (Seminary proper) are of the traditional Westminster type—Greek, Hebrew, systematic theology (Hodge's out-

⁸ *The Book of Government and Discipline of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, section 96.

line), church history, Old Testament introduction, New Testament introduction, apologetics, pastoral theology and homiletics (Broadus, Spurgeon, *et al.*). In the Bible Training School, where most of the students are enrolled, vernacular textbooks are used; the instruction (in vernacular) covers the general scope of seminary studies with Greek and Hebrew omitted. All students are expected to do village preaching under general faculty supervision. Of the three American faculty members, two are college graduates, all are seminary trained, and one has done graduate work. Of the Indian members, one has an A.B. degree and both are graduates of this Seminary. The faculty are capable men with years of experience. The students are of mediocre caliber and village outcaste background.

Daily chapel services are conducted by faculty members with a brief Bible talk. Communion is celebrated about twice a year. Social touch with teaching staff is occasional. Students organize their own sports. The library contains about 3,000 volumes—mostly old books and distinctly orthodox. Several magazines are available—including *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Moslem World*, denominational, etc. (no back numbers bound). An annual income from a special fund of Rs.45 is available for new books and magazines.

In the Theological Seminary students with B.A. qualification receive Rs.36 a month if married, and Rs.28 if unmarried. Those with F.A. qualification receive Rs.31 if married, and Rs.23 if unmarried. Children's allowances are given at Rs.3 per child monthly, up to a maximum of Rs.12.

In the Bible Training School, married students with entrance certificates receive Rs.22 a month, and those with middle qualifications Rs.20 a month, and the same allowances for children as indicated above. Unmarried students with entrance qualifications receive Rs.16 per month, and those with middle qualifications Rs.14 per month.

The Seminary income (1930-31), from endowment held in America by the Board of Foreign Missions, is \$2,717. Other American special funds of \$225, special scholarships from missionaries of \$120, endowment from American sources held in India of \$133, and a miscellaneous amount of \$35, make a total of \$3,230. Buildings and students' houses are adequate.

The women's department of the Theological Seminary, Gujranwala, has been in existence since the founding of the institution in 1877. In 1925 a regular course of instruction was prepared by the faculty, and has been followed with some degree of success ever since. A large majority of the students are married, and living quarters are provided for them. There is accommodation for about thirty families. Most of the women have had an ordinary common school education when they come. For those who cannot read, an effort is made to teach them. Daily morning Bible classes are held, and in addition, once in the three years, a simple course is given in home nursing, or child-welfare lectures; reading classes,

sewing classes, etc. Efforts are made to develop the social side of the women's lives, and to help the mothers in training their children.

At the close of the three years the women are graduated along with their husbands, and to those who have completed the prescribed course of study, a diploma is given. The teaching staff consists usually of three—two missionary women and one Indian woman. At present there is one missionary with three Indian women to help her.

This seminary maintains the orthodox doctrinal *status quo* of the denomination; affiliation and union are opposed.

WORSHIP

The order of worship and the content and style of preaching conform to the denominational pattern. The Psalms (Urdu translation) are used exclusively. The administration of church affairs generally is according to Presbyterian polity and procedure, and in city churches well ordered. In the villages, however, leadership is often lacking and administrative matters are carelessly handled. The resources of the churches, except in towns where there are educational institutions with mission employees, are slender indeed; but with a positive accent on stewardship (tithing) and an urgent program of self-support, congregational offerings have increased. The programs for pressing self-support (primarily) and for training elders (secondarily) receive most attention.

Weekly prayer meetings are held quite regularly in city and town churches and even daily in some villages, but many villages have none. Village prayer meetings are not infrequently characterized by ardent devotion. In 1924 more than half of the organized congregations had Women's Missionary Societies, a proportion which had increased by 1927. The statistics for 1929 show sixty-six Women's Missionary Societies (Senior) and four Women's Missionary Societies (Young) and forty-four Women's Missionary Societies (Junior). Many of these organizations meet infrequently and lack adequate leadership; the meetings are usually more or less informal and social. Young People's Societies are few—twenty-four in 1922, twenty-one in 1927 and thirteen in 1929. This is a decrease of 45.8 per cent. in eighteen years. The programs carry nominal values.

NURTURE

Sabbath schools are held in towns, the International Uniform Lessons being used. In the villages little is attempted in a systematic way and many of these Sabbath schools are such only in name. The following comparative figures are pertinent:

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1929
Sabbath schools.....	145	146	111	103	117	80	103
Officers and teachers....	341	327	341				329
Pupils.....	6,027	5,593	4,875	5,110	6,202	4,991	4,918

These figures show a decrease between 1922 and 1929 of 29 per cent. in the number of Sabbath schools, and of 18 per cent. in attendance. In 1929 there were three and one-fifth officers and teachers for each school.

LITERATURE

The number of Bibles and portions sold in 1922 was 5,124; in 1929, 13,559. The sale of other books shows a slight increase. The production of literature is small.

EVANGELISM

Evangelistic work is well organized and carefully planned programs are carried out. Lay workers are enlisted. Interchurch conferences on evangelism (several missions participating) have been held, especially in the trans-Jhelum region where special efforts are being made to reach the Mohammedans. In the mass-movement area south of the Jhelum much remains to be done to Christianize the baptized "Christians," many of whom are more than half pagan in religious beliefs and practices; but the number of workers is diminishing and the morale of Indian leaders is low; missionary initiative is often difficult owing to the bitterness between mission and Synod.

COMMUNITY SERVICE

Although seventeen reading-rooms and book-shops are maintained, welfare work receives scant attention.

COMITY AND UNION

The customary rules of comity are recognized in the division of the general field with other missions but there is no interest in church union, and this avowedly because missionaries and leading Indian workers fear the dangers of mixed doctrinal standards. Loyalty to inherited theological doctrines is more marked than in America in this same denomination.

INTEGRATION

A general secretary has been chosen with limited powers of coördination. Such an arrangement might be expected to overcome some of the inherent difficulties of a democratic polity operating in primitive churches, but owing to the intense feeling between foreigners and nationals divisive tendencies are potent and increasing.

ACHIEVEMENTS

The mission and Synod have properties of considerable value, and a constituency numbering 90,000, about one-half of which are church-members. This work has demonstrated that positive religious convictions have high sales-value, that modest self-support is attainable beyond a

point usually expected by foreign workers, and that systematic training of local lay leaders holds great possibilities.

DISCERNIBLE TRENDS

1. Increasing tension between the Foreign Board representatives and those of the Women's Board.
2. Increasing friction between mission and Synod approaching an impasse.
3. Increasing resentment of Indian pastors towards what many of them regard as a suicidal self-support policy.
4. Evidence of a crystallizing policy to meet diminishing appropriations by curtailing high-school work first and then primary-school work, with increasing support of evangelistic work.
5. Diminishing interest in and provision for the Christian nurture of children and young people.

VIII

SUMMARY INVOLVING OBSERVATIONS, COMPARISONS AND SUGGESTIONS

In the foregoing studies of mission fields in India the plan of direct sampling was followed. Areas and aspects were selected with the coöperation on the field of Christian leaders, both missionary and Indian; the National Christian Council rendered valuable assistance. The inquirer has attempted to utilize basic principles of research and interpretation. It is admitted at once that the attainment of a complete understanding of the clash between Indian and Western ideals and institutions, on the basis of a few months' study, would be a bold inference; that statistical tables may be a coarse sieve for the collection of intangible values, and that the attitude of the Western student of India is almost unavoidably colored by his heritage, even when he tries hardest to be sensitive and open-minded. The backgrounds of both observer and observed are important, and the worth-whileness of the missionary enterprise may well appear in the degree of the people's improvement, rather than in a comparison of their attainments with America's best.

BACKGROUNDS

These missions operate in diversified settings. The climatic, economic, racial, political, social and religious backgrounds affect policies, programs and achievements, so that comparisons may not be carelessly made. These conditions stand in obvious contrast, for example, as between the Madura Mission in South India and the Sialkot Mission in Northwest India; even within the Sialkot Mission the trans-Jhelum region, as compared with the southeastern section, is quite another world. In the

present stage of development the density of village population is often determinative as to self-support. The Telugus, Bengalis, the Marathas and Punjabis are different peoples. The nationalistic spirit in Bombay Presidency is stronger than in Madras Presidency, and the relative effect on Indianization is pronounced. Mohammedanism has influenced Hinduism and complicated the missionary problem much more in North India than in South India. The types of government—British, Native State, and hereditary landlord—bring a variety of necessary reactions. Through many years of experiment all these missions have been learning progressively to adapt their policies and efforts to these basic conditions of success.

CONSTITUTION

In organization a variety obtains. The base line in each field was originally fixed by the home set-up of the denomination represented. These have been modified by local conditions and efforts at church union and Indianization. The foreign organizations, except with the Methodists who have none officially so-called, are quite similar. The Indian church organizations are quite distinctly denominational. The relations of mission and church organizations illustrate a variety of experiments. In the Arcot field a complicated expedient is in operation. In the Madura and Marathi areas this relationship is like that of a father and a restless adolescent son. In the Telugu work the missionaries directly and indirectly control the churches, at least to a high degree. In Methodism the church is the inclusive organization, both missionaries and Indians being members on equal footing. It should be noted, however, that the Finance Committee of the Conference is the official representative of the Board of Foreign Missions and performs mission functions. In the Presbyterian fields (North India and Punjab) and in the Sialkot field, mission and church are more or less independent bodies, mutually suspicious and clashing in spite of joint coöperative plans and efforts. The observation may be made that the Methodist plan is possibly preferable, and that democracy, especially in the Marathi field, and representative democracy in the Presbyterian fields, would profit by coördinating superintendency.

In considering the kind and number of institutions (including churches), the size and compactness of the field may not be omitted. The Arcot field is comparatively small and compact, with rather adequate institutions which are quite well balanced as to number and kind, although the medical is noticeably superior. The small, almost stationary number of organized churches in this growing constituency is partly explained by their increasing size due to the added constituency from newly affiliated villages, in the interest of self-support. The Madura field is also compact and its density of population is high. Educational institutions predominate and agricultural institutions are lacking. The number

of churches has changed little during the last forty years, although the church-membership has increased several fold during the same period. Two factors seem to have been effective—the favoring of educational work and the desire to make and keep churches self-supporting. The Marathi work is marked by dispersion. Training and industrial schools are adequate and welfare institutions are growing but the agricultural are missing. The number of organized and of self-supporting churches has been decreasing. Indian congregations are unable to maintain many expensive church buildings erected by foreign funds.

In the Telugu field, which is rather extensive, educational institutions are few and a beginning has been made in agricultural and industrial education. The number of churches, comparatively large, has steadily increased during the last thirty years, and the number of those that are self-supporting more rapidly. Some station churches attain and maintain self-support by adding near-by village constituencies, while many village churches have teacher-catechist ministers who are largely supported by Government grants to them as teachers of primary schools.

In the four Methodist conferences studied where inclusiveness, overlapping and diffusion seem to be indefensible, there are, considering the area, comparatively few institutions. There are several institutions in Calcutta for English and Anglo-Indian (diminishing) work. In these conferences educational institutions are most in evidence, although some of these are badly involved in debt. Medical institutions are inadequate and agricultural and industrial provision is scant indeed. The number of organized churches is comparatively small for the area of responsibility. The number of church buildings has decreased in each of these conferences during the last few years and so also has pastoral support from Asiatics for indigenous churches. The outlook for village churches especially is not encouraging.

In the Presbyterian field (North India and Punjab) diffusion is sadly effective as to the number of institutions, which, considering the area, are comparatively few, although an agricultural institute and one of the training schools are noteworthy. In general it may be said that educational and medical institutions are more or less adequate. The number of organized and self-supporting churches, although comparatively small, has increased in recent years; but the number of communicants shows a considerable decrease. The suspicion is unavoidable that the increase in the number of churches is nominal rather than substantial.

In the Sialkot mission field, which is a compact area (excepting the trans-Jhelum region), existing institutions are fairly well balanced, with the medical favored, except for teacher-training, agriculture and social-service. Institutionally the field is considered self-consistent. The number both of organized and of self-supporting churches, has increased during the past decade. The average number of members per organized

church is comparatively high and nearly one-half of the constituency are communicants.

COMPREHENSIVENESS

One of the striking facts in any study of the missionary enterprises founded and fostered by the six coöperating boards, is that the various constituencies are not representative of the Indian people as a whole. The constituency is not comprehensive. The Christian communities of these missions are constituted almost exclusively of outcaste stock—originally poor, illiterate, oppressed and superstitious “untouchables.” The nurturing of these converts, except those preparing for church leadership, has usually been secondary to increasing their number. The poverty and slender intellectual attainments of the village and mohalla Christians, who constitute the great majority, seriously condition the growth of a self-supporting, self-directing Indian church. The provision for and the process of raising the economic, social, intellectual and spiritual status of these depressed-class Christians are beset with many and serious difficulties.

One might easily infer that the path of least resistance which has been followed in securing new converts, leads to no solid ground. It may be suggested also that the only plan now in sight for a genuinely, inclusively and permanently successful missionary enterprise in India may involve a general change in policy which puts work among caste folk foremost, even if the more or less nominal work now done for outcastes is selectively curtailed. The question of the comprehensiveness of policy and program as applicable to the unity of the individual and the self-maintenance of the church, in regard to the present depressed-class constituency, may well become secondary. Such a change in policy in favor of the major work being among caste folk, would probably involve a carefully selected type of worker especially trained. Such a revolutionary plan might require a moratorium in church statistics for several years! Or if a caste “mass movement” occurred in any of these fields and was handled and not neglected for a generation, even a greater transfer of personnel and funds, with additions, would be necessary.

In point of comprehensiveness of policy and effort as applied to the existing constituency and its social source, it may be said in general that all the missions now emphasize self-support as applied to the churches, hesitate at self-direction as applied to other institutions, and hope for conditions when self-propagation will be more promising. The Indian Christians, on the other hand, covet full self-direction for churches and all other institutions. Village churches in their poverty often resent the increasing burden of self-support, which to many pastors and workers, seems to be thrust upon them on account of decreasing funds from foreign sources. City and town churches in several missions contribute increasingly to village work near and far.

In all the fields, the spiritual needs of man are recognized, but not equally emphasized; for example, in the Telugu field emphasis on the spiritual is supreme almost to the point of minimizing other needs. In the Marathi field, the social needs seem to receive in some places greater recognition than the spiritual, but in other places a better balance is maintained. In the Madura and Methodist areas it would seem that in actual practice the intellectual precedes the spiritual in importance. Sial-kot accents orthodoxy of belief, and Telugu orthodoxy of experience, but both have at least one thing in common—a positive message and aggressive assurance; and both are "building the church" though simple and primitive in type. The Presbyterian fields are not lacking in devoted leaders with evangelistic convictions, but an over-extension of area, and an absorbing church-and-mission tension affect success adversely.

Within the membership of each mission there are wide differences, especially between the older and younger members, regarding the scale of emphases. Perhaps the criteria of validity lie below explanation in experience, and most of the secrets of efficiency are hidden in personnel and not in policies or programs, new or old.

CONCENTRATION AND OCCUPANCY

Even in the most compact fields, concentration is weak and occupancy incomplete. In the majority of the areas studied diffusion is the appropriate term; occupancy is quite fragmentary. In two somewhat compact fields, namely, Arcot and Madura, many population centers are not even visited by Christian workers; of the non-Christian population only the outcaste group, which represents a small percentage of the total, is vitally approached by systematic evangelistic effort; of the total number of outcaste "villages" a considerable portion is untouched, and further, of the baptized "Christian" constituency in "occupied" towns and villages comparatively few receive adequate Christian nurture. All of which means that even in fields where the terms "concentration" and "occupancy" are partially applicable, more workers and money would be needed to operate efficiently if only a portion of the present areas were worked exclusively.

In the Arcot field, more intensive effort and less extensive efforts would seem desirable. In the Madura field, the assignment of a larger proportion of missionaries and funds to church work should be considered. In the Telugu field, the heritage of over-extension in "mass-movement" days there, and more recently the decrease of the missionary force, invite less diffusion. Although this field is large, great sections of it are wild, jungly and thinly populated; even so, concentration is not characteristic. In the Marathi field the isolation of mission stations is unusual and efficiency of occupation decreasing. Concentration seems inevitable; if not by choice, then by decimation. In the area of the four Methodist conferences, over-extension is patent and concentration admittedly imperative. It may be regarded as doubtful if concentration on one-fourth of the

present village areas of these conferences would assure creditable efficiency even if no further decrease in force and funds were made.

In the North India and Punjab Presbyterian fields, a comparatively small but devoted missionary force, assisted by Indian workers, generally mediocre, are unable to prevent losses in "mass-movement" areas and decline in the total area—so great is the diffusion involved in small isolated Christian groups and a far-flung line of operation. The need of concentration is evident, but it is difficult in most sections, owing to the fact that the average number of Christians in a village is small and that these villages are generally far apart. In the Sialkot field the trans-Jhelum region is taken but not occupied; southeast of the Jhelum, however, concentration rather than diffusion is characteristic, but occupancy is far from complete.

Overlapping is aggravating and injurious in the general Telugu area, while on the Gangetic Plain overlapping of Methodist and Presbyterian work is more apparent than real. The Salvation Army, and especially the Seventh Day Adventists, make or observe few comity arrangements.

ALLOCATION

In the allocation of missionary personnel and foreign funds the percentage given in the foregoing studies reveals different scales of value, even when allowances are made for the influence of indigenous contributions on allocating authority and the connotations of terms, such as "evangelistic," which may include village schools as to appropriations, and the superintendency of boarding schools as to personnel. In some fields, large, special contributions are made direct and are not included in "appropriations." In all of these missions the allocations of missionaries and of American money often turn on the interests of the majority present and voting. Furloughs and change of personnel sometimes account for fluctuations. Stable plans, objectively framed as to allocations, are not obvious. In any comparison of the allocation made in these fields certain factors should not be overlooked, such as the size of the area served, density of Christian population, age and condition of churches and of other institutions, size of force (foreign and Indian) and character of constituency. Owing to the complications inherent in these factors, comparison of the allocations in the various fields is of doubtful validity. Indeed, even if a graduated scale of the objectives of missions could be established by research and adopted by all, still the above conditioning factors would make a close comparison of allocation difficult and probably unwise.

One of the most perplexing and important problems of the missionary enterprise in India today, with partial dependence on Government grants and with a Swaraj-minded people, is by what criteria or criterion of validity can sound principles of allocation be found and observed. The Jerusalem Council declaration concerning the purpose of the missionary

enterprise and man's unity (obviously a compromise adroitly phrased) is variously accepted with both reservations and interpretations. A product of more consistent and complete thinking is needed.

CHURCH DEVELOPMENT AND ACHIEVEMENTS

Church statistics for India are scarcely more significant than early election returns—more or less fragmentary and inaccurate, sometimes contradictory in the same report, and reflecting local conditions not indicative of general trends. In the collection, classification and interpretation of available figures it has not been forgotten that missionary enterprise-values (intangible but determinative) are not designated in columns of Arabic characters. Church statistics do not include the results of *permeation* which are often the most significant. Statistical tables have been checked and supplemented in part by personal visits to many towns and villages in each of these fields.

The numerical growth "reported" of the Christian constituency is noticeable in the Arcot, Madura, Telugu, Methodist and Sialkot fields, while in the Marathi and North India-Punjab fields decreases appear. Measured by the number of communicants it is to be noted that the Arcot, Madura, Telugu (especially) and Sialkot missions show increases, while the Marathi shows a loss. The Methodist conferences of Bengal and Northwest India show increases and Lucknow and North India losses; Presbyterian fields show a loss, a slight gain in the Punjab being more than offset by a substantial loss in the North India field. The Sialkot Mission is conspicuous for the highest percentage of communicants in its Christian constituency. (In the Telugu field all the baptized are listed as communicants.)

It is difficult to compare the character of the constituency as evidence of the comparative development of the churches. It may be observed, however, that the more compact fields, such as Arcot, Madura and Sialkot, show a higher percentage of adult literacy and Christian attainment; Marathi (a group of more or less compact areas) may be added; these fields have also emphasized to some degree secondary education and Christian nurture. In estimating Christian attainments, which are comparatively low among village Christians in Methodist and Presbyterian areas, it is the part of justice to take into consideration the progress made in succeeding generations, rather than the degree of perfection attained by the total, many of whom are neglected "mass-movement" products. Few would disagree that in seeking the potential values of missionary efforts among primitive peoples, historical perspective is essential since the Christians of the first century *knew* very little and *had* very little but *were* very much—and won.

To compare the number of self-supporting churches in these fields would be erroneous unless the proportion to the constituencies is included,

and the degree of occupancy and also the size of the churches considered. In Arcot and Madura, for example, all the churches are self-supporting but the number has remained almost stationary for years, the new villages being affiliated with them as they have been won. In the Telugu area, churches located in institutional centers, where pastors' salaries are higher, share the contributions of many affiliated villages. In the Sialkot mission area, self-support is generally required in the organization of the church, even when the promise of offerings is meager and uncertain. Most of the pastors resent the prevailing rigid plan for self-support and many are discouraged. In some, if not all of the Methodist conferences, the burden of self-support is being thrown on the shoulders of workers (who in some cases must volunteer to "go on self-support" to retain a position) pursuant to successive cuts in foreign funds received.

In all of the fields the larger part of offerings for church support, where there are institutions, is from missionaries and mission employees. In all the fields also efforts are being made to increase Indian contributions. This increase, however, largely depends on the number of workers and villages assigned and accessible, and on the amount of time given to the collection of offerings—often in kind. The general decrease, for example, of amount collected for ministerial support in the Methodist areas, is connected with a general decrease of Indian workers. It is not amiss to suggest that perhaps great improvement in self-support can hardly be expected because of the generally low economic status of the great majority of the present Christian constituency and that the possibility of lifting this economic base to a promising level is remote.

"Evangelism," although an omnibus term in statistical reports, usually means, on the field, village evening preaching, afternoon and evening bazaar preaching by missionaries during the cooler season, and by Indian workers (bazaar preaching continues in northern India), personal work especially by women missionaries and Bible Women and often by relatives, and the distribution of Gospel portions and other literature. Teacher-catechists also in some fields are strong recruiting factors. The general neglect of the outcaste mass movement in the fields under consideration does not warrant condemnation of its possibilities if extensive work is attempted only so far as intensive nurture service can be provided. The heritage of over-extended and understaffed mass movements is usually a liability and not an asset. A sympathetic attempt was made over a wide area to ascertain by indirect questions the motive of depressed-class "converts." It was found that *desire for social justice and its consequences* was determinative. But this should not surprise or distress us since Jesus' thought of the "Kingdom" included social elements involving justice.

Social relations and service efforts have found small place in the programs of most of these missions. The noticeable exception is Marathi,

especially in Bombay where some institutional provisions have been recently made and intensive welfare work is being done. The social approach is increasingly favored in the Marathi field as a substitute approach in evangelistic work, for decreasing village school work, although some of the Christian workers demur, fearing that the "social" will become a substitute for the "religious." Perhaps it is well that "social service" work has not been extensively tried along western lines. Many of the simple efforts that obtain are largely palliative and have not been comprehensive as to inclusiveness of classes. In most attempts "social service" has been generally confined to depressed unfortunates. In some places religion has been tabooed lest non-Christians be alienated. This is contrary to the spirit and genius of India. Hinduism is a socio-religious system. The religion of Hindus is woven into every household, social and livelihood procedure. Attempts at socialization must be inclusive of caste as well as outcaste, and the socio-religious matrix cannot be ignored or neglected with promise. The Servants of India Society with a varied program largely inspired by Christianity, suggests one way in which Christian and non-Christian, caste and outcaste, may coöperate successfully.

Church union is progressing more rapidly in South India than elsewhere. The coöperation of the Anglicans in the proposed Scheme of Union in South India, and the willingness of non-liturgical communions to entertain the adoption of the episcopate, is of great moment. The National Christian Council and the provincial councils are influential factors in progressive comity arrangements and in fostering the spirit of church union. The churches of India outdistance American churches in church union, even though these unions are as yet somewhat nominal in administration and fellowship.

As a topic for special comparative study—one which promises light on church development, Roman Catholic work is suggested. For example, the phenomenal success in Ranchi district should be included, also Madura, Nellore, Vellore, Bombay, *et al.*

In all fields studied, the church with its simple message and nurture has lifted great numbers of the lowest of the low, living in squalor, wretchedness and virtual slavery, to levels of decency and growing self-respect, and many to heights of culture and outstanding service, and has leavened the total life religious, social and political, of India by its quiet influence—often indirectly. Although most of the church's constituency and even of its employed Indian leadership, is mediocre, intellectually and in spiritual attainment, everywhere one meets capable and devoted Indian workers who are investing their lives for the deliverance of others. From different angles and in various ways the assumption is supported that it is the mission of the missionary to present by word and life the challenge that the inherent, inarticulate Hope of humanity (the Purpose

of God dimly felt) is only fully realizable in discipleship of and identification with Jesus Christ.

INDIANIZATION

WESTERN ADMINISTRATION

The present nationalistic mood of India is the most significant single fact in her life today. As time passes, Christianity with its democratic urge may be credited with having been a larger causal factor than is now conceded in this apparent burst of self-assertion. This vocal desire for self-determination has reacted on Christian constituencies, and their leaders increasingly covet control of the whole missionary enterprise. This Indianization movement is more positive and aggressive in some areas than in others; for example, in North India as contrasted with South India. It is often most pronounced where the greatest measure has been granted. Perhaps the Indian's reach exceeds his grasp; a recognition of personal equality seems to be of more importance than place or power *per se*. The responsibility seemingly sought is often evaded when it has been conceded.

Indians want "the privilege of making as many mistakes as missionaries have made" and claim that they cannot learn to do the things missionaries are doing but refuse to them, unless they have the preparatory experience which is being denied.

The relation of mission and church, or to put it more fundamentally, the dependence of the Indian churches on the contributing churches in America, is perhaps the momentous question under consideration by those engaged in the Indian missionary enterprise. The tension is less in Methodist circles since they have no separate missionary organization, as such.

The missionaries lack confidence in Indian leadership and are not anxious to serve under Indians. Many of the present missionaries would not be wanted or returned if Indianization were complete. Remunerative positions for educated Christian Indians are few. The movement for Indianization would probably be more radical if Indian church leaders could be assured that the contributing churches in America would continue their gifts after the complete Indianization of both churches and other institutions.

In the Marathi field, Indianization was delayed and then suddenly conceded, with the Indian group left somewhat alone at their task. The result is admittedly unsatisfactory. In the North India Mission the majority of influential Indian leaders are professional laymen located in Allahabad, but those in the field, one may easily infer, could not keep the pace which these would set for all, and which in their own city they could themselves hold. Through the influence of this unusual group, the situation regarding Indianization in the Presbyterian fields of northern India, is acute and complicated. In the Telugu field Indianization has

scarcely made a beginning. In the Madura field the mission has recently transferred more than half the church property to a Trust Association of the South India United Church. In the Methodist and Sialkot areas, missionaries of the Women's Boards actively resist Indianization.

In none of these fields is the process of Indianization satisfactory. Indians seek action; missionaries arrange delays; the younger Indians and the older missionaries are farthest apart: some of the younger missionaries agree with the older Indians. In any comparison of progress in Indianization made in these areas, perhaps the evolutionary type should be rated higher than the examples of revolution. The number, quality and location of Indian leaders, and the amount of their experiential coöperative training are among the determinative factors. The proportion of Indian votes in the combined group allocating foreign funds is a pertinent point to raise, so long as American and Indian standards of living are involved in the distribution; Homer said, "Modesty is not good for a needy man."

A comparative study may profitably be made of Indian experiments; for example, Lutheran work (originally) which became independent consequent on the World War.

In some cases—home-mission fields for example—Indians have received an assigned task and have been left almost to themselves. Failure in such experiments is not uncommon. The inference is sometimes drawn by missionaries that Indians are unprepared for more responsibility and that the Indian church is still largely dependent for real success on foreign funds. It is a fair inference that the process of Indianization involves systematic preparation by participation, plus foreign appropriations, and that participation should be gradually accorded with patient coöperation and modest counsel, and appropriations gradually withdrawn with consideration for bad years and yet without stimulating dependency. The crucial question is whether Christians in America would maintain their contributions toward missionary work in India if and when needy Indians, with little experience in handling money and different methods of administrative procedure, were in complete control. Gradual Indianization, with previous preparation of Indian personnel, and with continued missionary coöperation, coupled with wise and gradually curtailed appropriations, appears to be the only open door to success.

WESTERN CHRISTIANITY

The first pastors of the older churches were missionaries who introduced Western forms of worship. Their Indian successors, trained by them, made little modification. A later generation of preachers, influenced most perhaps by nationalism, has here and there introduced Indian elements. Indigenous hymns and music are used increasingly. In the Madura and Marathi missions, for example, great hymns have been written and old music recovered. In the Sialkot Mission, a translation of

the Psalms has been set to Indian music. Seldom have benches been removed from churches. Christian symbols, other than the Cross, which is sparingly used, are not in evidence. In the village churches worship is less formal and more indigenous, not apparently with discrimination but as most natural and acceptable among simple villagers, yet anything connoting idolatry is avoided. Syncretism is rare; Hinduism is so strong in South India that to Indianize Christianity is taken as equivalent to Hinduizing it, while Islam is so influential in North India that Indianization in thought is proscribed.

The Ashram idea is sometimes favored by younger Christian leaders; others feel that it may prove an easy method of approach for the individualistic few, but that it cannot become a satisfactory substitute for congregational organization in worship and work.

The Arya Samaj illustrates the rebound of Indian religious thought, and traces are discernible of interaction which favors an Indian Christian substitute for Western Christianity. There are not wanting those who believe that possibly India will give the world of tomorrow its most individually satisfactory interpretation of the Galilean's ideal.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING AND CHRISTIAN NURTURE

Theological seminaries are maintained in all of these fields and associated with each is a women's department for wives of students. Bible training schools are more numerous, some of which are connected with seminaries. In addition to these B-grade institutions there is Jubbulpore Theological Seminary (Methodist) in the Central Provinces and Bangalore Union Theological College in Mysore. Most of these institutions are affiliated with Serampore, the only theological institution in India with degree-granting prerogatives which sets the curriculum standards for the others. Ramapatnam (Telugu) and the Sialkot mission theological institutions are not affiliated; the first on academic and the latter on doctrinal grounds. The institution at Saharanpur (until recently Presbyterian) is experimenting in union operation, and, it may be added, with credit and promise. The Methodist venture at Jubbulpore might, with courage and funds, break the spell of Serampore and demonstrate the advantage of a modern practical indigenous curriculum. This might take a generation but it might also be a most worthwhile bit of pioneering. The entrance requirements (Jubbulpore and Bangalore excepted) are low; indeed in most of these schools the students are admitted with only high-school preparation or less. Libraries are small and most of the volumes obsolete. No tuition is charged and students are supported by monthly stipends. Most of these students are of village outcaste origin. The teaching staffs are composed of missionaries and Indians, and in both groups exceptional men are found; others have less aptitude and less special training.

A common weakness of theological training is that the students enter

these institutions from mission compounds already trained away from Indian village life, where most of them are expected to return for service, only to have the process accelerated; their life and materials of instruction before and during seminary are Western rather than Indian. The increasing difficulties of complete indigenous self-support after graduation seem to have direct connection with declining enrollments. The situation in several fields as to leadership training for full-time Christian service is not very encouraging, and should Government grants to village teacher-catechists fail, village churches would suffer.

As a topic for special investigation the following is suggested: The curricula of theological institutions and of the schools from which their students are sent, so that training and tasks may be coördinated.

Provision for nurture of the young in local churches is generally inferior. "Religious education" is primitive or lacking. Signs of awakening appear. Moga projects (Presbyterian) and the Charter House plan of the Methodists are modern and are being tried out here and there in widely separated centers. The average Sunday school, however, especially in the villages, where most of those reported are located, is less than the name implies; and in several of these fields the members of Sunday schools are fewer and the enrollment is less than in the past; for example, in the Methodist, Presbyterian, Sialkot and Marathi fields. Among the missionary enterprises with better Sunday-school work, Arcot is noticeable.

The nurture of converts is not always recognized and emphasized except perhaps in general pronouncements—possibly quantity is regarded as having greater sales-value in America than quality! Ampler provision for the production, publication and circulation of better literature in the vernacular is urgent. Christian nurture is related to a "self-directing church" as seed-time is to harvest.

SUMMARIZED FINDINGS AND SUGGESTIONS

The more significant achievements of missionary effort are attributable to indirect influence.

The intangible realities of mission work are not statistically discerned.

Missionary policies and programs are dominated by Western ecclesiastical traditions.

The lack of comprehensiveness as to constituency and objectives actually pursued is conspicuous.

The need of "concentration" and of intensive Christian nurture of the younger and older is imperative.

The allocation of missionary personnel and appropriations deserves consideration on a more stable scale of emphases, the base line of which should be the cardinal objective of missions, clearly drawn. The clear-cut valid purpose of missions should become the major interest of all.

More money may well be spent for carefully selected, specially quali-

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fied and trained short-time missionaries and for highly qualified Indian men and women.

Since Indianization is inevitable and even impending, only the preparatory free participation of Indian personnel, and missionary modesty and conciliation, can prevent disaster. Gradual achievement henceforth on missionary initiative is a prerequisite of success. This process should not be "handing over" bit by bit, but a gradual coalescence without personal distinctions.

A wholesome survey-interest is discernible. In several fields a trend appears toward new alignments based on a frank study of pertinent facts previously ignored.

The economic status, the intellectual interests and the religious attainments of the present (depressed-class) constituency scarcely warrant the hope of satisfactory church development unless and until work among the castes is seriously attempted and success partially achieved.

Assuming a stable government for at least two generations (now reasonably assured—August 1931) and a general recasting of the missionary enterprise, difficult but possible, American givers may be expected to respond.

MISSION EDUCATION IN INDIA

by

LESLIE B. SIPPLE

THE writer of this report arrived in India on November 27, 1930, and completed field work on March 26, 1931. The month of February was spent in Burma. Thus three months were spent in the field in India. April was spent in assembling data, the party sailing for America on May 1.

During this time, thousands of miles were traveled and some 150 persons were interviewed. The writer visited sixty-five villages and village schools, thirty middle schools, nine high schools, fourteen teacher-training schools, and ten primary schools. Many other institutions, such as ashrams, industrial schools, etc., were visited.

Every facility for seeing and understanding mission and Government schools was placed at our disposal by missionaries and officials. Acknowledgment is made and grateful appreciation recorded of all such courtesies.

Acknowledgment is also made of the valuable assistance given by Rev. W. B. Foley and Miss Margaret Bittner in tabulating and preparing the material in the questionnaire studies.

In coöperation with Dr. E. L. Hendricks of our staff, a questionnaire study of seventy-eight mission secondary and training schools was made. In addition, a questionnaire study of 173 villages was also made.

The data have been gathered and the report has been written from the viewpoint of an educationist, but with a keen appreciation of the need for missions and the work which they are doing.

Protestant missions in India devote more of their activities to education than to all other phases of their work combined; and these activities have developed under very unusual circumstances. In attempting to serve the people, missions found themselves working under the British Government. Hence to understand the great educational work and problems of missions, it is necessary to know not only something of the traditions and culture of the people, but especially the educational policy under British rule.

I

THE BACKGROUND AND PRESENT SITUATION

There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence.

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... But at the beginning of the 19th Century . . . Indian learning was at low ebb, Western education had not been introduced, and there were hardly any printed books, either in classical languages or the vernacular.¹

SUMMARY OF OFFICIAL EDUCATION POLICY

To correct this lack of learning, the East India Company's Act of 1813 had a clause "which enabled the Governor-General to devote not less than a lakh of rupees (Rs.100,000 or about \$30,000) annually to education." This money was spent "mainly on the teaching of Indian classical languages."

Then two new movements gave impetus to education. The first was the "semi-rationalist" movement emphasizing the teaching of English and led by the great Indian reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy and by David Hare, a Calcutta watchmaker, "who in 1816-17, founded a college which led to 'the springing up all over Bengal' of English schools." The second movement was "the Christian missionary movement, which already had (early in the nineteenth century) ramifications in different parts of India, and which has continuously exercised so deep an influence on education in India ever since."

In 1835 Macaulay's famous minute settled the "bitter struggle . . . between the 'Orientalists,' the partisans . . . of teaching through the medium of the classical languages and the 'Anglicists' who wished to teach through the medium of English, on the side of the Anglicists." This famous minute has influenced all subsequent educational policies to the present, though it has been greatly modified from time to time by legal encouragement of vernacular education.

While "there existed in India a tradition of female education going back to early times," in the early part of the nineteenth century "it was still more backward than that of men." It is significant that "the initiative in modern education for women was taken by missionary societies in Bengal, Bombay and Madras. . . . It was supported by Hare and by Raja Ram Mohan Roy. In 1824 Lady Amherst consented to be patroness of a society for native female education in Calcutta. The establishment of a girls' school in Calcutta in May, 1849, by J. E. Drinkwater Bethune . . . and his conversion of Lord Dalhousie to his views mark a turning point in the history of women's education in India." Finally, "in April, 1850, Lord Dalhousie informed the Bengal Council of Education that it was henceforward to consider its functions as comprising superintendence of native female education."

The beginning of a new epoch in Indian education came with 1854,

¹ Auxiliary Committee (Hartog) of the Indian Statutory Commission (Simon), *Review of the Growth of Education in British India* (1929), Chapter II. A good brief survey of Indian educational policy under British rule down to the reforms (1921) may be found in the above report. The excerpts and summary in this section are taken from it.

preceded by the parliamentary inquiry into the condition of India in 1853. The result of this inquiry was "Sir Charles Wood's epoch-making dispatch of 1854." Prior to this the East India Company had "regarded a direct attack on the problem of mass education an impossibility." It had adopted the "filtration theory" of education and had "thought that the only means of reaching the masses was by educating the literary classes who were comparatively few in number, and letting education 'filter down' through them." This theory ignored "the vast obstacles to such 'filtration' arising out of Indian class and caste distinctions. . . . The dispatch of 1854 first imposed upon the Government of India the duty of creating a properly articulated system of education from primary school to the university."

The dispatch prescribed the following measures:

- "(1) the constitution in each presidency . . . of a separate department for the administration of education; (2) universities in the presidency towns; (3) institutions for the training of teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of existing Government colleges and high schools, and the increase of their number where necessary; (5) increased attention to vernacular schools; (6) and the introduction of a system of grants-in-aid."

It is along these lines that education in India has developed to the present, including female education, Mohammedan education, and religious neutrality.

Perhaps the weakness of the dispatch of 1854 was its failure to emphasize primary education. "The years immediately subsequent to 1854 witnessed" the implementing of the dispatch and "far greater interest was taken in the promotion of secondary education than of primary." However, in 1859 the Secretary of State "advocated the adoption of further steps for the promotion of primary education."

In 1882 an educational commission resulted in subsequent acts which extended primary education, developed the grant-in-aid system, and stimulated private enterprise.

Since 1882 there has been a series of Government commissions, Government resolutions and laws dealing with many phases of education. Lord Curzon summoned an educational conference in 1901, which was followed by the "Indian Universities Commission" in 1902, the publication of a "Resolution on Indian Educational Policy" in 1904, and an "Indian Universities Act" in the same year. These dealt with "primary education"; advocated for secondary education "varied curricula and study of the vernaculars" and "school-final examinations"; advocated "extension of facilities for training teachers"; and "endorsed the view that 'through female education a far greater proportional impulse is imparted to the educational and moral tone of the people than by the education of men.'"

It was recognized from the first that education should "devolve,"

that is, be taken over by local governments and by private interests but with Government aid and regulations. This policy has been carried out. The provinces have been encouraged to set up well-organized departments of education with liberal grants from the national Government. The culmination of this devolution came in 1920 when under the reforms "education became a 'transferred' subject, confined almost entirely to the care of the provinces."

The movement toward compulsory primary education remains to be mentioned. In 1911 Mr. Gokhale introduced a bill into the Imperial Legislative Council making compulsory primary education permissive. The Government opposed this chiefly on the grounds that "there had been no popular demand for the measure." The movement has grown until at present all the provinces in India have by legislation "indicated their acceptance of the principle of compulsion."² Only lack of finances prevents the widespread application of the principle. In fact, many urban areas are now applying it, and it is being applied in rural areas in the Punjab.³

Bengal by its Primary Education Act of 1930 has provided, by a small cess (tax), for the gradual introduction of compulsion throughout the rural areas of the province beginning in 1931-32.

This general official policy is criticized by both Indians and British on several counts, the chief of which is that the system has emphasized the training of the directing classes and neglected the education of the masses, or that it is top-heavy. These critics point to the 90 per cent. illiteracy in India as evidence. Other criticisms are that the curriculum is academic or literary rather than practical and vocational, and that the examination system stifles initiative and makes procedure in the schoolroom formal and pedantic. There is an increasing demand that schools should contribute more definitely to the solution of the problem of literacy of the people, and to the problem of the continuing decline of the economic condition of the people, and to the increasing pressure of the population on the land. There is also a demand that more emphasis be placed on the education of girls and women to correct the disparity between the literacy of women, which is less than 2 per cent., and that of men, which is about 11 per cent.

This, in brief, has been the development of the educational system as we find it in India today; the system which missions have aided in no small way to develop. It is against this background that mission educational work today is projected.

SCOPE AND IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION IN THE MISSION PROGRAM

With this official policy in mind, let us now examine the mission educational system which has been built up during the somewhat more than

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 84.

² *Ibid.*, p. 85.

100 years of Protestant mission activity in India. For many decades, education offered by missions constituted a major factor of all education in India; and while at present it is declining in proportion to the total educational effort, still it may be said that education is today the most important phase of the mission work.

Measured in the number of persons engaged in the activity and in money cost, it is the most important. More than 50 per cent. (27,500 out of 54,600) of all Protestant workers, foreign and indigenous, are classified as educational workers. It is also true, as the accompanying table shows, that many foreign workers classified as other than "educational" are doing work more or less directly connected with mission schools. The extent of the enterprise is indicated by the fact that over 1,100 (out of 5,000) foreign missionaries, and over 26,000 (out of 49,600) indigenous workers, classified by the *Directory of Christian Missions*, are directly engaged in educational work.

ALLOCATION OF PROTESTANT MISSION PERSONNEL—INDIA

Data from *Directory of Christian Missions*,* 1928-29

	<i>Pastoral and Evangelistic</i>	<i>Educa-tional</i>	<i>Medical Doctors</i>	<i>Nurses</i>	<i>Wives</i>	<i>Unclassi-fied</i>	<i>Total</i>
FOREIGN WORKERS							
Men.....	1,248	377	85			157	1,867
Women.....	925½	745½	180	237	942	152	3,182
Total.....	2,173½	1,122½	265	237	942	309	5,049
INDIGENOUS WORKERS							
Men.....	11,991	18,068	706			2,716	33,481
Women.....	5,821	8,330	112	1,009		886	16,158
Total.....	17,812	26,398	818	1,009		3,602	49,639
ALL WORKERS							
Grand totals ..	19,985½	27,520½	1,083	1,246	942	3,911	54,688

* It is recognized that the data given here are but estimates of the several classifications. It is true that many workers, especially missionaries, classified as "evangelistic," for instance, are doing at least part-time work under one or more other headings, and vice versa.

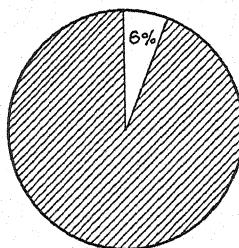
Furthermore, this same directory lists for 1927 the impressive total of over 15,000 Protestant mission schools recognized and unrecognized, not including the Catholic schools. For the same year, as the following table shows, the Government gives over 12,000 recognized educational institutions,⁴ or a total of 6 per cent. of all such schools in India, as

⁴ Recognized institutions are those that follow a course of instruction prescribed or recognized by an Educational Department or other (governmental) educational authority, and which are open to inspection by authorized inspectors. "Recognition" is preliminary to permission for pupils to sit for examinations and for the institution to receive grants-in-aid.

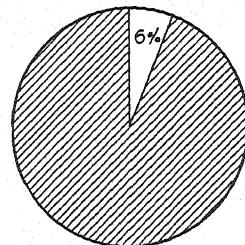
INDIA

**NUMBER OF RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS
AND ENROLLMENT IN RELATION TO TOTAL
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS AND TOTAL ENROLLMENT**

Institutions



Scholars



Non-Mission Schools
 Mission Schools

Data from "Progress in Education" 1922-27 Vol. II.

MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH TOTAL RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS, INDIA,*
1926-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II (1922-27)

	Male		Female		All Schools	
	Mission	Total	Mission	Total	Mission†	Total
INSTITUTIONS						
Universities.....	—	13	—	—	—	13
Colleges.....	42	281	13	26	55	307
High Schools.....	190	2,295	101	220	291	2,515
Middle Schools...	224	6,715	197	604	421	7,319
English.....	200	3,089	139	—	339	—
Vernacular.....	24	3,626	58	—	82	—
Primary Schools..	10,061	158,753	1,097	26,076	11,158	184,829
Teacher training..	33	460	67	137	100	597
Others.....	187	8,424	70	159	257	8,583
Total.....	10,737	176,941	1,545	27,222	12,282	204,163
SCHOLARS						
Universities.....	—	5,628	—	—	—	5,628
Colleges.....	15,212	81,324	806	1,436	16,018	82,760
High Schools.....	72,703	704,193	19,328	43,334	92,031	747,527
Middle Schools...	29,845	842,734	23,600	75,343	53,445	918,077
English.....	27,442	331,941	16,386	—	43,828	—
Vernacular.....	2,403	510,793	7,214	—	9,617	—
Primary Schools..	340,091	7,082,880	81,091	935,043	421,182	8,017,923
Teacher training..	1,906	19,995	2,198	4,065	4,104	24,060
Others.....	5,774	—	3,171	—	8,945	290,073
Totals.....	465,531	—	130,194	—	595,725	10,086,048

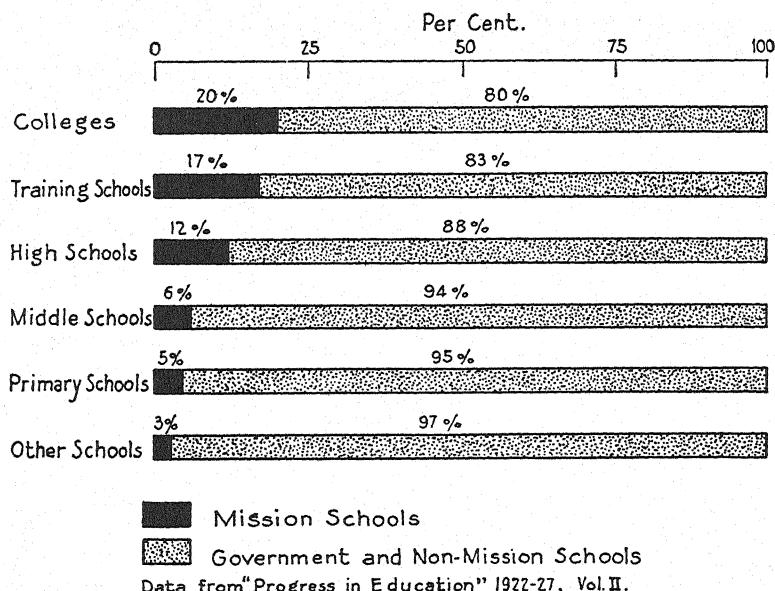
* Not including Burma.

† "Mission" means Protestant and Catholic.

operated by missions, Protestant and Catholic. In these recognized mission schools we find nearly 600,000 pupils, or 6 per cent. of all pupils enrolled in recognized schools in India.

Among the more than 12,000 schools are institutions of all classes, including colleges, high schools, middle schools, primary schools and teacher-training schools, agricultural schools, and other special schools. Nearly 11,000 of these are mission boys' schools, and over 1,500 are mission girls' schools.

PROPORTION OF STUDENTS IN RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS TO NON-MISSION SCHOOLS



While the more than 12,000 schools and 6 per cent. of all pupils enrolled are significant totals, a further study of the preceding table shows even more startling facts. Eighteen per cent. of all colleges, 12 per cent. of all high schools, and 17 per cent. of all teacher-training schools in India are operated by missions. Also, 20 per cent. of all college students, 12 per cent. of all high-school students, and 17 per cent. of all teacher-training students in India are to be found in mission institutions.

It is in the field of girls' and women's education that missions are making their most distinctive contribution. Of the recognized schools of various kinds in India, no less than 50 per cent. of all colleges for women, 46 per cent. of the high schools, 33 per cent. of the middle

schools, and 49 per cent. of the teacher-training schools for women are operated by missions.

Mission institutions also have a large proportion of the students enrolled in recognized girls' schools. They have 55 per cent. of those in the colleges, 45 per cent. of those in the high schools, 30 per cent. of those in the middle schools, and 50 per cent. of those in the teacher-training schools for women.

The magnitude of the mission education program is further shown in the relative cost of schools. In 1926-27, as may be seen in the following table, there was expended on all recognized schools in India the sum of Rs.226,463,768 (approximately three rupees equal \$1.00). Of this sum, Rs.26,085,069 were spent on recognized mission schools. Thus 11.5 per cent. of the total cost of recognized institutions in India was spent on mission schools. This large sum included money from Government funds, local district funds, fees, miscellaneous funds, and mission funds. The amount from mission funds was Rs.8,567,765, or nearly one-third of the total cost of recognized mission schools, and nearly 4 per cent. of the total cost of such education in India.

EXPENDITURES ON RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS, INDIA, 1926-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II (1926-27), p. 50ff.

Sources	Male	Female	Total
Government funds.....	Rs. 5,021,944	Rs.2,250,197	Rs. 7,272,141
District municipal funds.....	414,487	225,806	640,293
Fees.....	6,365,105	1,273,288	7,638,393
Mission funds.....	5,772,584	2,795,181	8,567,765
Other sources.....	1,251,452	715,025	1,966,477
Total.....	18,825,572	7,259,497	26,085,069
Total all schools in India.....			226,463,768

THE WORK OF THE SIX COÖPERATING BOARDS

In total funds raised in America and on the field and allocated to the three major activities (evangelistic, educational and medical) of the missions of the six boards coöperating in this study, fully 50 per cent. goes to "educational" work. (See table on next page.) Of the amount raised on the field, the largest contribution comes to educational work in the form of grants-in-aid from the Government. This fact raises one of the major educational issues: whether mission schools can retain their distinctive Christian teaching and character and accept grants-in-aid. Missionary opinion is sharply divided on the question. The issue is made acute and its solution uncertain by the possibility of Swaraj (home rule) and a probable resultant change in Governmental policy.

The six American boards coöperating in this study contribute approximately twenty-five of every one hundred foreign Protestant missionaries in India. In the field of education, this proportion of work is also main-

tained. The six boards operate no fewer than 4,000 schools of all kinds, recognized and unrecognized. This is indicated by the table on p. 302, while the one following it shows that these schools of the six boards have over 160,000 pupils reading in them. One may say that in personnel employed, number of schools, number of pupils, and money expended on education, the six coöperating boards contribute approximately 25 per cent. of the total amount contributed to education by missions in India.

MONEY RAISED IN UNITED STATES AND ON FIELD, INDIA, 1929 *

	Total	Evangelistic	Educational	Medical	Other
Baptist					
From U. S.	\$ 97,144	\$ 39,366	\$ 48,447	\$ 5,254	\$ 4,077
From Field.....	159,124	36,472	99,499	23,153	—
Unit. Presb.					
From U. S.	115,501	28,506	63,456	17,704	5,835
From Field.....	121,526	22,505	74,881	10,141	13,999
Presb. U. S. A.					
From U. S.	215,999	58,618	148,650	8,731	—
From Field.....	336,440	22,371	197,301	115,057	1,711
Meth. Epis.					
Field Budget†.....	622,505	258,983	310,424	53,098	—
Reformed Church in America					
From U. S.	75,467	38,230	22,521	7,148	7,568
From Field.....	73,582	6,570	58,738	8,062	212

* Does not include salaries of missionaries, property, or administration as totals for these items were not allocated to types of work. No doubt the proportion will hold throughout. It does not include all the money sent out from America. Much money is raised by individual missionaries and not accounted for through board treasurers. This leads to confusion in funds and causes it to be practically impossible to make a clear-cut statement as to allocation of funds to education or any other single unit of work.

† The "Field Budget" presumably includes money raised in United States and on the field.

TRENDS AND PROBLEMS

Some idea of the trends in the allocation of Protestant mission personnel for the years 1922 and 1927 is obtained from the *Directory of Christian Missions* for those years. These trends show a net increase of 8 per cent. in the total number of foreign missionaries, men and women. In education, if these figures are correct, the number of men was reduced by 12.5 per cent. and the number of women suffered a slight decrease of 2.5 per cent.

The directory also shows that among the indigenous Christian workers, both men and women, there was a net increase of approximately 8 per cent. for the five years. An impression gained by inquiries in the field is that the number in the "unclassified" column of the first table in this section is too large, and that many of the persons it includes are doing work under other classifications. Substantial increases in the number of indigenous educational workers are noted, 16 per cent. for men, and 7 per cent. for women.

No definite data are available since 1927 (the 1928-29 *Directory of Christian Missions* was the last issued). Estimates made in the field

SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY SIX AMERICAN BOARDS—INDIA *

CONGREGATIONAL	BAPTIST			PRESBYTERIAN U. S. A.			REFORMED	METHODIST (1927)	UNITED PRESS.
	Madura	Marathi	Telugu	Assam	Bengal- Orissa	West India			
College.....	1	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	1
Seminary and Bible classes.....	2	2	3	3	—	6	—	1	1
Teacher training...	5	2	3	4	5	6	—	1	4
High School.....	2	3	—	—	—	—	3	15	4
Middle School.....	6	5	21	12	5	3	9	—	—
Primary School....	322	110	1,160	354	114	87	37	48	221
Kindergarten.....	—	11	5	—	—	8	1	3	—
Vocational.....	2	6	1	6	3	2	—	1	—
Other.....	—	1	—	1	—	4	—	2	12
Totals.....	340	140	1,197	382	128	110	52	75	245
									1,188
									175

* Note—Data from following sources:

Congregational—American Madura Mission Report for 1929; Statistical Report of the American Marathi Mission, 1929; Congregational—American Baptist Telugu Mission for 1929; 115th Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society—1929.

Baptist—Report of American Baptist Mission for 1929; Minutes of 6th Annual Meeting of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.—1929.

Presbyterian (U. S. A.)—Minutes of 5th Annual Meeting of Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.—1929; Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Punjab Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.—1929.

Methodist—Sixth Annual Report of the American Arcot Mission—1929.

United Presbyterian—Statistics of the American United Presbyterian Church in India, 1929.

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SCHOLARS IN SCHOOLS SUPPORTED BY SIX AMERICAN BOARDS—INDIA *

	CONGREGATIONAL						BAPTIST						PRESBYTERIAN IN U. S. A.						REFORMED			METHODIST		UNITED PRESS.	
	Madura	Marathi	Telugu	Assam	Bengal-	West	North	Punjab	Arcot	All Confer-	METH-	UNITED	ences Except	odist					Methodist	United	Press.				
					Orissa	India	India			ences Except	odist														
College.....	456	—	—	5	—	—	786	1,100	158	744	444	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—				
Seminaries and Bible classes	52	25	79	97	—	239	—	—	22	40	461	45	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Teacher training . . .	316	103	270	221	255	62	65	1,923	1,896	3,434	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
High Schools	568	776	1,100	—	—	568	688	667	5,875	1,613	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Middle Schools . . .	1,310	213	2,259	752	358	1,314	2,069	7,386	44,729	7,585	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Primary Schools . .	15,922	5,328	28,277	—	8,610	3,292	2,068	884	2,552	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Kindergarten	—	626	153	—	—	69	12	30	—	—	127	65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Vocational	175	311	56	67	103	51	—	—	35	1,490	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			
Others	—	14	—	—	12	—	93	—	32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Totals	18,799	7,396	32,194	9,764	4,008	3,088	3,746	5,905	11,784	53,832	13,186	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

* Note.—Data from following sources:

- Congregational—American Madura Mission Report for 1920; Statistical Report of the American Marathi Mission, 1929.
- Baptist—Report of American Baptist Telugu Mission for 1929; 115th Annual Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1929.
- Presbyterian (U. S. A.)—Minutes of 5th Annual Meeting of Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. (1929); Proceedings of the North India Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 1920.
- U. S. A.—1929.
- Reformed—Sixth Annual Report of the Arcot Assembly, including the 76th Annual Report of the American Arcot Mission—1929.
- Methodist—Minutes of 15th Session of The Central Conference of the M. E. Church in Southern Asia—1928.
- United Presbyterian—Statistics of the American United Presbyterian Church in India, 1929.

during our inquiry indicate that the number of male foreign workers has decreased since 1927, and that the number of female foreign workers has remained practically unchanged. Furthermore, some missions have adopted the policy of making the educational work bear the brunt of any reductions in funds.

Some acute problems arise out of the general educational situation. This discussion is concerned primarily with the work of the six American boards coöperating in our study. Education has become a stupendous enterprise employing fully half of the workers and half of the funds. Large sums have been invested in school buildings of all kinds, and education has become a "vested interest." It would be impossible for the Indians to support this expensive system if it were turned over to them.

Mission institutions are feeling keenly the competition from Government and other agencies making it imperative for them to adopt standards that call for larger investments in plant and personnel. Hence the problem confronting mission administration is how, in the face of increasing demands from the schools and of stationary or (in the case of certain mission boards) decreasing budgets, to make the necessary adjustments. This involves the very important question of "diffusion vs. concentration."

The question of efficiency of mission education looms large. In the past, mission schools were the best, partly because they had so few competitors. Today Government and other agencies surpass them greatly in number, and in some cases in standards as well. This demands a new educational policy and a new statement of objectives. It means more money, or fewer and better schools. It is an open question whether many of the fine plants of schools that have accomplished so much to date may not prove to be "white elephants" as the result of increasing competition and lack of funds with which to keep up buildings and improve staffs.

Reference has been made to the part contributed by Government to the support of mission schools. Its liberal support gives Government the control over curriculum, inspection, and certain other vital phases of mission education work. This, together with an intense and growing Nationalism and the possibility of Swaraj in some measure in the immediate future, makes educational work a most prominent problem. Since education has been "transferred" to provincial ministries, it is feared that under home rule, grants to mission schools are more likely to be curtailed, and that more restrictions are likely to be imposed upon religious teaching than under a central Government which is nominally Christian. These and other problems will be discussed further in this report.

THE RELATION OF MISSIONS TO GOVERNMENT

Education in India as elsewhere is recognized as a function of Government. In America it is left very largely to local control and support.

In India up to 1921, education was a highly centralized function of the Government of India. Since the beginning of the Montagu reforms in January, 1921, education has been a "transferred" subject. That is, at that time it was placed under provincial Indian ministers of education who are responsible to their respective provincial legislatures. Education is still controlled and supported largely by the central education office in each province with varying degrees of support and control given over to local taluk or district boards of education.⁵

Since education constitutes such a large part of the mission program, and since the Government through grants-in-aid, by inspection, by recognition of mission schools, etc., so largely controls all schools, including those of missions, it is of the greatest importance that the relations of Government and missions be clearly understood.

One of the far-reaching recommendations of the dispatch of 1854 which inaugurated a new epoch in Indian education was that for grants-in-aid to private schools. This has had particular effect upon mission schools. For the Government "retain wide powers of supervision over schools and colleges largely through the power of the purse in the award of grants."⁶

We have seen that fully 30 per cent. of the total cost of mission schools is paid from public funds as grants-in-aid. All provinces have more or less liberal plans for grants. To obtain such aid, missions schools must submit to Government inspection and meet certain Government requirements.

The following "conditions attached to grants" are taken from the Bengal rules for schools:⁷

1. Grants are given on the principle of strict religious neutrality, and no preference shall be shown to any school on the ground that any particular religious doctrines are taught or are not taught therein.

2. Before sanctioning a grant, the sanctioning authority will determine the maximum number of students that can be accommodated in the existing buildings and in each classroom. If the number of scholars is in excess of the maximum number so determined a recurring grant may be withdrawn or reduced at the discretion of the Inspector or the Inspectress. If the accommodation is increased, application shall be made to the sanctioning authority to increase the maximum limit, but the permission of the sanctioning authority shall not be anticipated, and the original limit shall not be exceeded until the new accommodation is actually available.

3. Every aided school, together with its accounts and records,

⁵ Littlehailes, R., "Administration and Control," *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I (1922-1927), Chapter II.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷ Government of Bengal, Education Department, *Grants-In-Aid Rules for Schools* (Calcutta, 1926).

shall be open to inspection by the officers of the department and by the commissioner, district officer and subdivisional officer. The records and accounts of the school shall be placed in such custody that they shall be always accessible on the visit of any inspecting officer. It is the duty of inspecting officers to see that aided schools conform to the rules prescribed for aided schools and that the instruction given is efficient. All questions relating to the promotion of pupils and to the selection of candidates for the matriculation examination should remain in the hands of the headmaster subject to the supervision of the inspecting officers of the Department and the Inspector or Inspectress may require the school authority to take such disciplinary measures as appear to him to be called for. Otherwise inspecting officers will interfere as little as possible with the management of the schools by the school authority.

4. Aided schools shall conform to the departmental rules relating to construction of buildings, size and accommodation of classes, curricula, scholarships, free-studentships, hostels, transfer of pupils, discipline and holidays, and to any other rules which may be declared to be applicable to aided schools. Textbooks must be selected from such approved lists as the department may issue from time to time.

5. The appointment and dismissal of every teacher shall be notified to the department. Every appointment shall be subject to the approval of the department, and the department may enquire into any case regarding the dismissal of a teacher. (The functions of the department in these respects will ordinarily be exercised by the Deputy Inspector in the case of primary boys' school, by the Inspector in the case of other boys' schools (including mixed schools) and by the Inspectress in the case of girls' schools.)

The Director may forbid the employment of any teacher whose appointment to the school in question appears to him to have been undesirable.

6. The school authority of every aided school shall draw up a set of rules regulating the conditions of appointment of teachers and the absence of teachers from duty.

7. All aided schools, with the exception of those especially exempted by the Director, shall levy fees from all pupils, save as provided in the rules for free studentships.

Grants are usually of two kinds (a) recurring grants for maintenance, determined annually and paid monthly, and (b) non-recurring grants for buildings, sites, furniture and equipment. The amounts of grants vary from province to province, but may be as much as two-thirds the amount contributed from private sources.

Some provinces require, "before any grant for land or buildings is paid, the land or buildings shall be secured in favor of Government by a mortgage."⁸

⁸ Burma, *Grants-In-Aid Code*, p. 5.

Many mission leaders contend that to accept the conditions for grants-in-aid is to surrender to Government the control of mission education, and that mission schools thus become secular institutions and lose their distinctly Christian character. Indian leaders, Christian and non-Christian, point out that in accepting grants missions become pro-Government and pro-British, must support Government policies, and thereby lose their influence with Indians. They are of the opinion that missions are anti-nationalistic and opposed to the ambitions of India for self-government.

Other mission leaders take the other side of the controversy. They are of the opinion that the safeguards which Government imposes for grants are no more than any responsible government would require; that mission schools will cheerfully operate under conditions imposed by a home-rule government and can do no less under the present Government. It is contended that these schools must be "recognized" in order that pupils may be protected in the quality of instruction, whether grants are accepted or not, hence the Government curriculum must be followed regardless of grant. This view has evidently prevailed, as most missions accept grants-in-aid.

The question is by no means settled, however. The American Presbyterian Mission in the United Provinces has, on principle, declined to accept grants. The American Baptist missions in British India,⁹ have gone on record against the principle of grants but accepting them for certain schools as long as they do not interfere with the teaching of the Christian religion to pupils or until Government can take over all secular education. Many missionaries in mission areas where grants are now accepted are certain that mission schools could render a much more distinctive service and do more experimental work if they were not required to conform to a rigid curriculum with a more rigid examination system.

The opinion of Government school officials is that grants do not hinder schools in curriculum. The Government curriculum, it is stated, is only a minimum, which good schools may augment, and which allows freedom for experimentation.

There is no doubt, however, but that the general acceptance of grants by mission schools has tended to secularize and standardize them. They have become, or are rapidly becoming, no better than good Government schools. As a result of conformity to state curriculum and regulations, they have lost their pioneering characteristics.

It is also true that in India, more than in Burma, the mission schools have not been greatly handicapped in the direct teaching of the Christian religion. The lack of one dominant religion, such as prevails in Burma, the influence of minority religious groups, such as the Moslems and Sikhs, and the toleration of the Hindu religion, have prevented any widespread effort to abolish religion from the schools. In fact, in India,

⁹ Findings of the Kurnool Conference, 1922, "Policy re Grants-In-Aid."

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there is a general sentiment in favor of religious teaching. The same factors may be expected to continue this attitude under Swaraj or a self-governing India. Nevertheless, there is a strong feeling against proselytizing by Christian missions; and this attitude may cause curtailment of grants to mission schools and a strict enforcement of neutrality of religious emphasis when home rule comes. A further discussion of the Christian character of mission schools is reserved for a later section of this report.

MISSION EDUCATION DECLINING

Perhaps no other problem so greatly affects future mission policy as the very rapid increase in non-mission schools and the resultant relative decrease in the number and importance of mission schools. In the Madras Presidency, which accounts for over 7,000 of the 12,000 recognized mission schools, the number of boys' aided elementary mission schools, and the number of their pupils, increased between 1925 and 1930 at but little more than half the rate for the non-mission schools and their pupils. At the same time, the increase in the number of non-mission girls' elementary aided schools was fourteen times as rapid as the increase for the mission girls' schools; and the increase in the number of their pupils, five times as rapid.

MADRAS PRESIDENCY, GROWTH IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION BOYS' ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Data from Special Compilation made by the Office of the Supervisor of Education of the Madras Presidency for the Fact-Finders of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry.

	AIDED				UNAIDED			
	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1929-30.....	7,244	265,589	23,655	974,498	152	4,164	1,564	46,684
1924-25.....	6,408	211,581	19,252	720,882	380	9,059	2,400	67,732
Gain or loss....	836	54,008	4,403	253,616	- 228	- 4,895	- 836	- 21,048
Per cent.	13.0	25.5	22.8	35.2	- 60.0	- 54.0	- 35.0	- 31.0

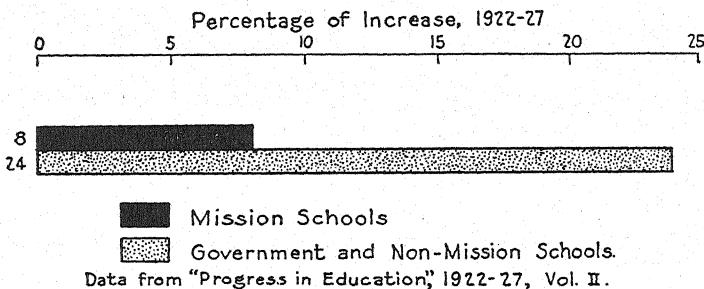
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, GROWTH IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION GIRLS' ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Data from a Special Compilation made by the Office of the Supervisor of Education of the Madras Presidency for the Fact-Finders of the Laymen's Foreign Mission Inquiry.

	AIDED				UNAIDED			
	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION	MISSION	NON-MISSION
	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils	Schools	Pupils
1929-30.....	617	57,460	967	55,005	17	948	101	3,435
1924-25.....	573	49,957	489	30,760	11	743	29	1,079
Gain.....	44	7,503	478	24,245	6	205	72	2,356
Per cent.	7.6	15.0	97.7	78.8	54.5	27.5	248.3	218.0

The worst feature of this problem is that mission schools and Government institutions are often in competition. One mission in the Bombay Presidency,¹⁰ in an educational survey of its own work, frankly faced this situation and adopted the recommendation that "when a mission school and a local board school are operating in the same village, the mission school must consider most carefully its reason for 'being,'" and also "that at the end of the current school year all city schools of the mission, save primary departments of the high schools, be closed."

GROWTH OF RECOGNIZED MISSION AND NON-MISSION SCHOOLS



The following is also from the report of this survey:

Approximately one-half of our village schools are in competition with local board schools. It is generally recognized in such instances of competition that the mission schools are for outcaste children. . . . In the light of the Government's declared policy to bring the children of all castes and groups together into one school, it certainly is a serious question whether mission schools should, by competing with Government schools, widen the breach which Government is seeking to narrow.

In discussing the city-school situation, this same survey stated:

Twenty-five years ago our mission schools led Government. Today they follow . . . in twelve city (primary) schools, the mission is spending Rs.9,380 annually to educate fifteen Christian and 905 non-Christian children through the second standard, in widespread competition with government schools.

We are told by a missionary in the Punjab, that he could close all the village mission schools in his district and find Government schools for all Christian children within easy distance from their homes, so greatly has the Government system expanded.¹¹

¹⁰ American (Congregational) Marathi Mission—*Educational Survey*, October, 1930.

¹¹ See suggested solution of this over-lapping and competition in *Bulletin of National Christian Council, Coimbatore Conference on Rural Work*.

It is not intended that the conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the end of mission education has come or is in sight. It means, rather, that missions must reëvaluate their educational program;¹² that doubtless some and perhaps many schools can be abandoned, and that new ones should be opened only after a careful survey of the needs of the situation.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

In another fundamental way, Government exercises control over mission schools, viz. in the application of the so-called "conscience clause."

It will be noticed that in all of them the evident attempt is to guarantee religious neutrality in schools supported in whole or in part by public funds. There is no desire to abolish all religious instruction. In fact, religious teaching is encouraged by the provision in most codes of conditions under which it may be carried on, without encroaching upon the curriculum or forcing it upon unwilling students. India as a whole, including non-Christians, does not accept the principle of separation of education and religion. The All-Asia Women's Conference at Lahore, January, 1931, passed a resolution favoring religious instruction in all schools. However, there is a decided opposition to compulsory religious teaching for pupils whose parents object.

Why should missions fear this seemingly harmless and obviously just "conscience clause," the principle of which forms a corner stone of the relation of Church and State in America? It is because it is a blow to direct evangelism and proselytizing as now carried on by missions. In most Protestant mission schools, attendance at Bible lessons, prayers, chapel and other religious services is (or was) compulsory for Christian and non-Christian pupils alike. The stated reason for "being" of many mission schools is this direct evangelizing purpose; and it is doubted (by them) if the people in America and elsewhere will continue to support mission education if this purpose is altered.

It is probably true that in some cases the "conscience clause" was directed at Christian missions. These and Moslem organizations represent the most active proselytizing religions. But, thus far, in India the "clause" has not been enforced or interpreted to hinder missions greatly in their work. The presence of several major religious groups, such as Hindus, Moslems, Christians, Buddhists, Parsis, Sikhs, etc., has prevented, and doubtless will prevent, the "clause" from being interpreted in an intolerant manner. It is also true that in the intense Nationalism sweeping India today, and the attendant reaction against all things Western, including Christianity, some missions find cause to fear the future. Others, however, are of the opinion that under Swaraj Chris-

¹² Survey of the Educational Work of the Three India Missions, 1926 (Presbyterian).

tianity will fare better than now when strife is everywhere and considered, tolerant judgment is lacking. Few people in India fear any such violent anti-religious legislation under home rule as has characterized national movements in China, Russia and sections of the Near East.

In Burma the "conscience clause" has been directed at Christian missions because there is one dominant religion, Buddhism, which is closely associated with the nationalist movement, and Christianity is the most virile opponent to Buddhism. As a result, the direct teaching of Christianity has been limited to Christian pupils, or to others whose parents expressly request it, which is quite different from the Indian regulation permitting compulsory Christian teaching to all pupils *unless* parents request that they be exempted. In Burma, the initiative for exemption is placed upon the school authorities, while in India, to date, it is placed upon parents.

In any case, it is evident that the "conscience clause," if enforced, will prevent much direct proselytizing of non-Christian pupils in mission schools. The educational objective of direct evangelism through compulsory religious teaching will, no doubt, be shifted to that of indirect, though probably no less effective, evangelism through voluntary religious instruction, character education through life situations, and the lives of the consecrated staff. To run an efficient school will become the more common purpose, rather than to maintain merely an outpost for Christian propaganda with the principles of efficiency subordinated.

Many missionaries and their schools welcome this turn in affairs and are facing the future confidently and with every assurance of success. For them the "conscience clause" holds no fears.

II

MISSIONS AND VILLAGE OR PRIMARY EDUCATION

Education in India is thought of as being for certain rather distinct classes. Education for the "directing" classes is designed to produce competent and trustworthy representatives and officials.¹ Formerly this type of education was exclusively for boys. Today it is still largely for boys and includes secondary schools, colleges, and universities. A fixed curriculum and selection of pupils by a rigid examination system are its characteristics; and to produce competent clerks has been said to be its chief aim. This type of education was first developed in India to the neglect of all others. Then there is education for women and girls, late in getting under way, but growing very rapidly today owing largely to the work of missions, to Government, and to an aroused public opinion. There is education for special classes and for special purposes; and last,

¹ *Interim Report of the Indian Statutory Commission*, (Hartog) Auxiliary Committee, 1929, p. 90.

and least considered in the educational scheme of India, is education for the masses or "mass education."²²

MAJOR VILLAGE EDUCATION PROBLEMS

The greatest educational problem in India is that of primary education, considering that over 90 per cent. of India's great rural population is illiterate. The difficulties of this task are almost insurmountable; and the greatest difficulties of all are the villager's utter indifference to change and his grinding poverty.

Under Swaraj, missions will be needed to pioneer in village education. This is one of the most important fields open to pioneer missionary effort today; and the rural village problem is the greatest one facing missions, since three-fourths of the Christians in India are rural and less than 2 per cent. of the people are Christian. Moreover, mission education itself is topheavy.

Missions have made great contributions to the education of the villager and can point with pride to the literacy of Christians in comparison with other groups; the literacy of Christian men being two and three-fourths times that of the general male population, and that of Christian women being ten times that of the female population. But village Christians are not so literate as urban Christians.

The data show that village Christians come almost exclusively from the outcaste groups, live in poverty, filth and squalor, and are low in vitality owing to lack of sanitation and health education. Nevertheless, they are better off than their non-Christian neighbors.

The mission village school is a poor school, housed in a mud hut, with meagre equipment, and is taught by an inadequately trained and poorly paid teacher. Nevertheless, as a rule, it is better than non-Christian schools, because of the consecration of the teacher and of closer management by the mission.

The mission village school, measured by the low standard of mere literacy, is practically worthless. Wastage is so great as to produce little literacy. Christian teaching is provided, however, and the village is the recruiting ground for Christian leaders, though these results can be achieved better in a different type of school.

Missions and Government and other organizations often overlap, and are in direct competition in some areas. In fact, many schools can be closed and the pupils sent to neighboring public institutions.

The social service ideal is largely lacking in village schools at present. But, implementing the conclusions of the Jerusalem Conference, movements are under way to correct this situation. Missionaries are not all agreed on the plan, and mission policy will need to be changed.

Only a few mission training schools are training leaders for the village. This is a chief cause of most of the literate boys leaving the village,

²² *Ibid.*, chapter iv.

so that in some Christian villages after nearly a half-century of work not one literate adult can be found.

There is need for one or more union mission schools for the training of village-school supervisors, since lack of adequate supervision is a chief cause of waste and inefficiency.

There is a conflict between the evangelistic and the educational objectives in mission education, which often results in the subordination of one standard to the detriment of both. The two types of work should be done by different people, or the teacher should be given training for both. Missions should cease to appoint any except trained educators to take charge of schools. A poor school is a poor evangelizing agency.

EDUCATION TOPHEAVY

In a preceding section of this report reference has been made to the effective barrier of caste and class distinctions to the filtration of education from the top downward. Although Government and private forces have attempted since 1854 to carry education to the great body of Indian population, the 94 per cent. illiteracy today is eloquent evidence of the very poor results. Primary education in India is still suffering from the bias given to education in general by the "minute" of Macaulay nearly a hundred years ago. This effect is well stated by Professor Oaten³ of Presidency College, Calcutta:

The State threw (by this minute) its weight on the side of a system which gave the middle classes funds for a particular type of school which they desired for their vocational needs and which the State desired for its administrative needs, which had no roots whatever in Indian culture. All the efforts made since to correct the initial bias away from Indian culture, away from mass education, away from a reasonable primary educational system, in favor of a system which would base secondary education upon a sound primary education system integrated with Indian religion and culture have never been able to restore the balance. The beginning was at the top, and Indian education in consequence grew into the topheavy inverted pyramid which it still remains.

THE SITUATION TODAY

To understand India one must understand village life in that land. To understand the problems facing Christian missions in India, it is imperative that the problems of the villages be known. To know India's educational needs and the great future task of educational missions, guided by the principles of the Jerusalem Conference concerning rural

³ E. F. Oaten, M.A., I.E.S., *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 1929.

problems,⁴ it is necessary to know the educational needs of the villagers in India.

"One-sixth of the human race lives in the villages of India. Nine of every ten Indians are villagers, over 92 per cent. of them being illiterate.⁵ Add to this statement the fact that less than 2 per cent. of India's population is Christian and we have in a nutshell the staggering task confronting educational missions. The Hartog Committee⁶ has emphasized that the problem of mass education in British India is preponderantly a rural one:

In India, the great majority of parents who live on the land are poor, and their poverty is aggravated by improvidence and debt. Being illiterate and having an outlook confined almost entirely to their own surroundings and the daily routine of life, much persuasion is needed to convince them of the advantage of sending their children to school and keeping them there long enough to receive effective education, however rudimentary. Even if schooling is free or school fees are small, the temptation to take a child away from school as soon as he is old enough to mind cattle or goats (which in an unfenced country has to be done by somebody) is great.

The following is a summary of the chief difficulties and obstacles to popular education:⁷ The great mass of population to be educated and the low level of existing education; the small school unit; the even smaller residential units and the effective barriers of caste with the attendant customs and superstitions; racial and religious antagonisms; the grinding and increasing poverty; the fatalism and the resignation of the villager, together with his utter indifference to progress and change; the low and falling per capita production; the appalling insanitary and health conditions in the villages; conditions of village life not attractive to teachers; unmarried women teachers unable, except under most favorable circumstances, to live in villages; adequate supervision of schools difficult; and last, but by no means the least, the difficulty of securing attendance of pupils owing to poverty and indifference. Missionaries and other village workers list as first of all obstacles the indifference, if not opposition, of the villager to the education of his children.

THE GREAT PROBLEM FOR CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The Indian Census of 1921 listed as rural territory nearly 700,000 villages with a population of nearly 285,000,000. Throughout the Orient, rural people live in villages rather than on isolated farmsteads as in

⁴ International Missionary Council, *The World Mission of Christianity*, Jerusalem Meeting, 1928. New York, 419 Fourth Avenue.

⁵ Olcott, *Village Schools in India* (Calcutta: Association Press, 1926), p. 1.

⁶ Hartog Committee report, p. 37.

⁷ See Dr. J. L. Hypes' Report, this Volume.

America; and the average Indian village has fewer than 500 people. The 10 per cent. of Indian population classed as urban lives in 2,300 towns of 5,000 population and over.⁸

The problem of Christianity in India is overwhelmingly a rural one, yet the Christian community⁹ is more urban than either the Hindu or the Moslem. There is one urban to four rural Christians (one to three in British India); one urban to nine rural Hindus; and one urban to 7.5 rural Moslems. More than three-fourths of the Christians reside in villages. Whatever one considers the mission problem to be, whether to nurture the Christian community, or to work among Hindus or among Moslems, that problem lies in the villages. In the year 1922, there were 39,100 villages in which Christians lived; in 1927 this number had grown to 44,230, an increase of 13 per cent. Approximately six of every hundred villages have Christians living in them.¹⁰

NUMBER OF STANDARDS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS BY PROVINCES

	<i>Lower Elementary Schools</i>	<i>Higher Elementary Schools</i>
Madras.....	5	8
Bombay.....	5	8
	<i>Lower Primary Schools</i>	<i>Upper Primary Schools</i>
Bengal.....	3	5
United Provinces.....	3	5
Punjab.....	-	4
Burma.....	2	4
Bihar and Orissa.....	3	5
Central Provinces.....	-	4
Assam.....	2	4

EXTENT TO WHICH VILLAGE INDIA IS PROVIDED WITH PRIMARY SCHOOLS

In this discussion, a primary school is understood to be a separate school including standards (grades) one to four or five. The accompanying table shows the variation in number of classes (standards) from province to province.¹¹ Where a school extends its work above the fifth grade it is called a middle school or a high school, except in Madras and Bombay Presidencies where schools having standards six to eight inclusive are called higher elementary schools. A very important fact to keep in mind is that schools in India take their classification as primary, middle, or high, from the highest standard taught, and almost always have all the lower standards including the primary. Hence a discussion

⁸ *The Indian Yearbook*, 1929, p. 19.

⁹ The term "community" in India is used to signify a religious group.

¹⁰ *Directory of Christian Missions*, 1928-29.

¹¹ Hartog Committee report, p. 36.

of primary schools must exclude all primary pupils enrolled in the thousands of secondary (middle and high) schools. Likewise, a discussion of secondary schools involves all pupils in their primary departments. Unless these facts are borne in mind, statements about primary schools may be misleading.

We are interested to know to what extent this great mass of rural village population is provided with schools, as well as the part contributed by missions, and especially by the missions of the six boards coöperating in our study.

From another Government publication,¹² we find that in 1927 there were, including Burma, 184,800 recognized primary schools, and in addition there were 9,800 recognized secondary schools having primary departments, to say nothing of the 16,800 unrecognized schools (including Burma), mostly of primary grade. In the recognized primary schools there were in 1926-27 a total of 8,000,000 pupils and there were 400,000 pupils in unrecognized schools. "There was thus one recognized primary school on the average to every 109 boys of schoolgoing age."¹³

This seems to be a very satisfactory achievement in the direction of universal primary education. The real question is, how are these schools distributed? Do they reach the smaller villages? It is well known that there are thousands of villages all over India without schools of any kind. Let the Hartog Committee answer this question:

The problem of primary school provision divides itself roughly as follows: (a) provision for the smaller villages with a population of under 500, which number about 364,000, and (b) for the larger villages with a population of over 500, and for the towns which together number about 136,000. . . . The problem of school provision in the smaller villages is very difficult. It may be solved to some extent by the rapid growth of motor traffic and by the establishment of branch schools; but much remains to be done. On the other hand, there is reason to believe that the vast majority of the 136,000 towns and larger villages are already provided with primary school units for boys, of which the total number is over 162,000. In Madras, 80 per cent. of the villages with a population of 500-1,000, and 93 per cent. of the villages with a population of 1,000-2,000, have schools.

Thus it is quite evident that the greatest number of smaller Indian villages, where the most illiteracy exists, are still untouched by education of any kind.

This situation is further complicated by the fact that there must be, in most villages, separate schools for boys and girls; separate schools for different religious groups, as Moslems and Hindus; and separate

¹² Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27.* Vol. II, p. 109.

¹³ Hartog Committee report, p. 51.

schools for the depressed classes. "Thus (to quote from a single province), in the poorest province of India we are asked to provide five primary schools for a single village."¹⁴

Rivalry, overlapping and competition therefore add to the confusion of this situation, in both rural and urban areas, among various classes of elementary schools. Missions have contributed a share to this competition, and schools under public management have often been a detriment to mission education.¹⁵ With such conditions, it is not surprising that there is much waste of money and effort.

In 1926-27 Government and local district boards were spending 36.5 per cent. of their total funds available for education on primary schools for both boys and girls. This was an increase of 1 per cent. since 1921-22.¹⁶

The average annual expenditure on primary schools for boys in 1926-27 was Rs.364 (about \$130); while that for "aided" primary schools was Rs.209; and that for "unaided" schools, Rs.75. Mission schools fall in one or the other of the two last-named classes. The average annual cost of educating a pupil in a primary school for boys was Rs.8.1 (\$2.90). By contrast, the average expenditure on a secondary school for boys is fifteen times that of a primary school; and the average annual cost of educating a pupil in such a school is nearly six times as great.

In 1926-27 the primary schools for boys had an average of 45 pupils. In such a school there was an average of 1.6 teachers, and 26 pupils per teacher. In primary schools of all kinds, 44 per cent. of men teachers were trained. This rather low percentage of trained teachers is made worse by the fact that those who take training have such low initial qualifications. Only 28 per cent. of the teachers in primary schools for boys had, in 1926-27, completed a middle-school (seventh or eighth grade) course. A large proportion of teachers have qualifications but little higher than those of the pupils in the highest class of the primary school.

Government provincial reports do not give separate statistics for mission primary schools. We are indebted to Mr. J. M. Bottomley, now Director of Public Instruction of Bengal Presidency, for the data in the following table. In January, 1931, Mr. Bottomley addressed a letter to all the divisional school inspectors of the Presidency asking for reports concerning American missions, other mission, other aided, and Government schools. These reports he turned over to the Fact-Finders, and the data have been compiled from them. All five divisions in the province, including Calcutta, reported; but for Calcutta, figures for "Government" and "other aided" schools do not appear. The "examina-

¹⁴ Hartog Committee report, p. 56.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 54, and *Educational Survey of American Marathi Mission, 1930*.

¹⁶ Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, Vol. II.

tion" results are complete from only Rajshahi and Dacca divisions; while "examination" results for American mission schools were given for only Chittagong division, and for Calcutta as has just been stated.

In regard to the completeness of these data, attention is called to the *Seventh Quinquennial Review of Education in Bengal (1926-27)*, page 70, which gives the total number of pupils (boys and girls) in primary schools as 1,741,504, while our incomplete data (for 1930-31) show 1,622,201. It should also be kept in mind that data for "primary" schools do not include data for primary departments in secondary schools.

The entire primary-school effort of missions in Bengal is small in comparison with that in some other provinces. The following table indicates the relative cost and efficiency of mission primary schools. By far the greater number of primary pupils in Bengal are in "other aided" schools.

BENGAL PROVINCE—PRIMARY SCHOOLS, 1931

Comparison of Mission and Non-Mission Schools

<i>Kind of Institution</i>	<i>Cost per Pupil</i>	<i>Number of Pupils per Teacher</i>	<i>Percentage Passing Exams. to Number Sent up</i>	<i>TEACHERS</i>	
				<i>Per Cent. Trained</i>	<i>Per Cent. Untrained</i>
MALES					
American mission ..	Rs. 6.6	21	71	38	62
Other mission.....	8.2	23	82	35	65
Other aided.....	4.1	26	81	28	72
Government.....	7.4	26	92	42	58
Averages.....	4.4	25.8	81	28.7	71
FEMALES					
American mission ..	12.1	30	70	48	52
Other mission.....	16.9	24	79	49	51
Other aided.....	3.1	27	89	11	89
Government.....	7.3	27	75	19	81
Averages.....	3.7	27	88	12.8	87

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONS

It is agreed by all that Christian missions can still do pioneering work in educating the masses in India. To what extent have they entered upon this work?

Missions may point with pride to the literacy of the Christian community as compared with other groups. This is shown in the next table. Here we find that Christian males in all India, including Burma, have a literacy percentage of 31, while that for Hindu men and other males in all India is 12 per cent., and that for the entire population, men and women, is 7 per cent. This is a great achievement in view of the fact that Christians are drawn almost exclusively from the depressed classes, the lowest in the social and economic scale. Christian men are surpassed

only by the Parsis, Buddhists (principally in Burma), and the Jains who are free from caste.

But it is in the literacy of Christian women that mission education registers its highest achievement. The literacy of Christian women is 18 per cent., while that of all women in India is less than 2 per cent. Christian women are excelled among specified groups only by Parsi women, who are of the wealthy merchant class with a tradition of education behind them, while Christian women are mostly from the lowest or outcaste group, with traditions of degradation and ignorance behind them. The Christian emphasis upon education for all converts has had telling effect.

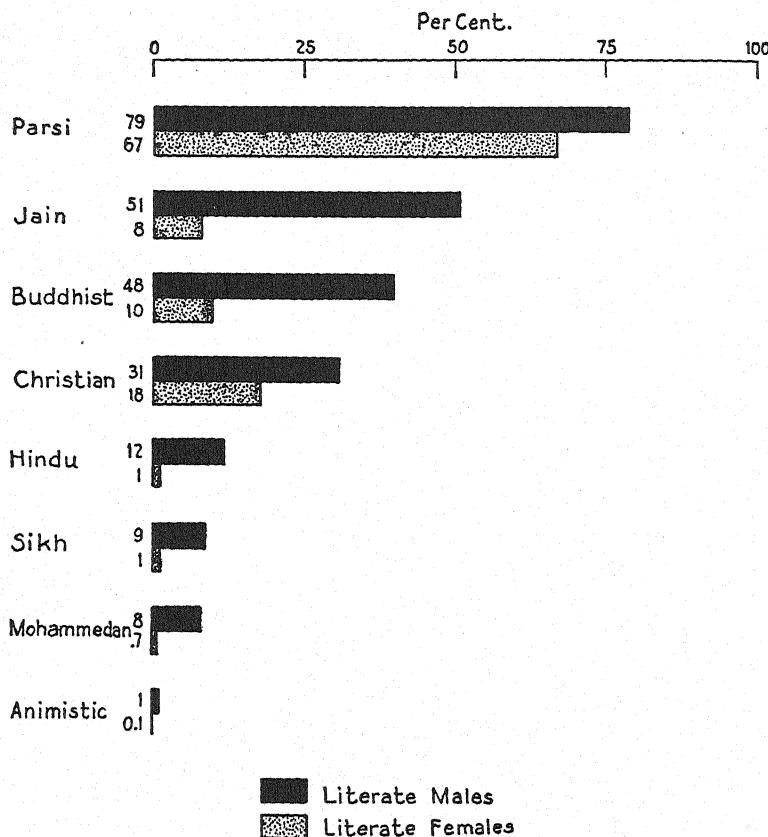
In thus speaking of literacy as an achievement of Christian missions, we are not forgetting that spiritual regeneration is the real aim of missions and that literacy is but one means to that end. "So far as the

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN INDIA AND BURMA ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND EDUCATION (CENSUS 1921)

Religion	Total Population	Illiterate	Literate	Per Cent. Literate	Literate in English	Per Cent. Literate in English
MALES						
Hindu.....	110,898,703	98,114,846	12,783,857	11.5	1,579,388	1.42
Sikh.....	1,844,483	1,671,204	173,279	9.4	21,272	1.15
Jain.....	610,279	296,863	313,416	51.4	22,557	3.70
Buddhist.....	5,716,211	2,947,266	2,768,945	48.4	48,555	.85
Parsi.....	52,364	11,054	41,310	78.9	27,577	52.66
Mohammedan	35,967,380	33,046,931	2,920,449	8.1	306,275	.85
Christian.....	2,456,629	1,697,344	759,285	30.9	277,177	11.28
Animistic....	4,895,422	4,826,354	69,068	1.4	2,693	.06
Minor and unspecified ...	23,658	11,829	11,829	50.0	3,694	15.61
Total males	162,465,129	142,623,691	19,841,438	12.2	2,289,188	1.41
FEMALES						
Hindu.....	105,828,980	104,372,567	1,456,413	1.4	68,562	.06
Sikh.....	1,393,770	1,374,522	19,248	1.4	655	.05
Jain.....	568,317	524,854	43,463	7.7	883	.16
Buddhist.....	5,855,024	5,291,833	563,191	9.6	6,578	.11
Parsi.....	49,414	16,211	33,203	67.2	11,757	23.79
Mohammedan	32,703,337	32,461,241	242,096	.7	9,078	.03
Christian.....	2,297,309	1,882,675	414,634	18.1	138,566	6.03
Animistic....	4,878,237	4,872,056	6,181	.1	198	.00
Minor and unspecified ...	15,714	11,930	3,784	24.1	1,890	12.02
Total females....	153,590,102	150,807,889	2,782,213	1.8	238,167	.16
Total population....	316,055,231	293,431,580	22,623,651	7.2	2,527,355	.80

general mass of agricultural population is concerned, primary education, and the attainment of literacy are the main considerations."¹⁷ The development of a self-supporting and self-propagating Christian church, no less than the development of a self-governing nation, depends in no small degree upon a literate constituency.

**DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
ACCORDING TO RELIGION AND EDUCATION
(CENSUS 1921)**



Unfortunately, missions are not contributing as much to the literacy of the villager as to that of his urban brother. Exact data to show whether literate Christians are to be found equally in urban and in rural areas are lacking; but it is known that the percentage of literacy in towns is much higher than in the villages. A study (see Dr. Cressey's

¹⁷ Royal Commission on Agriculture—Abridged Report, p. 62.

report) of nine of the larger industrial cities shows that literacy in the cities ranges from 12 to 44 per cent., or from two to six times as high as in all India. Probably the village Christians are not more than 1 to 4 per cent. literate. The inefficiency of village schools and the far better school facilities in cities tend to increase this disparity. It is also claimed that literate Christians are lured away from the villages to the larger centers by social and economic considerations. This probably accounts, in part, for the fact that in some villages, where Christian work has been going on for a quarter of a century and longer, not one Christian literate adult can be found. Causes for this will be discussed later in the report.

Only compulsory primary education will solve the question of literacy for the masses of India. It will require many decades more of the present desultory sort of voluntary education to make more than a dent in the present wall of ignorance and indifference.

Since the Christian community is so predominantly rural, and since the percentage of literacy is so low, one might expect to find that missions are emphasizing primary education more than any other phase. But such is not the case. The following table indicates this emphasis.

PERCENTAGE OF MISSION SCHOOLS AND PUPILS IN THE TOTAL RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS, 1926-27, INDIA

Schools	Primary	Middle	High
SCHOOLS			
Boys'.....	6%	3%	8 %
Girls'.....	4	32	45
(B + G).....	6	5	11.5
PUPILS			
Boys.....	5	3	10
Girls.....	9	30	44
(B + G).....	5	5	12

Table reads, 6% of all recognized Boys' primary schools in India (1926-27) are mission schools; 3% of such middle, and 8% of such high schools are mission schools. Or, last line, 5% of all pupils in recognized primary schools, boys and girls, are in mission schools; and 12% of those in such high schools are in mission high schools.

Thus it is evident that missions are making perhaps twice the contribution to high-school education as to primary education, considering the totals for boys and girls; while for girls alone, missions are placing many times more emphasis upon high and middle schools. The reader is cautioned to recall that in high and middle schools there are primary departments not included in the primary percentages of the preceding table. Studies of mission secondary schools show that about 40 per cent. of such enrollment is found in primary departments.

CONTRIBUTION OF THE COÖPERATING BOARDS

The table that follows shows the contribution to primary education of five of the six boards coöperating in our study. This may or may not be considered a better criterion on this point than the data of preceding table; but it is incomplete, as it does not show the per capita cost or the proportion of mission educational funds going to primary schools. It is significant that 93 per cent. of all schools, 78 per cent. of all pupils, and 63 per cent. of all teachers are classified as primary.

RECOGNIZED AND UNRECOGNIZED PRIMARY SCHOOLS AND PUPILS OF FIVE COÖPERATING AMERICAN BOARDS*

	Primary Schools	Per Cent. of Total	Primary Pupils	Per Cent. of Total	Primary Teachers	Per Cent. of Total
Baptist.....	1,633	95	40,332	87	—	—
Congregational.....	443	92	21,876	83	—	—
Presb. in U. S. A.	184	78	5,615	48	—	—
Reformed.....	237	96	9,543	80	427	78
United Presb.	157	90	7,585	57	235	46
Totals.....	2,654	93	84,951	78	662	63

* Methodist Episcopal omitted because schools are not classified.

The following table shows the proportional part of mission funds spent on primary schools by one of the six boards coöperating in our study. While it is startling that but 16 per cent. of the educational funds should be spent on 90 per cent. of the schools which have 57 per cent. of the pupils,¹⁸ it must be remembered that this board has good secondary schools with large primary departments, and that in the Punjab the Government encourages middle schools rather than primary schools. Furthermore, as we have seen, the per capita cost of primary schools is very low.

The same table shows also that the mission pays 65 per cent. of the cost of primary schools. This is a higher proportion than missions pay for the support of other institutions. (See section on middle schools.) In other words, primary schools are not as fully self-supporting as secondary

COST OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MISSION, PUNJAB, INDIA

Data from *Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church in India for Year Ending December 31, 1929*

Primary Schools	Primary Pupils	Cost of Primary Schools	Cost of Salaries	Amount from Mission	Total Spent on Education
		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
157 90%	7,585 57%	76,409 17%	54,702 72%	50,319 66%	452,472 100%

¹⁸ We have seen that Government spends 36.5 per cent. of its educational funds on primary schools.

schools which are able to charge higher fees and, in some cases, receive a higher proportion from Government grants.

THE EFFICIENCY OF MISSION VILLAGE SCHOOLS

It is impossible to discuss the school without taking into consideration the village and its people which the school serves. The village is an entity, a community that must be looked at as a whole. So far as missions are concerned, the church and school, working through the family and home, and aided by Government and social and economic organizations, are the agencies for regeneration of village life.

The Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council (1928) has well said:

The local community, therefore, is the natural and most effective social unit of organization for rural progress the world over. Rural missions should utilize this fact to the full, by seeking to redeem body, mind and soul. . . . It should be the aim of the Church to help to correlate all forces in the fundamental and inclusive task of creating a real Kingdom of God in this natural human grouping that we call the community.

MISSION VILLAGE SCHOOLS

The following discussion of mission village schools is based upon personal information gained in several ways. The writer traveled thousands of miles throughout India and visited many villages and village schools, both Christian and non-Christian, and discussed their problems with missionaries, Indian Christian teachers and pastors, Government officials, and villagers themselves. In addition, a careful analysis has been made of schedules from 173 villages and village schools in all parts of India. Another study was made in which 46 of the leading mission educators from different parts of the country contributed detailed opinions. Careful examination has been made of Government and mission publications, especially the reports of the Royal Commission on Agriculture and of the Hartog Committee on Education, the bulletins of the National Christian Council of India, and other helpful publications.

But no matter how much information may be at hand, it is difficult to make statements and to reach conclusions that apply equally to all parts of India.

The mission village school is usually though not always located in the outcaste or poorest section of the village, since virtually all the Christians are outcasts. The people are desperately poor; so poor that they often have only one meal a day, and usually contribute little or nothing to the support of the school. Mission funds and Government grants are its only means of support.

The village Christians are mostly agricultural laborers, while some are coolies, day laborers, leather workers, sweepers or scavengers. The

study of the 173 villages reveals the following facts: The average annual family income is from Rs.100 to 200, the range in our studies being from Rs.84 to 400. Considering all castes combined, the average family income is about Rs.250 to 300. This includes the landlords. Only a few Christians own land, which has been so fragmented that only a fraction of an acre remains to a family. Ninety-five per cent. of the families are in debt. The chief causes of debt are marriages and ceremonies. Marriages cost Rs.215 on the average; and in high-caste circles they often cost many times this amount. Our studies indicated that on the average each Christian family owned one animal (cow, goat, or buffalo). Of course many families do not own any. In spite of this grinding poverty, the average village family spends yearly Rs.13 for tobacco.

The women in the Christian sections of the villages are more free than women in other sections. Seclusion of women is not reported as a serious problem. This is owing in part to the greater freedom of outcaste women, and in part to the kind of work the women do, scavenging, which requires that they move about the village. While a considerable portion of the family income is spent for jewelry for women, the women earn some of it. Practically every village reported that women earn a part of the family income, often from 25 to 50 per cent. of it. Moreover, in one-third of the villages studied, women control equally with men the spending of the entire income.

While onslaughts have been made against caste, especially against untouchability, by leaders like Mr. Gandhi and by Christian missions and the Government, caste is still very much a barrier in the villages. Two-thirds of the villages reporting give evidence to this effect.

The outcaste must live in a segregated, and least desirable, section of the village. He is excluded from places of worship. Often the village *dhobi* (washerman), or *dharzi* (tailor) is forbidden to work for him. He cannot eat with those above him. Mission boarding schools must in many cases provide separate dining rooms for the several caste and outcaste groups. A caste Hindu will not dine at a missionary's home if an outcaste cook is employed. But the sixty or seventy million outcastes are beginning to stir like a great giant about to waken. They are finding their voice through their own leadership. Deputations of them have appeared with good effect before the Simon Commission and other official bodies.

As has been pointed out, the literacy of the Christians in these villages is difficult to estimate. It is known to be very low; and one can say that the typical village Christian is illiterate. The percentage of Christian literacy in villages reporting in our study is 6 per cent. of the Christian population,¹⁹ which is considered very high. Dr. C. D. Rockey, a

¹⁹ The 173 villages studied have an average Christian population of 137 per village. In sections of Northern India, it is known that the number of Christians per village,

second-generation missionary, and one of the best students of the village Christians in North India, gives an estimate of 4 per cent. literacy among Presbyterian village groups in the western United Provinces and of 0.8 per cent. among Methodist Episcopal village groups in the same area.²⁰ Dr. Rockey says:

By making a rough estimate based on these (census) figures, the literacy of the villages (Christian and non-Christian) is very low because there is a tendency for those who have become literate to move to the cities where opportunities are more suitable to their capabilities.

HEALTH EDUCATION

"Healthful living in a healthy environment" is one of the aims, stated by the Jerusalem Conference for community development. A typical village, where a Christian primary school is maintained, falls far short of this aim. To approach the village and the school, one must walk over ground contaminated with night soil, for the village has no latrine. Only fourteen of the 173 villages studied reported latrines. This accounts for the report by close students of the situation that from 80 to 90 per cent. of the people in South India have hookworm. Seventy-three villages reported epidemics and serious diseases, including cholera, smallpox, measles, malaria, dysentery, and plague, which accounted for 7,200 deaths during 1930, or an average of 98 deaths per village during the year. Eighty-four villages reported seventeen trained midwives to 1,137 untrained.

The school is finally reached through narrow lanes bordered by mud huts in which the family and its animals live together. From each hut there is an opening through which the family refuse flows into the open sewer in the center of the roadway. Flies, dust and stench fill the air. Forty-one villages reported health education given, and one school we visited pointed with pride to a cemented drain the teacher and children had built.

The school building is a low mud house, usually of one room, with a thatched roof. It may or may not have two or three small windows, or rather openings. Often there is no school building, and the school meets out-of-doors under trees. The equipment is meagre. There are no desks. The children sit on the mud floor on mats. Dust and flies are thick in the air. There are no toilets or sanitary arrangements. There are such items as a teacher's table and chair, a small painted blackboard, crayon, pictures of the King and Queen, a few paper-bound pamphlets for texts, and the registers. All the equipment could be purchased for Rs.30 to

where Christians are found, does not exceed fifteen. Therefore, the villages in our study are thought to be somewhat better than the average.

²⁰ C. D. Rockey, Ph.D., District Superintendent M. E. Church, Moradabad, United Provinces, published articles on village Christians, 1930.

45; and the house itself, built largely with village labor, would cost about Rs.100 to 200. The better houses, *pukka* or well constructed ones, reported in our study cost Rs.800 on the average.

The teacher of the village school is usually a man. It is not safe as a rule for an unmarried woman teacher to live alone in the village. While this condition is being improved, primary education in India will never be what it should be until a way is found to have the teaching of small children done by trained women teachers. There is an average of 1.6 teachers per primary school, including the schools in the larger towns. This means that in many there are two teachers, usually men. The Royal Commission on Agriculture agreed with those educational authorities who hold that no primary school can be efficient with fewer than two teachers.

Unless the school which has at present one teacher can be provided with an additional teacher or converted into a branch school consisting of one or two classes only, with the object of providing teaching for young children until they are old enough to walk to the central school, it is better closed, for it is both ineffective and extravagant.²¹

In some Christian schools we found a man and his wife teaching. This makes an admirable combination where both are trained teachers.

The training and salary of the teacher in a village school are very meagre. Mission teachers are, on the whole, trained better than others; but too many are old men who are kept on the payroll for no better reason than that the mission feels responsible for them. The initial qualifications are too low and the pay is inadequate. Not much can be expected of a teacher who himself has studied scarcely farther than the fifth standard, or at most the eighth, and who receives about Rs.20 (\$7.00) per month. The salaries in many mission schools run as low as Rs.5 per month.

Measured by even the lowest of standards, such schools are practically worthless. The average number of pupils in a primary school is about forty-five, a few of whom may be girls. Of these, 80 to 90 per cent. are in the first standard. The following table shows the diminution from class to class in British India; of every hundred pupils (boys and girls) who were in Class I in 1922-23, only eighteen were in Class IV in 1925-26. The holding power of city schools, boarding schools and primary departments of secondary schools is far greater than that of village schools. If these were excluded from the above figures, the wastage shown would become appalling.

Accepting literacy²² as a minimum standard of educational efficiency for all pupils, and accepting the Hartog Committee statement (p. 45), "that, on the average, no child who has not completed a primary course

²¹ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture, p. 525.

²² Literacy is interpreted in the India Census data as the ability to write a letter and read the answer.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS, INCLUDING PRIMARY CLASSES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Data from Hartog Committee Report, p. 45

1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27
Grade I 3,986,924	Grade II 1,379,986	Grade III 984,358	Grade IV 710,895	Grade V 427,053

of at least four years will become permanently literate," most mission primary schools are failures, and the money expended on them is largely wasted.

In a survey in 1929 of village schools of the Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church, which has the best rural village-school system the writer saw in India, Dr. Mason Olcott said:

In twenty-two out of 161 villages not a single man or woman was found to be literate, in spite of the fact that several of these twenty-two villages have had schools for thirty-five, twenty-five, or fifteen years. . . . Some literates from these villages may have emigrated or become teachers, but even so, many of our schools have had no permanent educational results.

In some sections of India, missions operate what are known as "informal" schools. They are taught usually by the preacher's wife and the children attend more or less regularly. Dr. C. D. Rockey says of these schools: "In fine weather the roof of their classroom is the leafy branches of the tree. If it rains they can always retreat to the nearby verandah." And again he says: "It is doubtful, however, if the results are very permanent. . . ." The writer estimates that perhaps 90 per cent. or more of pupils who attend such schools do not get enough education to maintain literacy.

This appalling loss due to wastage, or dropping out of school before completing at least the fourth standard, was estimated by the Hartog Committee (p. 48) to be 60 per cent. of the total expenditure on primary schools for 1922-23 to 1925-26. If the urban primary schools could be excluded from this total, the village loss would no doubt be more than 75 per cent. Mission schools are better in this respect than other schools; but the loss in them is so great as to bring in question the advisability of opening schools of this kind.

Another serious condition in mission primary education results from overlapping and competition among the various agencies operating schools. In the study of the 173 village schools, it is shown that in the area served by the missions reporting, other missions operate 208 schools, and Government and district boards operate 1,499 village schools. Thus, there are 1,700 primary schools in addition to mission schools in the same area. (See earlier discussion on competition.) While all of these schools are not overlapping or in competition, the total amount is considerable.

A question that is causing some worry in mission circles is, what will happen to mission primary education under a home-rule government? Will such a government wish to take over all primary education as a means to citizenship? Can free compulsory education be financed by Government? What advice should be given to mission organizations seeking guidance for future investments in men and institutions in India? The consensus of opinion, Christian and non-Christian, seems to be that in the field of primary education, missions have nothing to fear. The need is so vast that no Government, however thoughtful of the masses, can hope to dispel, single-handed, in less than a century of difficult work, the darkness of illiteracy now covering the land. Restrictions may be tightened regarding proselytizing; but primary, or village, education with a social service ideal is one field where missions can, no doubt, do pioneer work for many years to come.

MISSION VILLAGE SCHOOLS' OBJECTIVES

What are the objectives of mission primary schools in villages? Why are they operated? Forty-seven of the leading mission educators answered this question. According to them, "evangelization and literacy" are the principal objectives, while "social service," "service in the church" and "to develop Christian leaders" are objectives listed as important. The need for a clear-cut statement of aims and objectives is evident in the replies. One prominent missionary educator stated that:

The village educational system is hardly well enough organized to show any clear aims. Generally though, the aim may be considered as this, to give the village Christian an education that will enable him to read and write, to read the Bible, and to improve his social and economic status.

We have seen that, judged by the educational standard of literacy alone, village primary schools as at present operated by missions cannot be justified. The efficiency standard of literacy is thus brought into conflict with the religious standard of evangelism or proselytizing. This conflict between evangelism and modern educational practice is well stated in one reply:

The most significant thing you can say about the village schools of our mission as a whole is that they are run as a means to help pay the cost of evangelistic and parish work. Heretofore, "evangelism" in its older, more narrow sense, was the great aim of the missionaries. They believed in education. They believed that educating the people was a real expression of the Christian spirit, and necessary for the continuing life of Protestant Christianity here. But first and foremost, "evangelism," and the increase of baptisms—no formalism—but true, vital religion.

Therefore they began work in a village, because there was a

Christian group there, or the hopes of establishing one, *not* because the people there had no school, and needed one. Now this motive still predominates in our mission, and the pastors have it more strongly than the missionaries. Our pastors are more interested in evangelism than in education. To some of them the actual practice is, to keep the school up enough to draw the Government grant and so help pay the expenses of the man, who is first a *catechist* and second, a teacher. This is exactly what the congregation desires also. I expect that our Mission Teacher Training Schools cannot be classed as "modern" in their educational ideals. They have conformed to the ideals of Government in this respect. Consequently, modern methods are not practiced in our village schools.

That there should be a conflict between evangelism and school efficiency does not seem necessary to the writer. However, it shows again in the fact that in the 173 villages studied, 50 per cent. of the teachers act also as preachers in their villages or adjacent ones. This practice was common enough in America in an early day but has long since been discarded. To be one or the other is task enough but to be both without adequate training for either is impossible. One director of a mission teacher training school stated that this is a major problem. Clearly, if this dual work is to continue, the teacher must have two types of training; the initial qualifications must be increased and the time of training lengthened, or a new type of school must be developed that will enable the teacher to devote full time to the one profession. This type will be discussed in the section under Middle Schools.

SCHOOL SERVICE AND ADULT EDUCATION IN THE VILLAGES

It is difficult in India to treat the village as a unit for social service work, because of caste restrictions, religious differences, and the indifference of the people to change. This indifference is said by village teachers and missionaries to be the greatest obstacle to the success of the school. It is a common practice for each school to employ a caller to bring in the pupils daily; otherwise they will not come. Parents often consider the school a day nursery and send all the babies along for the older children in the family to care for at school.

It is not enough for the schools to develop literacy among the children; they must maintain it among the adults. There is a movement in many villages to conduct night schools. It is not yet widespread; but is indicative of a great need. Night schools and the production and use of suitable literature, of which there is a great dearth, may constitute a solution of the literacy problem and contribute to the social service idea. Twenty-two per cent. of the villages reporting have night schools, a percentage that should be greatly increased.

Missions are making some attempts to aid the villages by encouraging

coöperative societies of various kinds.²³ These societies have had rather indifferent success. Thirty per cent. of the villages in the study reported such organizations.

Village "uplift" work is an attempt to overcome this indifference of the villagers to progress by treating the village as a whole in all of its social and economic aspects. The Fraser Commission²⁴ in 1920 urged making the school the social center for the village. Mr. F. L. Brayne,²⁵ Deputy Commissioner in the Punjab, and Mrs. Brayne, have been able to do an unusually fine piece of work which "will stimulate the educated not to flee from but to uplift village life."

A great opportunity for a wider social service program for the villages is presented to the missions. Only a few teachers attempt such work. Of the 173 villages, 71 reported the teacher or his wife doing something along this line. This speaks volumes for the lack of comprehensiveness of the mission village program. Aside from preaching and religious work, the teachers are doing little to make social centers of their schools, or to uplift the village socially or economically. If teachers are to lead communities, they must be given training to fit them to lead, especially in health, sanitation and recreation. Mr. Brayne emphasizes that the villager must be taught four things, the dignity of labor, the dignity of women, the dignity of cleanliness, and the dignity of service. Here is a field for pioneering.

At Moga,²⁶ in the Punjab, there is one of the finest village teacher-training schools in all India. Here boys are taught, through a middle-school curriculum of village handicrafts and projects, to love village life, to be skillful teachers, and to return to the village for service. This school has had a far-reaching influence throughout India. Several other schools along this line are being developed—those at Asansol, Sriniketan, Cumbum, Katpadi and Tirumangalam, to mention a few.

RURAL RECONSTRUCTION

The National Christian Council of India is much interested in rural improvement; and, stimulated by Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield,²⁷ through conferences and publications, is fostering a comprehensive program known as "rural reconstruction." This plan aims to establish rural-

²³ See Dr. Hypes Report, this Volume.

²⁴ Fraser Commission Report—"Village Education in India," 1920. This Commission was appointed by missionary organizations in Great Britain and North America.

²⁵ Brayne, F. L., *Remaking of Village India*, and *Socrates In an Indian Village* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1929).

²⁶ Rev. A. E. Harper and Mrs. Harper, missionaries of the Presbyterian Church, U. S. A., are in charge of this famous institution, a Training School for Village Teachers. It has been a model for Government, and other missions send boys to this school for training.

²⁷ Butterfield, K. L., "The Christian Mission in India," *Report of the International Missionary Council* (New York, 1930).

reconstruction units at centers, each composed of several villages in which a very complete uplift program can be carried on. The church, at least a middle school and a hospital or dispensary will form the central institutions, with evangelists, teachers, agriculturists, doctors and nurses carrying on the work.

The idea is nebulous in the minds of some, while others are definitely opposed to it. In answer to the question, "Is the rural reconstruction unit practicable in your mission?" seventeen answered affirmatively, while twelve answered negatively. All the others indicated that the plan is not yet a part of mission policy. Nevertheless several units are soon to be started.

The reconstruction unit will no doubt play an important part in the future work of missions. Its success awaits trained leadership, a reorganization of mission work, and a restatement of mission policy in education. If the poor village schools now being conducted could be closed, and if certain larger schools in good-sized towns could be moved to avoid competition and overlapping and could be given the village uplift trend in their training, there would be funds sufficient to start many such "units."

But the idea cuts deeper than merely getting funds and shifting schools about. The entire mission personnel from top to bottom, including evangelistic, educational and medical workers, foreign and indigenous, must shift the emphasis of thinking from urban to rural interests.²⁸

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

In justifying the continuation of the poor village schools now operated by missions, two arguments are brought forward by mission leaders. One of these is that the school is a means for teaching the Christian religion, and the other is that through these schools bright boys and girls get a start and develop into leaders for the Christian work.

We shall not go deeply into the matter of religious education as that is handled in Dr. Petty's report. We found in our study of 173 villages that at least thirty minutes per day are devoted to religious instruction. This is the usual time given to this work all over India. All children are required to study the Bible and other lessons of a religious nature.

Thirty minutes daily would seem to be sufficient for effective teaching, provided the curriculum and methods are satisfactory. But this work usually consists of learning the commandments, the Lord's Prayer, hymns, etc. Definite curricula were reported in use in only eleven of the 173 villages that were using the courses of Mrs. Harper, Clayton, and Charterhouse; and religious education is thus merely a memoriter process with very little carry-over in real character training. If religious edu-

²⁸ See list of "significant attempts to prepare rural students, men and women, to take a constructive part in rural community life," by the missions of the six coöperating boards, The National Christian Council of India, and other organizations.

tion, resulting in the formation of Christian character is a major objective of mission village schools, one may question the results by the method employed.

Regarding the village as a recruiting ground for Christian leaders, it is well known that teachers and pastors and other workers come largely from the villages. On this basis village schools can be justified, though the waste cannot be. The villages studied have sent an average of one leader each into Christian service, while on the average 3.5 pupils per village have gone to higher schools to make up the potential leadership of the future. While this seems abundant justification for such schools, it does not take into account wasted efforts, efficiency, nor quality of the leadership produced. There are reasons for believing that centralized middle schools are far more productive of leadership with Christian character and far less waste. These reasons will be treated more fully in the section on middle schools.

SUPERVISION NEEDED

A most serious problem of mission primary education is that of the direction and supervision of village schools. In our studies certain facts stand out. Supervision is inadequate. Without supervision the quality of instruction under an Indian teacher of low qualifications is greatly reduced. Missionaries state that even trained teachers lapse into the use of poor methods unless they are closely supervised. Much of the stagnation or retardation (the keeping of a pupil in the same standard several years), is caused by lack of supervision. To correct this the Punjab Department of Education now requires 75 per cent. of all first-standard pupils to be passed on to the next standard. Very little in-service training is given to teachers. Supervisors are often old men (the median age in our study was forty-five years), who have never themselves had modern teaching methods. We saw many pupils, ten to twelve years of age, who had been in school several years still reading in the first standard. On the other hand, some good projects in supervision are being developed. In the Reformed Church Mission we found a system of 220 rural schools under several supervisors and all directed by the missionary educator. We saw another system in the American Marathi Mission where a Moga-trained supervisor was doing good work. Supervision is inadequate because the supervisors are not trained, the area traveled is too large, and the educational qualifications for the position of supervisor are too meagre. It is doubtful if schools should be opened until the mission is able to provide suitable supervision.

MISSIONARY OVERLOADED AND OFTEN NOT TRAINED FOR HIS JOB

Much of the failure of mission primary education is due to the mistaken policy of overloading missionaries with work and giving them tasks for which they are not trained. We found scarcely a missionary

who is not overworked and doing double or triple work, including some service for which he is not trained and which calls for professional knowledge. Many in charge of schools and school work have no qualifications for such duties unless being a consecrated Christian and holding a degree in theology qualifies one. Mission primary education is often considered a part of the evangelistic program and placed under the missionary evangelist. Education that is not well done cannot bring the highest evangelistic results. It may even be a disservice. Missionaries were quite frank in discussing this problem, and expressed regret that a more satisfactory adjustment of work could not be made. The problem is commended to the Appraisal Commission, as it concerns not alone primary education, but higher education and other phases of mission work as well.

III

MISSION SECONDARY EDUCATION IN INDIA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Missions have built up in India a great secondary¹ school system, which uses a large proportion of the mission funds and personnel, but is definitely a part of the Government system. To all practical purposes it has become secular in its influence. The schools of this system, once pioneering ventures in bringing to India the Christian religion and the culture of the West, are now facing a crisis in their development. What lies ahead in the next few decades for the Christian educational program, is the question asked by Christian statesmen.

THE SECONDARY SCHOOL SYSTEM AND ITS CONTROL

As has been pointed out, India's educational system is top-heavy. Until recent times, secondary schools, particularly the high schools, have been completely dominated by the universities. The curriculum has been classical and intended to fit a pupil for matriculation to a university. Government has aided in making the system permanent by requiring matriculation as the qualification for Government positions. Education in English has been the paramount demand upon the secondary schools from Macaulay's minute (1835) to almost the present. Missions, in accepting grants-in-aid, find that their schools are a part of this system. The Royal Commission on Agriculture and the Hartog Committee of the Simon Commission, as well as Indian leaders, have criticized this system; and leaders in mission education have attempted to develop other types of

¹ Government reports consider middle schools as a part of the secondary school system and often do not present separate data for them; it is necessary to give in this section some general data on secondary schools which include both middle and high schools.

schools, so that today the vernacular middle and high schools are growing in number and influence.

The secondary school system has been successful in building up a "directing class," which is what was intended of it. But at present there is a great surplus of unemployed among the matriculates of high schools and the graduates of universities and colleges. These boys disdain to do manual labor, because the schools have not taught them the dignity of labor nor to adapt themselves to community life; hence they become malcontents. Mission schools have not suffered so much as others, but are feeling the pinch of the situation.

Secondary schools in India, exclusive of Burma, are of three kinds, high schools, middle English or Anglo-vernacular middle schools, and middle-vernacular schools. The following table from the Hartog Committee report gives the present division in years between the middle and high stages.

LENGTH OF COURSE IN YEARS

<i>Province</i>	<i>Middle Stage</i>	<i>High Stage</i>
Madras.....	3	3
Bombay.....	3	4
Bengal.....	2	4
United Provinces.....	4	2
Punjab.....	4	2
Bihar and Orissa.....	2	4
Central Provinces.....	4	3
Assam.....	2	4

The middle English school leads to the high-school stage of instruction. The Anglo-vernacular middle school also leads to the high school, but both English and the vernacular are taught. This type is becoming more popular now that universities permit the use of vernaculars as the medium of instruction. The vernacular middle school has a course complete in itself. It does not lead to matriculation, though there is a recent tendency to introduce English. This vernacular middle school has been planned for rural sections, and is considered of special benefit to them because its curriculum can be adapted to village needs and because it is not controlled by university affiliation. This last-mentioned school will be discussed later as being of special value to mission work to take the place of the present inefficient village schools. The high school is affiliated with the university and leads definitely to the matriculation examination.

Secondary schools are controlled by Government through inspection and financial aid. But the curricula of schools affiliated with universities are controlled by the matriculation examination. In recent years there has been a tendency to modify this control by permitting representatives of Government to sit on the examining boards.

The following table shows to what extent the secondary schools of India are managed by private agencies:

NUMBER OF HIGH AND MIDDLE ENGLISH SCHOOLS BY MANAGEMENT

Data from Hartog Committee Report, p. 97

	<i>Govern- ment</i>	<i>District Board</i>	<i>Municipal Board</i>	<i>Aided</i>	<i>Unaided</i>	<i>Total</i>
For males.....	370	403	220	3,182	1,209	5,384
Per cent. of total..	7	8	4	59	22	100
For females.....	51	2	12	386	24	475
Per cent. of total..	11	.5	2.5	81	5	100

Mission schools generally fall in the "aided" class, a few in the "unaided" class. It is a definite policy of Government to permit private agencies to operate schools with liberal grants-in-aid. It is through these grants, inspection, and recognition that Government effectively controls secondary education. It is important to note, however, that the number of pupils in all secondary schools under public management increased from 35 per cent. to 44 per cent. between 1921-22 and 1926-27,² while the number of those in schools under private management dropped from 65 per cent. to 56 per cent. during the same time.

MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS

It would be a serious blow to education in India if missions should withdraw from the secondary-school field entirely. The following table shows that Christian missions operate 12 per cent. of all recognized high schools and 6 per cent. of all recognized middle schools. Twelve of every one hundred high-school students are in mission schools, and six of every

MISSION RECOGNIZED SECONDARY SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH TOTALS IN INDIA, 1926-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27*, Vol. II

	<i>Male Mission</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Female Mission</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total Mission</i>	<i>Total</i>
SCHOOLS						
High Schools....	190	2,295	101	220	291	2,515
Percentages....	8		46		12	
Middle Schools..	244	6,715	197	604	421	7,319
Percentages....	4		33		6	
SCHOLARS						
High Schools....	72,703	703,193	19,328	43,334	92,031	747,527
Percentages....	10		45		12	
Middle Schools..	29,845	842,734	23,600	75,343	53,445	918,077
Percentages....	4		30		6	

² Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India (1922-27)*, Vol. II, p. 154.

one hundred middle-school students. The table shows a still more remarkable fact, that of the recognized secondary schools for girls, missions operate 45 per cent. of the high schools and 30 per cent. of the middle schools; and that these mission schools have 45 per cent. and 30 per cent. respectively of the students in such institutions for girls.

Mission secondary schools have exerted a qualitative influence far beyond their numbers. Mission schools have been given credit for setting the standard, at least in the past, for Government and other agencies. But this status is rapidly changing, so that today in certain sections many of these secondary schools, especially for boys, run but a poor second to Government schools and, as one high official spoke of them, are "drab and colorless."

GIRLS' AND BOYS' SCHOOLS COMPARED

There is an impression in India, especially in mission circles, that secondary schools for girls are better than those for boys. Complete evidence on this point is lacking, but data in the following table support the claim:

COST PER PUPIL IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS WITH PERCENTAGES OF TRAINED TEACHERS, 1926-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India, 1922-27, Vol. II*

	Schools for Males	Schools for Females
COST PER PUPIL		
High Schools	Rs.51	Rs.107
Middle Schools	19	37
PERCENTAGE OF TRAINED TEACHERS		
All secondary schools	50	62

It would seem that with double the per-pupil cost, and with a greater proportion of trained staff, schools for girls should be superior to those for boys. This evidence, however, is not conclusive.

In mission secondary schools for girls there are other data to support the claim of superiority. These schools have a higher proportion of boarding pupils than boys' schools have, and closer supervision of them is therefore possible. A larger proportion of the staff in schools for girls live on the compound with the pupils and exert a more continuous influence. Then, the management of a girls' school is usually in the hands of one or more unmarried lady missionaries who devote full time to educational work, while the male missionary who manages a boys' school usually has a multiplicity of tasks and sometimes is not an educationist at all.

Another factor in this seeming disparity between boys' and girls' mission schools is the better support given by certain women's mission boards in America to girls' education than that given by the corresponding general mission boards to schools for boys.

There is evidence on the other hand that boys' schools have a higher proportion of pupils who pass from the middle stage to the high school. Of the girls in secondary schools for girls, only 28 per cent. are in the secondary stages of instruction, 72 per cent. being in the primary stages.³ But this is not true to the same extent in mission boarding schools for girls.

Most of the schools for girls are located in the larger centers.

While secondary education for girls has, in several provinces, been successfully developed in urban areas, the opportunities for higher education for girls has, in several provinces, been successfully developed in urban areas, the opportunities for higher education afforded the girls in the smaller towns and rural areas are extremely limited.⁴

IMPORTANCE OF MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Throughout this report attention has been called to the great contribution of missions to girls' education. There is no field where mission effort is more appreciated, unless it be that of medical work; nor is there a field in which expansion and pioneer work are more needed. With the women of India less than 2 per cent. literate, and Christian women but 60 per cent. as literate as Christian men, the task is evident. "Educate a woman and you educate a whole family" is a truism; but it should be taken seriously. There is no doubt but that missions may continue to render a great service here.

THE DECLINE OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS

The relative importance of mission secondary schools in India is declining. This is but the natural result of the faster growth of non-mission schools. The following table indicates the extent of this relative decline:

Thus over a five-year period, while mission secondary schools increased in numbers 3.5 per cent., non-mission schools increased 33.6 per cent., or nearly ten times as rapidly. In the number of students, non-mission schools increased seven times as fast as mission schools.

It is not so important that mission schools keep pace in numbers with non-mission institutions; but with the growth in numbers has come higher standards of efficiency which mission schools must meet or close their doors. Leaders in mission secondary education in India are facing a

³ Hartog Committee report, p. 164.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

GROWTH OF MISSION RECOGNIZED SECONDARY SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH NON-MISSION,
1922-27, INDIAData from *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, 1917-22, 1922-27

	1926-27		1921-22			
	Mission	Non-Mission	Mission	Non-Mission	Mission Gain Per Cent.	Non-Mission Gain Per Cent.
SCHOOLS						
High Schools....	291	2,244	289	6,842	0.7	
English Middle..	339	6,898	320		6.0	
Vernacular Middle.....	82		79		3.8	
Totals.....	712	9,142	688	6,842	3.5	33.6
SCHOLARS						
High Schools....	92,031	655,496	86,058	972,748	6.9	
English Middle..	43,828	864,632	39,428		11.2	
Vernacular Middle.....	9,617		8,569		12.2	
Totals.....	145,476	1,520,128	134,055	972,748	8.5	56.3

real crisis. More money is needed for better buildings and equipment, and especially for more capable staffs. Fees have been increased; the better-to-do non-Christian caste-students have been admitted in large numbers. The schools have become increasingly secular and non-Christian in staff and student body. (See later on in this report the study of seventy-eight of the mission secondary schools operated by the six boards coöperating in our study.)

Failing to keep existing schools up to the high standard demanded, what then? So much has been invested in plant that the system of secondary school has become a "vested" interest of missions. The difficulty of disposing of the school property is one reason why mission management continues to run some "drab and colorless" schools.

Concentration or diffusion of mission effort has become a real issue, especially in the field of secondary education. There is a general sentiment for the concentration of secondary schools in strategic centers and for more emphasis on the training of Christian leaders. Missions are faced with the alternative of having fewer and better schools or of spending a great deal more money on the present system.

COST AND SELF-SUPPORT IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE
SIX COÖPERATING BOARDS

The six American mission boards coöperating in our inquiry operate about 180 secondary schools, recognized and unrecognized, which have in them some 27,800 pupils. The following table shows these data:

SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF THE SIX COÖPERATING BOARDS AND THE PUPILS IN THEM

	American Baptist	Congrega- tional	Meth. Epis.	Presb. in U. S. A.	Reformed Church	United Pres.
SCHOOLS						
High School.....	4	5	*	30	4	6
Middle School.....	38	11		—	4	8
Totals.....	42	16		30	8	14
Total Secondary Schools, 5 boards—	110.	Estimate for the six boards, 180 schools.				
PUPILS						
High School.....	1,576	1,344	1,896	4,639	1,923	3,434
Middle School.....	3,369	1,523	5,875		667	1,613
Totals.....	4,945	2,867	7,771	4,639	2,590	5,047
Total Pupils in Secondary Schools, 6 boards—	27,859.					

* Methodist Episcopal schools not classified.

COST

The percentages of mission educational funds and of "self-support" in two missions operated by two of the six boards coöperating in our study are shown in the table that follows:

PROPORTION OF EDUCATIONAL FUNDS EXPENDED ON SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN TWO AMERICAN MISSIONS WITH PERCENTAGE OF SELF-SUPPORT *

	Total Expenditure on Education— All Kinds	Total Expenditure on Secondary Schools	Percentage Expended on Secondary Schools	Total School Income Indian Sources	Percent- age of Self- Support
Rs.	Rs.				
United Presbyterian Church in India †.....	452,472	242,562	54	124,640	51
American Baptist Telugu Mission ‡.....	248,828	171,708	69	104,515	61

* The figures in this table presumably do not include salaries of missionaries, nor the interest on capital invested in buildings, nor the cost of their up-keep. Should these be included, the percentage of self-support would be greatly reduced. It should be noted further that the term "self-support" as used here is a synonym for "Income from Indian Sources" which is made up from two sources: (1) Grants-in-Aid and (2) School fees, and contains no voluntary contributions from individuals or churches.

† Data from report for year ending December 31, 1929. Includes all of the fourteen secondary schools of the mission.

‡ Data from report of the American Baptist Telugu Mission, 1929. Includes 17 schools. Some schools have been omitted because of incomplete data.

This table shows that in the United Presbyterian Mission, located in the Punjab, 54 per cent. of all educational funds are expended on six high schools and eight middle schools, and that 51 per cent. of the funds come from Indian sources as fees and grants. In a preceding table it was shown that this mission expends 16 per cent. of educational funds on its primary schools. This leaves 31 per cent. as the expenditure on higher education. In the Punjab single-teacher schools are discouraged and middle schools for villages encouraged. Hence in all mission educational work

in the Punjab, one finds middle vernacular schools that have strong primary departments. In our case study of seventy-eight mission secondary schools operated under the six coöperating boards, it is shown that approximately 40 per cent. of the enrollment in these schools is in primary grades.

The above table shows also that in the American Baptist Telugu Mission, located in the mass-movement area of the Madras Presidency, 69 per cent. of educational funds are expended on secondary schools, and that these schools are 61 per cent. "self-supporting." This mission is said to have one of the highest rates of "self-support" in India. It operates over one thousand village primary schools (see preceding table) which are largely "self-supporting," many teachers receiving only the Government grant as salary.

Three high schools in the American Marathi Mission (Congregational) were reported to have 62 per cent. of "self-support."⁵

The rate of "self-support" in secondary schools is reported (for 1926) by the American Presbyterian Mission as follows:⁶ The North India Mission, whose city schools include six secondary and three or four primary schools for boys, also reports a 38 per cent. rate of "self-support" in six of its city girls' schools (one of which is primary). In the Punjab Mission, five boys' high schools were reported with a rate of 85 per cent. "self-support," and one girls' high school, with 76 per cent. "self-support." The same report gives for two middle schools of the Western India Mission, a range of "self-support" of from 4 per cent. to 57 per cent.

Without a unit-cost accounting system, it is difficult to discover the proportion of educational funds allocated to the different types of schools, and to estimate the proportion of "self-support." It is clear, however, that the proportion of educational funds going to the support of secondary schools operated by the six boards of our study is very large. The problem is not only whether this large proportion can be justified, but how it can be reduced or even maintained in the face of present conditions. All of the mission self-surveys that have been mentioned, and many mission reports, comment on the difficulty of maintaining present standards in the face of growing competition. While expansion is a crying need and there is great evangelizing work to be done, it seems doubtful if a further extension of the present secondary system is advisable.

SELF-SUPPORT (GRANTS-IN-AID AND SCHOOL FEES)

The average rate of "self-support" is about 60 per cent. in the mission secondary schools of our study. In a study of seventy-eight such schools, the *average* percentage of "self-support" is found to be 57. "Self-support" in the secondary schools of at least two missions under two of the

⁵ *Survey, American Marathi Mission, 1930*, p. 24.

⁶ *Survey of the Educational Work of the Three India Missions (1926)*, Part II, pp. 11, 38, 53.

six coöperating boards, seems to have increased in the past few years. In a study of six Anglo-vernacular middle schools of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the North India Conference, the percentage of "self-support" is 85,—"fees and grants" have been increasing while mission appropriations have decreased. This is reported to be true generally among Methodist schools. The United Presbyterian reports for 1924 and 1929 show that the total educational funds from Indian sources, including grants, increased Rs.30,000, while funds from mission sources decreased Rs.12,000. Exact data from the other missions are not available; but it is thought that "self-support" has remained stationary, or has increased slightly, during recent years. The average rate of "self-support" is about 60 per cent. It is known that for secondary schools in India as a whole,⁷ between 1917 and 1927 the proportion contributed by Government in grants increased, while the fee-income decreased, and the income from "other sources" (mission funds included here) remained stationary.

Today, however, the situation is quite different. The financial depression throughout the world has affected India seriously. While our Fact-Finders were in India (1930-31), there was much discussion in the legislatures regarding proposed cuts in grants-in-aid. It seems that increases are not possible. Furthermore, the depression has made it impossible for schools to increase fees paid by pupils. This probably means that for some time further increase in "self-support" is out of the question; that in fact there will probably be a reduction. This is another reason why "fewer and better schools" seem advisable.

MIDDLE SCHOOLS

What has been said thus far regarding secondary education applies generally to middle schools. Most of the attention in this section is directed toward the middle vernacular school as the greatest opportunity for pioneering work for missions. The middle English school is so much a phase of the high school in its curriculum and its emphasis on matriculation that further discussion of it is not necessary here.

Mission leaders have been concerned in recent years because mission schools have lost their leadership and their distinctively pioneering spirit. This is particularly true of secondary and higher education.⁸ In the section on village or primary education, we have seen that for several decades at least there will be great opportunity for missions to pioneer. It has also been shown in that section that the present system of primary education is falling far short of accomplishing any great lasting results either in evangelism or in education.

Many mission leaders believe the middle vernacular school is the type

⁷ Report of the Hartog Committee, p. 102.

⁸ The Appraisal Commission is directed to the study of higher Christian education in India, made by the Lindsay Commission simultaneously with our inquiry.

of school through which the problem of village literacy may be solved, leadership restored to Christian missions, greater results obtained in evangelizing the non-Christians, and also in training leaders for the Christian church in India. They point out that this type of school is not controlled by the matriculation examination, hence the curriculum may be adapted to village needs. Village handicrafts, sanitation and health, coöperation, agriculture, elementary science, home arts, social service, and the like can be introduced. Village needs can be stressed, and the pupils can be sent back to the villages to assist in uplift work. They will not be weaned away from the villages.

Two types of these middle vernacular schools have sprung up in India, one in the Bombay Presidency, a vocational agricultural school; and one in the Punjab, an "ordinary rural secondary school" in the curriculum of which elementary agriculture finds a place. The Royal Commission on Agriculture commended as the better of the two, the Punjab type of school. This is the kind of school advocated by Mr. Brayne; and it will fit into the rural reconstruction units proposed by Dr. Butterfield. There are many such schools in the Punjab, and they are becoming more numerous in the other provinces. Missions are developing such schools at Moga, Punjab; Asansol, Bengal; Cumbum, Katpadi, Tirumangalam, Madras Presidency and other places.

The aim of the Punjab type of school is:

... to enrich the middle-school course in rural areas by the inclusion of agricultural training, and thus to bring it more in keeping with the environment of the pupils; and the object is to use agriculture as a means of mental discipline and training and as an important accessory to the general subjects taught in these schools.

In this province there are 136 farms and gardens attached to these middle vernacular schools. A large proportion of pupils in the primary stage of instruction is found in these schools. To this type of school may be attributed the rapid rise of education in the Punjab, and the serious and encouraging attack that is being made on illiteracy among the peasant class.

The following is quoted from the Hartog Committee report on the value of the middle vernacular school to rural areas:

If the middle vernacular course were remodelled and adapted to rural requirements, and if the opportunities of rural work were more widely realized, then not only would the gravity of the problems confronting anglo-vernacular education be diminished, but rural reconstruction and improvement would be materially assisted.

The school at Moga, operated by the American Presbyterian Mission, is a good example of a mission school of this type. The one at Asansol, operated by the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the one that is being

developed at Cumbum by the American Baptist Mission, are also of this type. Boys and girls are taught the dignity of labor, of cleanliness and of service; and they grow in Christian character. They are sent back to their villages to aid in their uplift.

Most of the defects of the small village school are corrected in the vernacular middle school in which the holding power is greater and the wastage is less. Women teachers can be employed in some cases, as at Asansol. Health, cleanliness, and happiness are fostered. A better-trained staff is made available. The school becomes a potent factor in community regeneration. Coöperatives are fostered, and the economic burdens of the people lightened.

A few such schools perhaps of a day and boarding type in each mission can be operated with the money now largely wasted on isolated village schools; and no doubt greater results can be obtained. The number of affiliated high schools can be reduced. Only enough are needed to provide higher training for Christian leaders, and to act as feeders for Christian colleges.

Such a middle school will make up, it is believed, in evangelizing power and effectiveness what may be lost if proselytizing is given up.

A further discussion of mission secondary schools is contained in a case study of seventy-eight schools which follows.

IV

A STUDY OF SEVENTY-EIGHT MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH, AND TRAINING SCHOOLS OF INDIA

In studying mission schools, the questionnaire technique was used to gather, in a systematic order, facts that would supplement those taken from Government and mission reports, and that would at the same time provide information concerning the more intangible phases of education, particularly those revealed by curricular and extra-curricular activities.

The questionnaire was planned to discover if possible: (1) To what extent mission schools are handicapped by conditions under which they have been forced to work; (2) To what extent they are carrying out the purposes for which their existence is claimed to be justified, i.e., pioneering in education, evangelizing the non-Christian, and producing leaders; (3) What suggestions missionaries and superintendents offer for improving conditions?

Questionnaires were sent to about 200 schools under the jurisdiction of the six mission boards coöperating in the Inquiry. Replies were received from thirty-nine middle schools, twenty-nine high schools, and ten training schools, a total of seventy-eight schools, or a third of the number of mission secondary and training schools belonging to the six

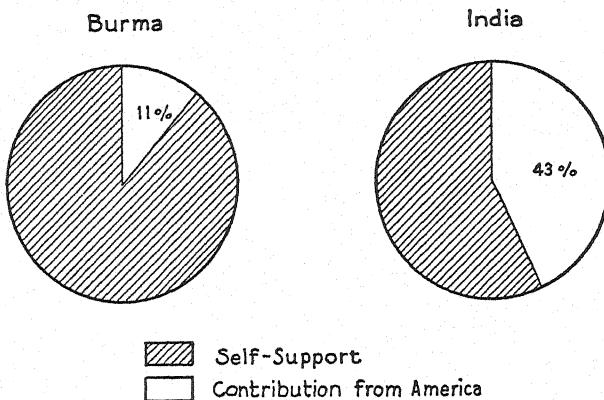
mission boards. Thirty-nine boys' schools, thirty girls' schools, and nine coeducational schools, were included in this number. Responses came from schools belonging to each of the six boards, but Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists predominated.

In compiling the data, an attempt was made to classify schools by denominations, by sex for which the school was intended, and by grade of school, i.e., middle, high, and training school. In certain tables, further classifications were made within these groups.

The facts and figures of the study may be interpreted as referring to

SELF-SUPPORT IN MISSION SCHOOLS OF BURMA AND INDIA

Mission Schools



9 per cent. of the student enrollment of all Christian mission secondary schools, and 10 per cent. of mission training schools. Owing to the fact that on some questionnaires certain questions were left unanswered or were answered ambiguously, and to the fact that interview data were not available to supplement the report, it was necessary that some tables give information for fewer schools than others.

While the study applies to a sampling of mission schools and scholars of India, it may not be considered as a random sampling. Time limitations and other factors prevented an extensive follow-up program which would have resulted in the accumulation of a larger percentage of questionnaires. There is a possibility that the mission schools included in this study may be slightly better than the average mission schools.

CONDITIONS IN MISSION SCHOOLS

To understand the conditions under which mission schools have been working, it is necessary to assemble facts about finances, needs as seen

by missionaries, status of teachers, source of authority over school matters, and effects of Government restrictions on mission schools.

Mission schools of India tend to lean more on America for help in their secondary school program than do mission schools of Burma. The proportion of the school budget paid from America in 1930 was four times as great for mission secondary schools of India as for the corresponding schools of Burma in that year. Even then, more than half of the schools that reported claimed to be handicapped in their work because of lack of funds for buildings, equipment, and provision for better-trained teachers, a need most frequently mentioned.

A survey of the teaching situation shows that the average number of teaching hours per week in secondary schools is twenty-three. Teachers in Presbyterian and United Presbyterian high schools teach longer hours, as a rule, than do those in other schools. And teachers in girls' high schools teach a greater number of hours a day than teachers in boys' high schools.

The average pupil load for middle-school teachers in this study is fifteen, while that for high-school teachers is nineteen. Government figures for all recognized secondary schools consider the average pupil load to be nineteen, showing that the schools of this study, taken together, have a slightly lower teaching load. In Presbyterian high schools, the load is heavier than in other high schools. Teachers in Methodist schools are least burdened of any, averaging only thirteen pupils per teacher.

According to the data, teachers in high schools for girls work longer hours and receive better salaries on the average than do teachers in boys' schools. In middle schools for girls, teaching hours are the same as those for boys; but salaries average 180 rupees less per year. The average salary, Rs.881, is higher for high-school teachers than for middle-school or training-school teachers whose salaries range from about Rs.500 to Rs.533. In addition to salary, two-thirds of the teachers in middle and training schools, and about 40 per cent. of those in high schools, receive perquisites such as living quarters and, in some instances, board.

An examination of charts referring to source of authority in mission schools indicates that missionaries and mission organizations most frequently exercise power over funds and supervision and employment of teachers; but the Government is recognized as being more authoritative in matters dealing with the curriculum. Of the seventy-eight schools studied, missionaries and mission organizations, including mission board, Women's Foreign Missionary Society, etc., are reported to control fifty-five schools on questions of funds, sixty on questions regarding employment of teachers, and fifty-four on questions of supervision; whereas the Government alone is reported to control forty-five of the schools on questions of curriculum. The probability is that the percentage of Government control is even higher than has been reported.

INDIA

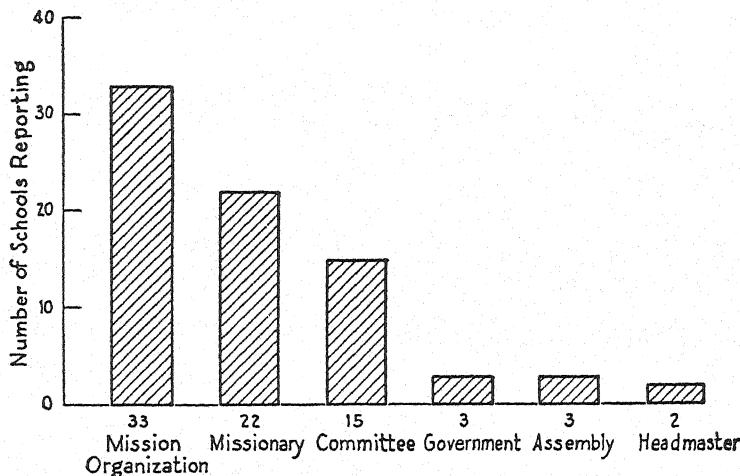
Only seven of the seventy-eight schools report having been disturbed by Government restrictions in the teaching of religion.

DO GOVERNMENT RESTRICTIONS INTERFERE WITH THE TEACHING OF RELIGION IN MISSION SCHOOLS OF INDIA?

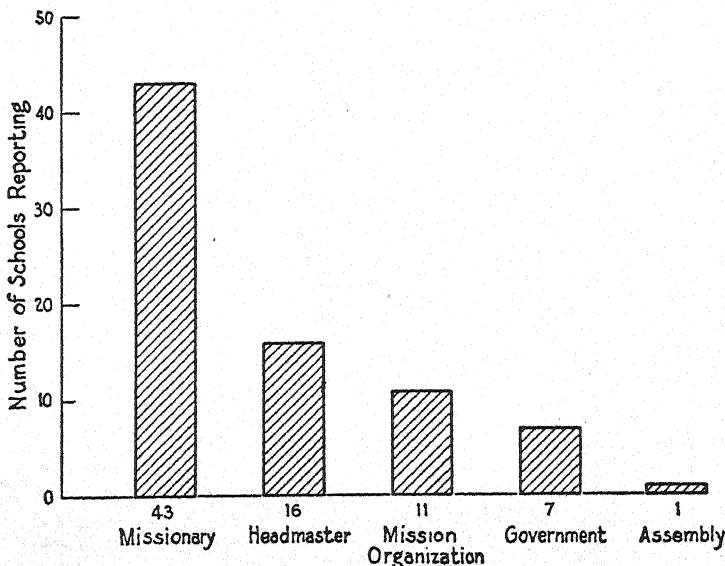
Schools	BOYS' SCHS.		GIRLS' SCHS.		COED. SCHS.		TOTALS	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
MIDDLE SCHOOLS								
Baptist.....	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	7
Methodist.....	4	5	0	7	0	5	0	13
Presbyterian.....	0	5	0	4	0	1	4	10
Reformed.....	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	2
United Presbyterian.....	1	0	0	2	0	0	1	2
Totals.....	5	12	0	15	0	7	5	34
TWENTY-NINE HIGH SCHOOLS								
Schools	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Baptist.....	0	3	-	-	-	-	0	3
Congregational.....	0	2	-	-	-	-	0	2
Methodist.....	0	1	2	5	0	1	2	7
Presbyterian.....	0	8	0	1	0	1	0	10
Reformed.....	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
United Presbyterian.....	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	3
Totals.....	0	17	2	8	0	2	2	27
TEN TRAINING SCHOOLS								
Schools	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Baptist.....	0	1	-	-	-	-	0	1
Congregational.....	0	3	-	-	-	-	0	3
Methodist.....	0	0	0	2	-	-	0	2
Presbyterian.....	0	2	0	1	-	-	0	3
United Presbyterian.....	0	1	-	-	-	-	0	1
Totals.....	0	7	0	3	-	-	0	10
SUMMARY								
Schools	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Baptist.....	0	5	0	1	-	5	0	11
Congregational.....	0	5	-	-	-	-	0	5
Methodist.....	4	6	2	14	0	2	6	22
Presbyterian.....	0	15	0	6	0	2	0	23
Reformed.....	0	2	0	2	-	-	0	4
United Presbyterian.....	1	3	0	3	-	-	1	6
Totals.....	5	36	2	26	0	9	7	71

The accompanying table shows that six Methodist schools and one United Presbyterian claim to be affected by restrictions. Five of these are boys' schools and two are girls' schools. Virtually 90 per cent. of school leaders feel free to teach religion according to their own plans, and an

**FINAL AUTHORITY OVER FUNDS
IN 78 MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH
AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**

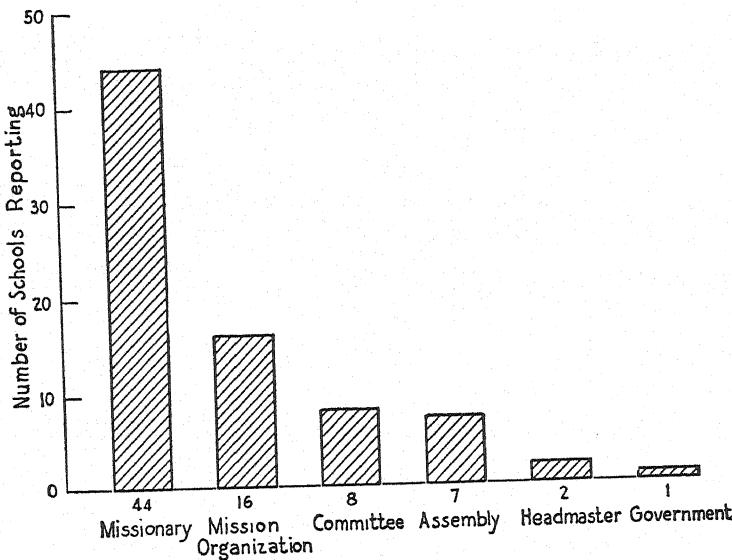


**FINAL AUTHORITY OVER SUPERVISION IN 78
MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**

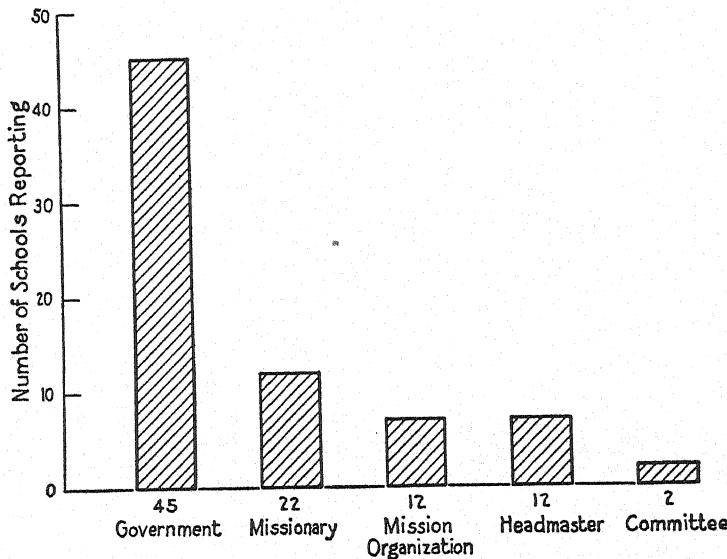


INDIA

**FINAL AUTHORITY OVER EMPLOYMENT
OF TEACHERS IN 78
MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**



**FINAL AUTHORITY OVER CURRICULUM IN 78
MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**



equal number make Bible teaching compulsory. Owing to very clearly defined Government demands, some infer that no time nor energy remains for doing what they would like to do.

The data thus far presented indicate that while a large proportion of principals, superintendents, and missionaries have final authority over funds, supervision, and employment of teachers, comparatively few have authority over matters relating to the curriculum, as this is largely a question for the Government to determine.

A SEARCH FOR DISTINCTIVE FEATURES IN MISSION SCHOOLS

The question as to whether or not mission schools are continuing to be pioneers in educational movements calls not only for a critical review of questionnaire data, but wherever possible a comparison of these data with data for general secondary education in India. For this purpose facts are assembled concerning enrollment, curricular, and extra-curricular activities.

One of the outstanding problems in Indian education is the enormous wastage from standard to standard. Government figures for general education show that of the school population in ten standards, half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls are in the first standard, while only 1.7 per cent. of the boys and 0.3 per cent. of the girls ever reach the tenth standard.¹ Mission schools of this study show the same general trend, though in a slightly less serious degree.

A comparison of the proportionate number of girls and of boys in each standard, indicates that 23 per cent. or almost one-fourth of the girls and 15 per cent., almost a sixth, of the boys are in infant and first standards; whereas only 2 per cent. of the girls and 6 per cent. of the boys are enrolled in the tenth standard. This statement refers only to mission secondary schools and the figures previously mentioned refer to all schools in India, therefore comparisons are significant only in showing similar trends. Percentages indicate, however, that mission secondary schools are making a definite contribution toward holding students in school for a longer time than they are generally held by the schools of India.

An examination of the following table shows that during the last five

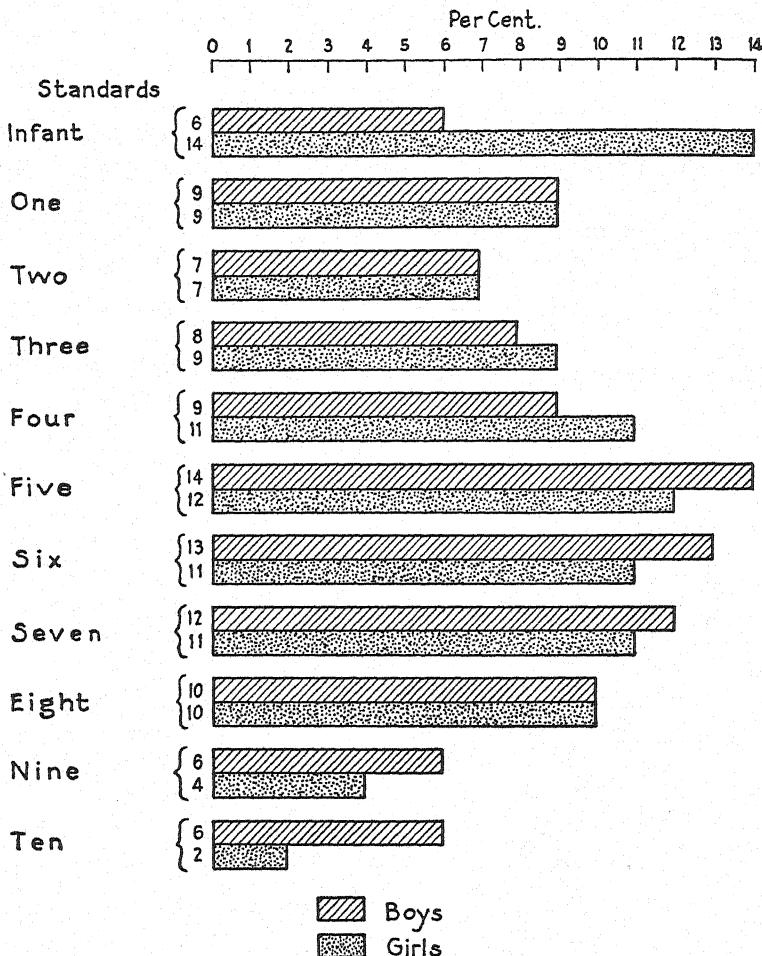
ENROLLMENT OF FIRST FOUR STANDARDS TO TOTAL ENROLLMENT IN MIDDLE AND HIGH SCHOOLS

Enrollment	BOYS		GIRLS		TOTAL	
	1926	1931	1926	1931	1926	1931
Standards 1 to 4	3,333	3,869	2,828	3,194	6,161	7,063
Total.....	8,253	9,897	5,252	6,410	13,505	16,307
Per cent. of total in Standards 1 to 4	40	39	54	50	46	43

¹ Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India* (1922-27), pp. 27, 28.

years there has been a tendency for enrollment to increase more rapidly above than below the fourth standard.

**PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT
FOR 1930 IN 68 MISSION MIDDLE AND HIGH
SCHOOLS, BY STANDARDS**



Girls are more responsible for this situation than are boys. While the wastage is greater for girls in lower standards than for boys, more change for the better is shown by the girls.

As another big problem centers in the reorganization of the curriculum to meet community needs, it is interesting to learn to what extent mission

schools are introducing industrial arts into their programs. Eighteen of seventy-eight schools made no report concerning the teaching of handicrafts. Twenty-two different handicrafts are distributed among the various curricula of sixty schools, no one of these being taught in many more than one-third of the schools. A glance at the table that follows shows that the seven most commonly taught manual subjects are agriculture, sewing, cooking, weaving, ropemaking, carpentry, and basketry.

HANDICRAFTS TAUGHT IN SECONDARY AND TRAINING SCHOOLS OF INDIA IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Course	PER CENT. OF SCHOOLS OFFERING COURSES		
	Middle	High	Training
Agriculture.....	36	28	18
Sewing.....	36	34	9
Cooking.....	21	28	—
Weaving.....	18	14	27
Ropemaking.....	18	10	9
Carpentry.....	15	24	27
Basketry.....	8	3	27
Homemaking.....	8	7	—
Bookbinding.....	5	—	9
Embroidery.....	5	3	—
Matmaking.....	5	—	—
Aluminum work.....	3	—	—
Brickmaking.....	3	—	—
Lacemaking.....	3	—	—
Laundry.....	3	7	—
Masonry.....	3	—	—
Shoemaking.....	3	—	9
Tailoring.....	3	3	9
Tilemaking.....	3	—	—
Tinning.....	3	—	—
Clay modeling.....	—	7	—
Blacksmithing.....	—	3	—

Agriculture and sewing, which rank first in order of importance in middle schools, have been greatly encouraged by the Government. In fact, it appears that Government encouragement is largely responsible for the crafts that have been added to the curriculum.

In the Training School at Moga, on the contrary, an excellent piece of work is being done in curriculum pioneering. More handicraft work is taught there than in any other Indian school. It is one of the best-known institutions in all India, and is becoming known in England and America for its project-method of instruction. The school has won such merit that the Government of the Punjab has permitted it to operate under its own syllabus. It has wielded a great influence throughout India, as teachers from mission and Government schools have been sent to Moga for training and Government schools have been patterned after it.

As character building is a process that goes on outside school, as well as in school, and that is not easily provided for in formal classroom in-

struction, it is well to investigate what is being done in these schools in extra-curricular activities, including religious activities, social and economic activities, night school, health and sanitation, recreation, and child-care. All of the seventy-eight schools, with the exception of seven boys' schools, claim to promote some religious activity. It is possible that even the seven that did not report, carry on religious activities of some kind. Many are directly connected with several such activities, Sunday school being most commonly mentioned.

About a third of the schools make no mention of social and economic activities. The two most popular organizations appear to be Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, one or the other being found in a fourth of the schools. This, however, reflects chiefly the influence of Government in encouraging these organizations. The Government in some provinces has gone so far as to distribute sums of money among schools for equipment and camp expenses, and responsibility for supervision of the work has been put under the control of specially trained people.

Eighteen organized societies are being conducted: Thrift, Coöperative, Teachers, Literary, Temperance, and Junior societies, Blue Bird organizations for the small girls, music clubs, ladies' aid, and welfare committees for community work.

Night schools are unheard of except in one coeducational institution and four boys' institutions. Three schools have reading rooms open at night.

Half of the schools make no report whatever on the work done by them in health and sanitation. Three of the seventy-eight refer to their dispensaries, twelve to yearly inspection and physical examinations which are given, and five to programs of health education. Other phases of health work as lectures, health crusades, drills, plays and first-aid instruction; and Junior Red Cross programs are given occasional mention.

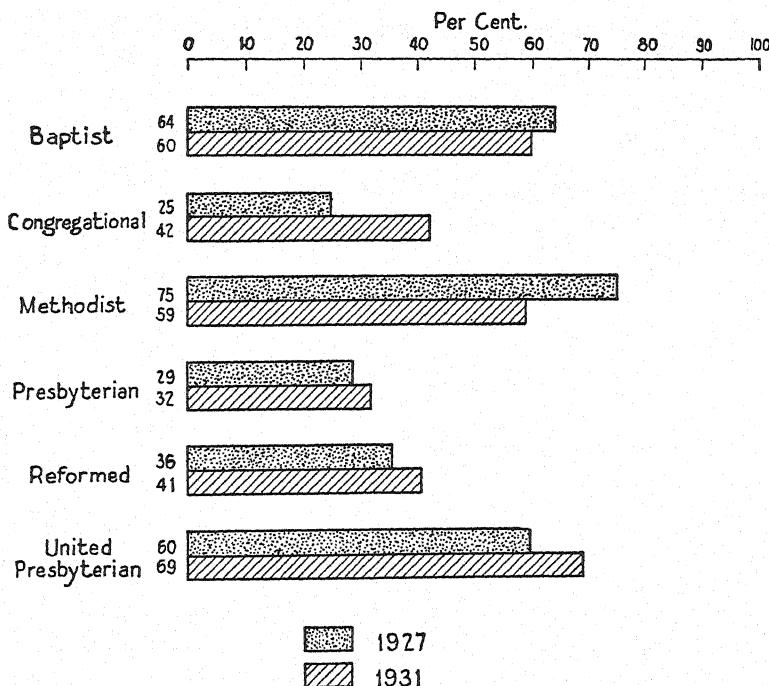
Judging from the response, one-third of the schools pay no attention to recreational activities. Forty-five of the seventy-eight schools have organized games and sports, including baseball, basketball, football, badminton, etc. These reflect the influence of Government. Five boys' schools and two girls' schools encourage musical entertainments. Other activities are listed by individual schools as cinema, athletic contests, sightseeing excursions, and lectures.

The question concerning child-care is almost as neglected as that of night schools, as sixty-three make no report. From four schools the headmaster or the doctor is reported to be sent out to the homes. In the five girls' schools where an attempt is being made to provide training in child-care, three offer classwork, one conducts a child clinic, and one makes provision for the older girls to care for the younger ones. In the coeducational schools, one arranges for "Baby Week" once each year, while two send their girls to a hospital and orphanage for training.

EVANGELIZING THE NON-CHRISTIAN

A study of the influence of Christian mission schools in evangelizing non-Christians calls for a questioning attitude toward the following: (1) Is Bible study compulsory in mission schools? (2) What percentage of students enrolled in mission schools are Christians? (3) Has the percentage of Christian enrollment increased or decreased in the last five years? (4) Are students brought in contact with a Christian faculty? (5) Is there any relation between percentage of Christians enrolled and percentage of Christian teachers on the faculty?

**ENROLLMENT OF CHRISTIANS
IN 72 MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH
AND TRAINING SCHOOLS FOR 1927 AND 1931**



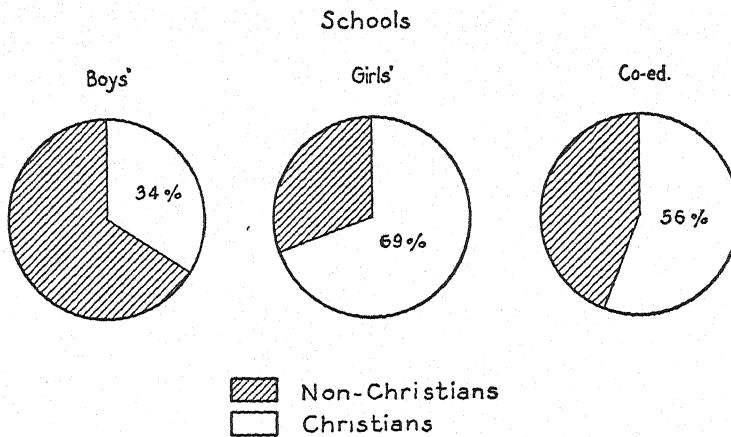
Ninety-two per cent. of the seventy-eight schools studied make Bible study compulsory; which means, of course, that students in those schools, whether Christians or non-Christians, learn of Christ and his teachings. An average of a half-hour each day is generally reported.

Comparison of the percentages of Christians enrolled in 1927 and in 1931 shows a decrease of 4 per cent. for Baptist schools and of 16 per cent. for Methodist schools during this period. Christian enrollment has

increased in Congregational, Presbyterian, Reformed, and United Presbyterian schools; but a third of the schools studied are Methodist, which accounts for the fact that the proportion of Christians in all the schools of the case study has decreased 9 per cent. during the five-year period.

More than two-thirds of the students in girls' schools and approximately only a third of those enrolled in boys' schools are Christians. Co-educational schools rank between these two extremes, Christians making up 56 per cent. of their enrollment.

**PROPORTION OF CHRISTIANS AND NON-CHRISTIANS
ENROLLED IN 72 MISSION MIDDLE,
HIGH AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**



A study of the percentage of Christians on the faculty and the percentage of Christians enrolled in the student body, except for the Methodists whose percentage of Christian enrollment has dropped considerably within the last five years, suggests either a correlation between a Christian faculty and Christian enrollment, or that as non-Christian pupils enter schools more non-Christian teachers are employed.

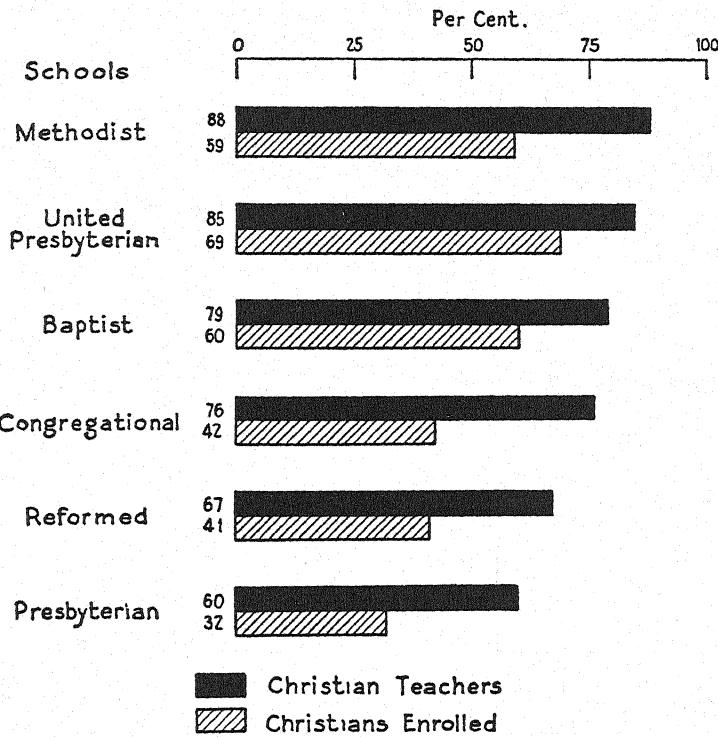
A more thorough analysis of the percentage of Christian and of non-Christian teachers reveals the fact that there are more Christians among female teachers than among male teachers. Among every hundred male teachers, sixty-three are Christians; while among every hundred female teachers, ninety-five are Christians.

The percentage of Christian teachers is greatest in coeducational schools and least in boys' schools. Of men employed to teach in girls' schools, only 49 per cent., or approximately half, are Christians.

For the light it might throw on the problem of the production of Christian leaders, a search was made for evidence concerning the number of students entering the employ of the missions.

The large proportion of graduates who enter the employ of the mission is evidence of the fact that mission schools train students to take up the

**PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIANS ON THE STAFF
AND PERCENTAGE OF CHRISTIANS ENROLLED
IN THE STUDENT BODY OF 71 MISSION
MIDDLE, HIGH AND TRAINING SCHOOLS**

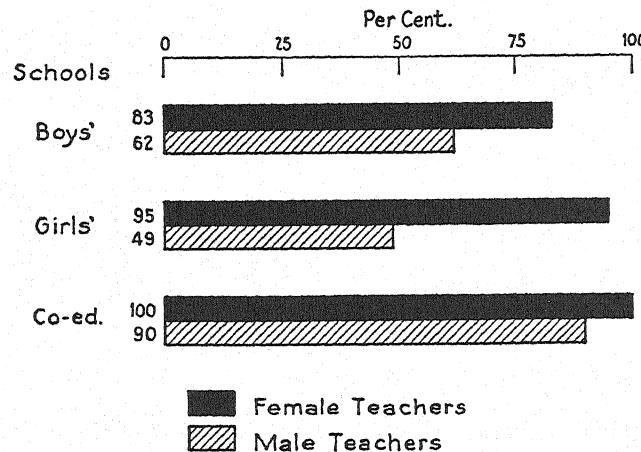


work of missions. Twenty-nine per cent. of middle schools, 18 per cent. of high schools, and 86 per cent. of training schools send from three-fourths to all of their students into mission work. Measured quantitatively then, these schools are succeeding in interesting Indians to carry on the work. Qualitatively, we have no measure of the effectiveness of the training in leadership.

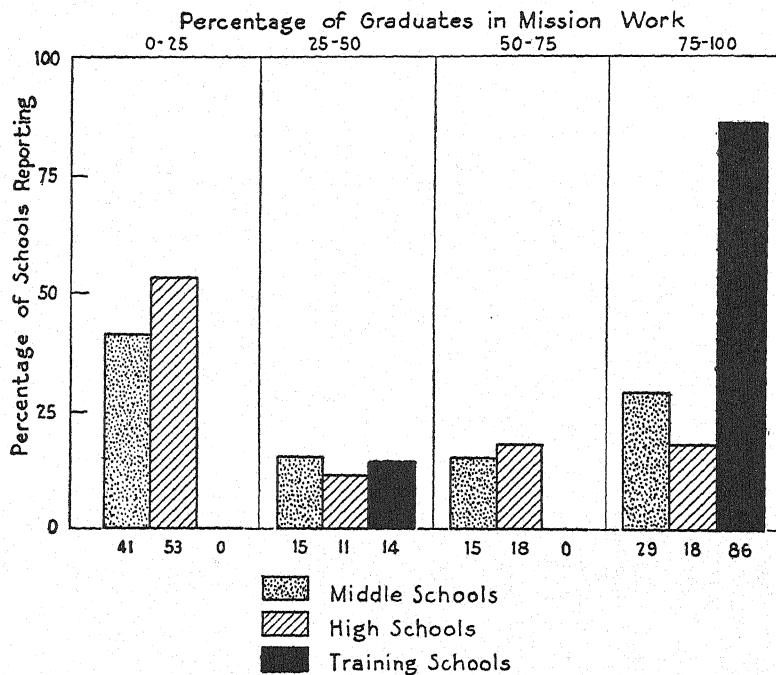
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING CONDITIONS

Recommendations as to changes that should be made in the mission-school program vary widely. At the same time that thirty-two school principles made a request for more buildings and equipment, one principal emphatically advised that no money be invested at this time in

**PERCENTAGE OF MALE AND FEMALE TEACHERS
WHO ARE CHRISTIANS
IN 71 MISSION MIDDLE, HIGH AND
TRAINING SCHOOLS**



**PERCENTAGE OF GRADUATES
WHO ENTER THE EMPLOY OF THE MISSION**



permanent buildings and equipment. Certain definite goals toward which missionaries are striving are, however, evident.

In the field of administration, attention is directed to more definite aims in the school program and a policy of greater efficiency. Problems dealing with a change of methods of instruction, with the leveling of salaries for nationals and foreigners, with the placing of the management of Indian schools in the hands of Indians, with concentration on the education of Christians, and with the employment of a strictly Christian staff, are mentioned. Seven school principals advocate the building of industrial and vocational schools. One recommends that a program of vocational guidance be started.

Problems of the curriculum are most frequently discussed. Requests are made for the addition of music, art, and practical subjects to the curriculum. Nine leaders in widely different parts of India recommend that central experimental schools be organized to pioneer in building a new curriculum. They would have these schools as free from Government supervision as possible, especially in regard to examination. They imply that mission schools should stop competing with Government schools unless they can make a special contribution to education.

Nine leaders suggest that more attention be paid to rural education with special emphasis on developing a more practical curriculum which will have a closer relation to life situations. These suggestions reinforce statements previously made concerning the inadequacy of handicraft work in the curriculum.

From the training school comes the call for better-qualified students, in order that they in turn may answer the call of schools that want better-qualified teachers. The claim is that teachers have too little training, and that they are not able to assume leadership in the community. Two superintendents recognize a need for night-school education. In *Education in India, 1928-29*, this same problem is referred to as a complex one for all of India, as it has been difficult to provide satisfactory teaching and inspection of night schools.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE STUDY OF SEVENTY-EIGHT MISSION SCHOOLS

1. Mission schools are in need of equipment and buildings; but they appear to be most seriously handicapped because of lack of well-qualified, trained, and enthusiastic teachers. Government controls the curriculum of a large percentage of schools, but does not seriously interfere with the teaching of religion. Rather, Government is to be looked upon as a source of help in encouraging character-building activities such as Boy Scout and Girl Guide organizations provide, and in introducing handicrafts into the curriculum.

2. With the exception of the work of a few unusual schools, there is little evidence that these mission schools are extensively pioneering in education.

3. The majority of schools provide selections from the Bible as part of the regular curriculum; but there is not enough evidence to determine the degree of effectiveness with which this is done. It is a fact, however, that the percentage of Christian students enrolled has decreased in the last five years.

4. The schools are producing leaders to carry on the work, as is shown by the percentage of students who enter the employ of the mission after leaving school. There is, however, no measure of the effectiveness of the leadership developed.

Leaders in the field urge particularly that an extensive mission-school program be abandoned for a more intensive experimental one; that more attention be paid to rural and practical education; and that there be more concentration on the education of Christians.

V

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. The control of mission education by Government, the decline of mission education in relative importance, the higher standards which call for the expenditure of more funds, and uncertainty as to what the policy may be under Swaraj, demand a new policy and a reorganization of mission education into more concentrated units.

2. The enforcement of neutrality in religious matters, and the opposition to proselytizing, require that a new approach be made to the non-Christian pupil in mission schools.

3. Two great fields are still open to mission pioneering ventures, viz.: primary education, extending through the lower middle stage at least, and the education of women and girls. Mission education is top-heavy and the great mass of population is practically untouched by education.

4. Mission authorities in America will do well to find ways by which trained educationists and educational positions on the field are fitted together. Christian standards of education demand that only men trained for the job be appointed, and that they be not so overworked that satisfactory results cannot be achieved. Lack of training and overwork are the chief causes of waste on the mission field. Another cause of waste is the breaking of the continuity of school programs when the missionary goes on furlough. This comes from the lack of a well-defined mission educational policy.

5. The subordination of educational standards to evangelism has often made mission schools inefficient. It needs to be emphasized that a poor school is a poor evangelizing agency.

6. The comprehensiveness of the mission education program should be increased to include more social service. This depends upon a new type of trained national worker. Mission training schools and colleges

of a very distinctive character become even more necessary and important in this proposed program.

FURTHER RESEARCH NEEDED

The following are fields that seem to the writer to need further exploration of a scientific nature:¹

1. Project curriculum studies for the several types of schools.
2. The relative intelligence of the depressed classes.²
3. The indirect effect of Christianity as bearing upon educational methods.
4. The most effective methods of character education in mission schools.

¹ See recommendations of the Lindsay Commission. The Lahore Christian College has established a research bureau.

² An excellent beginning has been made in this field by Rice, Wright, King, Olcott, and others.

SECONDARY EDUCATION AND TEACHER- TRAINING IN INDIA¹

by

E. L. HENDRICKS

I

HIGH SCHOOLS

WHEN the British administration began to allot funds for education, it was faced with the question: "What and whom shall we teach?" What may be termed the first educational dispatch stated that the funds be applied to the revival and improvement of literature, and the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India. Though by science the dispatch means Oriental science, as was made clear in a subsequent dispatch, the work of planning was given considerable latitude.

All doubts as to what ought to be taught were resolved by a resolution, based on Macaulay's famous minute, in favor of the "promulgation of European literature and science," it being decided that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would best be employed on English education alone; that His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English Literature and Science, through the medium of the English language.

The Macaulay policy has been profoundly modified by subsequent educational dispatches; but primary and secondary education still bear the impress of that early decision. A new type of secondary school was deliberately created and fostered. It had no connection with any type of school, secondary or primary, then existing. The State threw its weight on the side of a system that gave the middle classes funds for a particular type of school, which they desired for their vocational needs and which the State desired for its administrative needs, and which had no roots whatever in Indian culture. The beginning was at the top, and the Indian education in consequence grew into the top-heavy, inverted pyramid which it still remains. Whatever our views as to the rightness or wrongness of the policy, this fact stands out, that the main contribution of

¹ Abridged. See Mr. Leslie B. Sipple's study "Mission Education in India," this Volume.

British genius to Indian education was the high school, in which English is taught. It grew to dominate education in India because for many years practically all the available funds went to support it. In addition, in 1844, it was announced that preference would be given in all appointments to men who had received a Western education.

THE HIGH SCHOOL DEFINED

What is this high school in which all leading Indians received their early education? It may be studied in the pages of the report of the Calcutta University Commission, which body was presided over by Sir Michael Sadler; in the *Education of India* by Arthur Mayhew, and in many other publications. It is an institution, enrolling from 70 to 700 pupils but generally between 200 and 400, recognized by a university or a Board of Education as fit to prepare pupils for an examination admitting to a university. Except as the anteroom to the university, few high schools could exist. They give in no sense a complete education. The final examination can be taken at the age of 15 or 16 as a rule. Some of these schools are directly maintained or controlled by Government; some are aided and the control is less direct; some take no aid, especially in Bengal, and the Government has no control.

Severely restricted in its aims as preparatory to the university, and so a necessary conduit pipe toward Government service, the high school has been in the past unduly limited in its outlook and aims. Under the stimulus of modern ideas, it has seen interesting intruders—manual training, drawing, music, boy scouting, drill, compulsory games, school gardening, agricultural work, spinning, first-aid courses; all of which have no value in university entrance and are consequently regarded without enthusiasm by parents. In some schools, not one of these subjects finds a place, and every activity of the school is directed toward the ultimate examination which is its sole *raison d'être*.

THE CURRICULUM

The *Indian Statutory Commission Report*, Vol. 1, page 388, states:

The complaint that the system of public education in India is top-heavy is of old standing, and the fact that Bengal still spends more on university than on primary education (the University of Calcutta alone contains over 29,000 students) is significant. It is also a common complaint that the system of higher education is not adjusted to the social and economic structure of the country and that its educated or partly-educated output is greatly in excess of the country's capacity to absorb it, whether in public employment, or the professions, or commerce and industry, and consequently that it leads to great disappointment and discontent. Apart from these general criticisms which were passed by observers long before the period of the Reforms and which still have much foundation, we find in our Auxiliary Committee's

Review and in the Supplementary Notes much evidence of the same waste and ineffectiveness which characterize mass education and of the same defects of direction, control, and administration to which they are attributable.

In the field of secondary education, the problem of guiding the system into the profitable channels of a good general education is complicated by the peculiar patronage exercised over the high schools by the universities in respect of their recognition, resulting in an undesirable dominance over both objective and curriculum. The narrowness and uniformity of high-school courses is largely attributable to university influence. But a consideration of the last quinquennial reviews issued by the provincial education departments indicates that, even on the narrow and unfruitful lines which are too commonly followed, the instruction is not effective and that the educational value obtained for public money and effort is proportionately small. Many pupils are admitted and retained and promoted from class to class in high schools, who are incapable of profiting by the instruction provided. The pay and conditions of service and the qualifications of the teachers are often very unsatisfactory, and complaints of their attitude towards their work are numerous. The impression, indeed, is left that the education departments have had little success in their attempts to improve the curriculum and teaching in secondary schools and are far from satisfied with the existing standards.

The opinion is often expressed that the British curriculum is impractical. It is claimed that it does not prepare for life in India. Already there is a surplus of persons with college degrees as compared with persons who do creative work in common affairs. Education should teach things useful as well as the so-called cultural subjects.

EXTRA-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

It would be unfair to assume that either Government or mission schools are unmindful of the aids available outside the printed course of study. Illustrations of this fact may be observed in the following.

EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTING

The British Broadcasting Corporation of London began experimental work in broadcasting to schools in 1924. Now many of the schools in India are listening in on transmissions which supplement the regular school work in a fine way. The very introduction of the "loud speaker" into a classroom is usually sufficient to secure the undivided attention of pupils. The classroom teacher uses the blackboards, maps, diagrams, and other illustrations as the lesson proceeds; and following the lesson there is frequently a quiz which helps to fix the lesson in the minds of the pupils. Written work also follows the radio lesson. The outlook for further broadcasting of useful educational programs is promising.

DEMONSTRATION TRAINS

One of the most serious problems in connection with education is to reach the people who live in seclusion. The only hope of bringing them into contact with modern scientific methods of production, whether for handicrafts or manufacturing, is to carry the results of scientific work to people in their own towns and villages. This has been done successfully with demonstration trains in India. The typical demonstration train consists of five or six cars adapted for the various departments of agriculture, industry, coöperative veterinary, public health, etc., in addition to several other carriages intended for the staff.

Toward the end of 1926 the State Railway Publicity Bureaus were established for each of the principal railway systems, and in 1927 the first demonstration train was sent out from Calcutta. Five more such trains have been run since—three in Bengal, and two in the Punjab. The latter have reached approximately one million people. The Punjab demonstration, for example, had five large cars for the main exhibition. Two of these were occupied by the agricultural department, two by the industries department, and one by the veterinary and public health departments. Besides these there was a cinema car. Each department demonstrated by use of photographs and the products themselves. Modern incubators for poultry breeding, water-lift contrivances, hygienically constructed wells, scientific tillage and storing of products were demonstrated.

The expected arrival of the demonstration train was proclaimed by beat of drum and circulation of hand bills. School-visiting parties from villages for miles about were arranged. Frequently local authorities would agree to organize an exhibition of their own as supplementary to the demonstration train. The crowds that came to witness the demonstration train included both men and women, the humblest cultivators, prosperous traders and middle men. It is estimated that 510,000 people visited the 1928-29 demonstration train of the Punjab, and that 2 per cent. of the total population of the province became informed of its work during its tour of six months. The train visited eighty-three stations and covered a distance of 3,600 miles. If, as is frequently stated, the scientific approach is a great need in India, the demonstration train shows that science need not be beyond the working class.

II

TRAINING SCHOOLS

In the *Indian Statutory Commission Report*, Vol. 1, (p. 398), it is stated:

CONDITIONS IN THE TEACHING PROFESSION

Public education calls above everything for a due supply of suitable and efficient teachers, and there is much to be done before a corps of such teachers can be established and organized in India for elementary schools. It seems to us that, while there is widespread and genuine enthusiasm in the abstract for educational advance, zeal for personal service in the teaching profession greatly needs to be encouraged. There is no such thing as a good school without good teachers. The conditions of service and tenure leave much to be desired. The deplorably low rates of pay which prevail in many provinces provide a part of the explanation of the present deficiency; there is no Burnham scale in India. Our Auxiliary Committee states that in Bengal the average monthly pay is as low as Rs.8 annas 6 (or about 12s. 6d.); so that, though this pittance is frequently increased by gifts from parents of food and clothing as well as by private coaching or other work where it is available, it is often impossible for the teacher to maintain in the community the status which should be his. More than half of the teachers employed in primary schools for boys are untrained; of those who have received training, only about two-thirds had themselves completed the middle course. The existence of this body of untrained teachers completes the "vicious circle" of primary education and presents one of the greatest problems with which Indian education is faced. In some places, such as Gurgaon in the Punjab, efforts have been made to improve the position of the teacher and make him a guiding influence in village life, but, if this object is to be attained, teachers must by their training have a special interest in rural life and rural activities.

REPLIES TO QUESTIONNAIRES

Of twelve mission teacher-training schools responding to a questionnaire, eight came from men's institutions and four from women's. The attendance of the girls in several schools classified as coeducational is so insignificant that such classification hardly applies.

The attendance in the boys' schools increased between 1926 and 1930 from 770 to 864, or 12 per cent., while in the girls' schools the growth during the same period was from 153 to 179, or 17 per cent.

None of the schools reported are teachers' colleges. None require graduation from college; in fact, only two teachers' colleges under the control of the boards here represented exist in India. Both are for women. The old standards of teacher-training work in mission schools may be illustrated by the fact that this training may begin after five years of elementary school work, and teaching may begin after one or two years of training. Of nine teacher-training schools observed, there are five in which the teacher-training work was offered at the end of eight years of elementary and middle-school work. In one school, the training-school

work was offered at the end of the seventh year; in another, at the end of the sixth year, and in another at the end of the fifth year. In yet another school, it was offered after even less preparation.

The training-school course covers one or two years.

ENROLLMENT OF STUDENTS IN TRAINING SCHOOLS

Because it is frequently asserted that the mission influence may be more constant and therefore more effective with boarders than with day students, data on this point are here given. The number of day students in the schools responding to the questionnaire are 218 and the boarders 476.

The number of Christian students in attendance has remained virtually constant during the last four years, the number reported in 1927 being 653; and 662 in 1931. Accessions to the church are reported from only four of twelve schools responding to that question. Two of these are under the control of the Presbyterian U. S. A. church, and two under the Congregational church. The total number of accessions is twenty-five.

STAFF

Of 135 teachers reported in the twelve training schools, 105 are men and 30 women. Of the men, 22, or more than 20 per cent., are non-Christians and of the women, all are reported as Christians. The highest salary paid an Indian teacher is Rs.5,172. The lowest salary reported for a national is Rs.12. Perquisites are reported for teachers in eight of the twelve schools, and the average of the annual salary increment is Rs. 3/8.

In general the teaching load is not excessive, but in one school, it is reported as forty-four hours per week. In America, the standard for similar service in teachers' colleges is twenty hours per week.

Of 426 men teachers in schools visited, 13.1 per cent. were non-Christians, while only 6.5 per cent. of the 366 women teachers were so classified. Of the non-Christian teachers in these schools 20 per cent. were Moslems and 80 per cent. Hindus.

Of the 426 men teachers reported, 60, or 14 per cent., were not high-school graduates, compared with 53, or 15 per cent. of the women teachers.

SUPERVISION

The supervision of the training school, and doubtless also of the teaching process in as far as it is supervised, is generally under the direction of the principal, who is sometimes designated as headmaster or head mistress. In only two of the cases studied was there supervision under a so-called "council." As a rule, the real tragedy of supervision is found in its absence.

THE CURRICULUM

The Government is final authority in the determination of content of the curriculum. The very nature of the situation demands that the requirements of the Government be met. Not only do the grants given by the Government imply an obligation to meet its standards, but the future recognition by the Government that is desired by the students who are preparing to teach, is an important factor. Many graduates of mission training schools accept positions in Government schools.

With the exception of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, the twelve training schools report that there is no exacting restriction on the curriculum. The one exception is owing to the fact that the Government requested special training for a group of teachers and therefore indicated in part at least the curriculum. There is no indication that the restrictions are harmful.

III

ATTITUDES REGARDING MISSION EDUCATION

OPINIONS OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS IN EDUCATION

The Director of Education in the Madras Presidency offered the following valuable suggestions:¹

One of the greatest needs in education in India at present is efficient supervision of the many teachers who are sent into the village schools. Supervision of teaching is very poor in India; but the supervision of mission schools is better than that of Board or Government or private schools.

Coeducation is not yet accepted. Some advance has been made in that direction, and its consummation, while desirable, can be only in the distant future. Consolidation of smaller schools is a practicable movement and greatly needed. Missions can render great aid in advancing this coöperation and consolidation.

Mission schools should not be withdrawn. This is particularly true because an important steady influence would be lost to the cause of education in general if their representatives were to withdraw from the district education councils. The financial stringency has lessened contributions; and this also accounts in part for there being fewer schools. The influence of Christian colleges is very great, though this influence is often indirect and therefore not fully comprehended.

A BRITISH GOVERNMENT INSPECTOR OF SCHOOLS

An interview with a prominent Government official in the field of education revealed a positive belief that if mission education is stressed

¹ A summary of statement by the Hon. Robert Geo. Grieve, Acting Director of Public Instruction, Madras.

in one field more than in another it should be in the field of primary education. Three steps were indicated as essential in the future of India's life.

First: Educate the lower class. Train teachers for this work. Let missionary schools make literate as many as possible of the classes who otherwise have no opportunity for education.

Second: Inculcate in this lower class the love of country. The present is a critical time in India's history. Patriotism is essential to the future preservation of the country. In this connection it was stated that Government officials do great injury by accepting salaries and pensions far in excess of what qualified Indians receive for similar services; and the opinion was expressed that some schools are worthy of far greater support than others.

Third: Stress vocational education among the depressed classes. Every girl, as well as every boy, should be taught a useful occupation.

Writing on the question of the possible withdrawal of American mission support in India, a Government official volunteered the following:

You are at liberty to pass on my opinion, omitting my name, but saying I am a Government servant. If any American churches or committees are going to seriously contemplate withdrawing all funds now given towards education in this country, it means they will be slamming more than one door in the Face of Christ, and no *Christian* nation can do such a thing without surely realizing no good, but evil, will come out of such an act. It is too terrible to contemplate for a single moment. Now more than ever does India need help from every nation. She cannot but be influenced mightily for the best, if Christian teachings given in schools, colleges, village homes, etc., continue to be given. *Let missions pour into this country medical and educational workers so that India in her need may have the best.* Surely in the times we are going through we can see that now she is awakening, only the best can satisfy her, and to all of us who are Christians, that Best must be Jesus Christ. At such a time, we cannot slam the door in her face, and by doing so doubly slam it in the Face of the Saviour of the World. Never mind what Indians say about not wanting to embrace the Christian religion. *Thousands* of them have Christ in their hearts, though, through fear of many things they are afraid to confess Him openly. Are we going to contemplate withdrawing what they need most, which is more Christian teaching, Christian help, and Christian Love *Now?* That cannot be. We do not want a second Russia.

OPINIONS OF OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

In an interview regarding mission education with another high Government official,² the following points were emphasized:

² E. Littlehailes, Commissioner of Education for the Government of India, Delhi.

The educational work of missions is of great value and should be continued.

Concentration of educational effort on the part of missions should be encouraged.

The Government does not hamper experimentation in mission schools.

Vocational education is not desirable in primary schools because the pupils are too young. If the object is to lift the economic level only, then vocational work in secondary schools is desirable, but if good citizenship is the main object, then cultural subjects have greatest value.

Individuals from a village should be selected, educated, and returned to teach in that village. Also Indians should go to England and America for special education in order that they may return to India as teachers.

Teachers who profess the name of Christ are not so important as teachers of high moral character. Hindus often give more attention to character building than do Christian teachers.

Should it be necessary to abandon any phase of the educational work conducted by American missions, primary education should be surrendered first.

In an interview with the educational commissioner in the Punjab the following conclusions were stressed:³

Christian education should concentrate. Fewer and better schools are needed.

The attention of missions might well be more largely concentrated on village work since the villages are India's great problem.

Colleges do not adjust their work to village life. They do not realize that they are largely training rural people. Even college professors should be required to weave, to weed and to sew in order to teach most effectively.

Much mission education is aimless, drab, colorless.

The education of girls in India is most difficult. Female education, however, is making rapid progress. Ten years ago only one girls' high school existed in the Punjab, whereas there are now twenty-six.

The Christian Church can render great service to the Indian people. Aimless mission objectives in education should give way to trained direction. Movements such as that projected by the Boy Scouts, should be encouraged.

Another interview produced quite different reactions:⁴

American missions should change their ideas radically. They should cease high-school and primary work. Other agencies will develop these schools; in fact, non-mission institutions are multiplying rapidly. In the second place, missions should pioneer. Just now this pioneer work should be done in teaching those unfit to follow the prescribed courses of study, and in developing vocational education.

³ Sir George Anderson, Commissioner of Indian Education in the Punjab, Lahore.

⁴ M. Muhammed, District Educational Officer, Kurnool, Madras Presidency.

VIEWs EXPRESSED BY NON-MISSION EDUCATORS

Prominent educators who know mission work, but who are not Christians, were consulted. Fifteen such educators were interviewed at the All-Asia Educational Conference held in Benares during the Christmas holidays of 1930. They are all Hindus and all are in positions that give them freedom in expressing opinion. The questions asked of each follow, together with the replies obtained.

(a) Are mission schools making distinctive contributions to Indian life?

Fourteen replied that mission schools have rendered valuable service to India, and that it would be most unfortunate should they be discontinued. One Hindu educator who occupies a position of influence voiced an opposite view, as follows: "Yes. They are introducing Western modes of living, suppressing the natural emotions and producing estrangement."

(b) Do the mission schools produce better character than Government or private schools?

The answers were mostly in the affirmative, but were stated in various ways. One headmaster of a Government school gave an opposing opinion as follows: "No. But I cannot support any statement by quoting facts and figures about the increase or decrease of criminality."

(c) What is the greatest contribution, if there be any, that the West could make to India?

If the answer of the entire group could be expressed in one reply, it would appear in the response of a member who said: "Raising India to its own standard and taking a prominent part as its partner in the world's progress toward universal religion and brotherhood."

Mr. M. Gangauli, principal of Tagore's school at Bolpur which is presumed to present the best of ancient Indian culture, expressed what other followers of the poet's philosophy might also consider the main deficiencies of mission schools. He said: "Their chief defect is in lack of personality. They do not appeal strongly to the average Indian, and in this lack of personality they are likely to emphasize differences of judgment concerning non-essentials." He also stated that other grave defects were the division of Christian workers into sects, and the lack of professional training on the part of many theologians who teach school.

MISSION EDUCATORS

Criticisms from mission educators are appropriate in conclusion. The following quotation is taken from a *Survey of the Educational Work of the Three India Missions* (Presbyterian) Part II, page 72.

But whatever the facts may be, one thing is clear, namely this: there is no need for the Mission High School anywhere in these days unless it is the best of its kind, an ideal Christian School well-equipped and well-staffed and well worthy to serve as a model to all other schools.

MARATHI MISSION SURVEY

An extract from the *Educational Survey of the American Marathi Mission, 1930*,—given below,—bears upon the concentration of mission schools. This report is the more valuable because several missions are interested in cooperative work in this field. It is stated in the report that after a visit to the fifteen city schools of the mission, it was found that:

Some of the teaching was very good indeed, while some was considerably below standard. One would expect that in city schools we would be showing the way to Government by demonstrating new methods and by holding up higher standards. Such is not the case. In two of our reputedly best schools the Government Inspector, in his written report, requests that the teachers should be instructed in the use of modern methods. Twenty-five years ago our Mission schools led Government. Today they follow.

Let us turn for a moment to the statistical tables on city schools. 14 teachers are "A" trained, 20 are "B" trained and 21 are untrained. . . . A good school is dependent upon good teaching, and the good teacher is generally the trained teacher. . . . Examining the Christian and Non Christian Table we discover that out of 920 pupils (exclusive of the primary departments of the high schools) but 15 are Christian.

In every centre involved there are municipal schools, though not always in the immediate area of the mission school. It is more than likely that the school authorities are observing a policy of "watchful waiting," and are not anxious to enter into competition with existing schools. This does not mean, however, that they would not open schools in these areas if the proper pressure was brought to bear. This then is the situation. In 12 city schools, the Mission is spending Rs.9,380 annually to educate 15 Christian and 905 Non Christian children, through the Second Standard, in widespread competition with Government schools.

The recommendations of the committee just quoted concerning city schools are as follows:

1. That at the end of the current school year all city schools of the Mission, save the primary departments of the high schools, be closed.
2. That the Rs.9,380 thus released be placed in channels which are more likely to further the general mission purposes.
3. That the missionaries in charge of these schools do everything possible to encourage the pupils to enter municipal schools, and give time and efforts toward assuring that these schools give adequate attention to the pupils thus received.
4. That in those areas where Government schools are not available, efforts be made to encourage Government to establish schools at the earliest possible moment.
5. That the trained and really good teachers thrown out of

employment by the closing be given posts in other mission schools, replacing poor and inefficient teachers, and thus raising the general educational standard of the Mission.

6. That the evangelistic contact in the present school areas be maintained by home visitation, Sunday Schools, by using certain school buildings as social service centres, and in such other ways as may seem possible and practicable. The local churches, all of whom have resident pastors, should be helped to realise their community responsibilities, and should be confronted with a challenging programme of extension. A working church would put new life into our whole mission area.

7. The primary schools of the three city high schools need:

- (a) A higher trained personnel than that employed at present.
- (b) More emphasis upon modern methods of teaching.
- (c) More *expert* supervision. Supervision is not simply criticism. The supervisor must also know the *how* of teaching.
- (d) More spontaneity in school work and less regimentation.
- (e) A new standard of attainment. Our schools are not aiming high enough. Content to be good schools, we are stopping short of becoming the best schools. Mission education should be *superior* education.

IV

SUMMARY

1. General education as conducted by missionaries is quite similar to government education. The Government very generally determines the course of study, conducts examinations and gives financial support.
2. The University exercises large control over the high school and this influence is felt uniformly in the various high schools of the country. Evidence of separation from tradition is seen, however, in the increasing emphasis on extra-curricular activities and vocational work.
3. In a rating of high schools visited it was found that girls' schools very generally excelled boys' schools.
4. Few adherents to the church come in through the school. The Bible is very generally taught.
5. The salaries in mission secondary schools are lower than in Government schools and sometimes trained teachers are induced to prefer a position in a Government school.
6. Extra-curricular activities are not sufficiently emphasized in teacher-training institutions and industrial education should be more encouraged.

7. There is an increased interest in education of girls and women. This advance is witnessed by increased enrollments and expenditures.
8. A summary of the reactions toward the educational work of missions includes the following types of criticism from Hindus, British, and Americans:
 - (1) the charge of proselytism;
 - (2) the need of more school supervision, including consolidation;
 - (3) mission schools should not duplicate work already established;
 - (4) concentrate; fewer and better schools; less rather than greater expenditures;
 - (5) provide elementary education—especially to the villagers;
 - (6) boys' mission schools may be consolidated and girls' schools increased;
 - (7) mission schools should be experimental in nature.

SUPPLEMENTARY STATISTICAL STUDY OF THE
RELATIVE STATUS AND EFFICIENCY OF
MISSION SCHOOLS IN THE MADRAS
PRESIDENCY

by

LESLIE B. SIPPLE

and

C. LUTHER FRY

INTRODUCTION

THE purpose of this report is to compare the various types of schools in the Madras Presidency in order to throw light upon such fundamental questions as:

What is the relative efficiency of mission schools as compared with Government and nationalist institutions? How do American mission schools differ from those of the Roman Catholic and British-Continental Protestant societies? How do these types of schools compare with one another in their cost of operation, in the calibre of their teachers, and in their educational results and achievements?

The compilation of careful statistical data concerning the different types of schools in India involves enormous labor and effort. It was, therefore, necessary to restrict this detailed study to one representative area. The Madras Presidency was selected as the province to be surveyed for two major reasons. First, partly because the earliest European schools in India were founded in Madras, the greatest number of mission schools are located in this Presidency, amounting to fully two-thirds of all mission schools in India. Secondly, detailed figures concerning each recognized school are regularly published by the Madras Government. The present report is based largely upon a careful analysis of these records.¹

The findings revealed by these data will be presented in non-technical language for the use of those who wish to learn the exact situation concerning the various types of schools with particular reference to the achievements of the mission schools. The text contains only the most significant and most general findings. The tables at the end of the report present the results in greater detail.

¹ The figures used in this study were taken from Vol. II of the *Report of Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency* for 1923-4 and for 1928-9.

INDIA

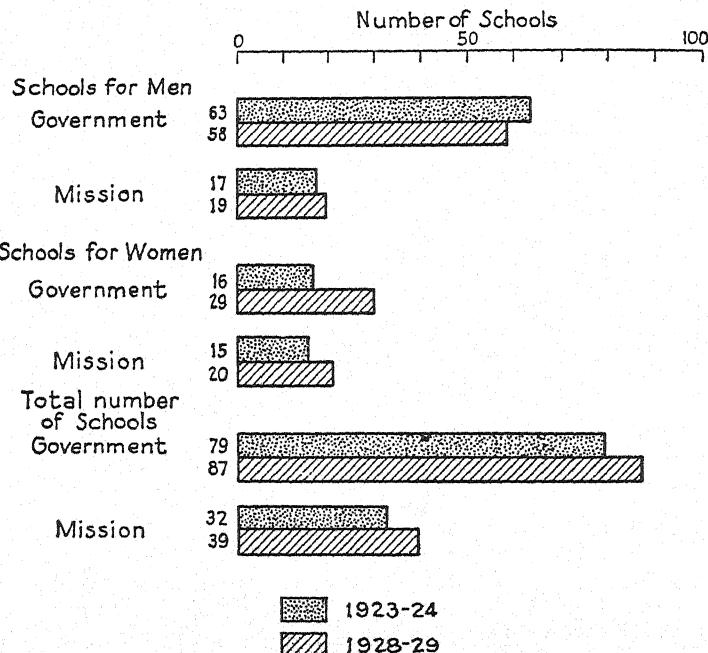
The authors are indebted to Dr. Otis W. Caldwell, who has been very helpful in outlining the general plan of this study and who has offered many valuable suggestions throughout the writing process and to Mr. J. Zubin for assistance in the statistical computations.

The present report deals with two types of educational institutions in India: (1) Teacher-training schools, and (2) secondary schools. In each case, mission schools will be compared with non-mission schools and American institutions will be contrasted with other types of mission schools.

I

TEACHER-TRAINING INSTITUTIONS

A study of teacher-training institutions is fundamental to a survey of education. In any country the character of both primary and sec-

DISTRIBUTION OF TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS
GOVERNMENT AND MISSION

ondary schools depends largely upon the training of those who are to teach in the schools. Mission educators in India have not been unaware

of this fact, for they have established a hundred teacher-training schools throughout the country.

About three-tenths of all such schools in the Madras Presidency are conducted by the missions. In 1924 there were 112 teacher-training schools, of which 28.6 per cent. were under mission auspices, 70.5 per cent. under the Government while only one institution, constituting 0.9 per cent. of the total, was conducted by a local agency. By 1929 the proportion of mission training schools had increased slightly. Of the 131 schools, 29.8 per cent. were mission schools, 66.4 per cent. were Government schools, and 3.8 per cent. were under local Indian auspices. Thus, nearly all of the training schools are conducted either by missions or by the Government. Although Indians conduct approximately the same number of secondary schools as the missions, they have only a tenth as many teacher-training schools of their own. This phase of the analysis has, therefore, been limited to a comparison of mission and Government schools.

TRAINING OF WOMEN TEACHERS

One of the most significant aspects of mission education is its emphasis upon the training of women teachers. While the Government had, in 1924, only about one-fourth as many teacher-training schools for women as for men (16 and 63 schools respectively) the missions had practically as many schools for women as for men (15 and 17 respectively). In 1929 the difference was similarly marked, the missions having 20 schools for women and 19 for men, while the Government had only 29 for women and 58 for men. Clearly missions are making a significant contribution to women's education but it is worthy of special mention that during recent years the Government has increased the number of its training schools for women rather rapidly.

RELATIVE EFFICIENCY

One of the most significant considerations in an educational survey is the setting up of criteria by which to measure the effectiveness of the system. Educational aims are for the most part too abstract and too intangible to be subjected to exact quantitative measurements. Comparisons must therefore by necessity be restricted to the most simple and measurable aspects of education. Three criteria were chosen for comparing the relative effectiveness of mission and non-mission training schools:

1. The regularity of attendance on the part of the students in the training schools.
2. The ratio of students passing the Government examinations to the total student body.
3. The ratio of students securing teaching positions after graduation to the total student body.

REGULARITY OF ATTENDANCE

It will be seen from the tables that the percentage of daily attendance in mission schools is higher than the per cent. of attendance in the Government training schools. In 1929 the average attendance in mission schools for men was 92.2 while in Government schools it was 89.4. Similarly in training schools for women the average attendance was 96.2 in mission schools and 93.2 in Government schools. On the basis of this criterion the mission training schools are more efficient than the Government schools, for absence on the part of students inevitably lowers the effectiveness of instruction.

PROPORTION PASSING EXAMINATIONS

Since Government training schools are presumably in closer touch with the policies and points of view of the officials who prepare and administer the examinations, it would be reasonable to expect students in the Government training schools to pass the examinations in larger proportions than the students in the mission schools. This, however, is not the case. In 1929, the percentage passing examinations was higher in the mission than in the Government training schools, the differences in percentages passing examinations being 4.9 for the men's schools and 31.3 for the women's schools in favor of the mission institutions.

PROPORTION OBTAINING POSITIONS

Data regarding the percentage of students obtaining employment also show that mission schools make a better record than Government schools. In 1929 the ratio, obtaining positions, was higher in the mission institutions for men by 13.7 points while in the women's training schools this difference was 13.4 points.

The above analysis reveals that the mission schools are more effective than the Government schools on the basis of each of the three criteria. The writers are not unaware that the adequacy of these three criteria may be questioned; nevertheless it is significant that on all three counts mission schools are reported to be measurably superior to Government institutions.

QUALITY OF INSTRUCTION

Three criteria were chosen for the comparison of the quality of classroom instruction in teacher-training schools.

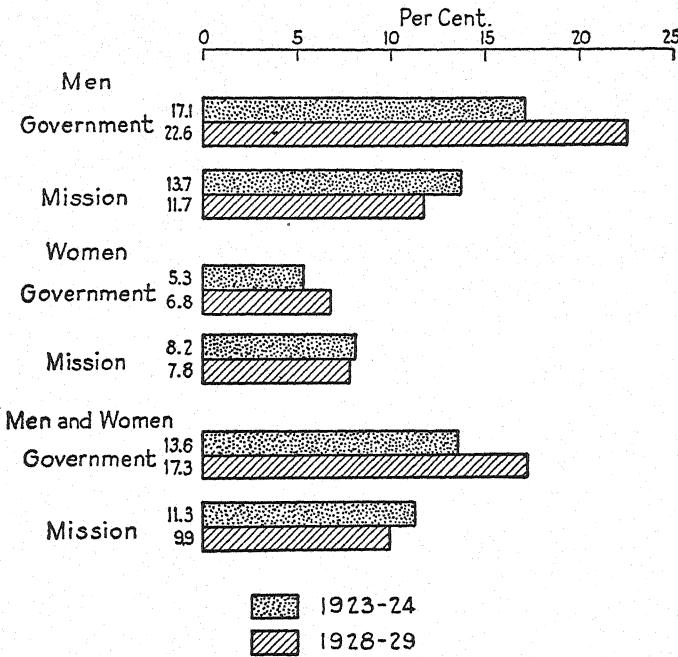
1. The number of practice pupils per student.
2. The ratio of teachers to students.
3. The proportion of teachers with degrees.

NUMBER OF PRACTICE PUPILS

The number of practice pupils per student is higher in the mission than in the Government schools. This is an important factor in the eval-

ation of a teacher-training school, for a larger ratio of practice pupils to students in training indicates greater opportunity for practice teaching. In 1929, the ratio of practice pupils to students in training in missions schools was 2.0, while in Government schools this ratio was only 1.1. In 1924, the difference was similarly in favor of mission schools, being 1.9 and 1.0, in mission schools and Government schools respectively. Apparently, mission schools offer larger opportunities for prac-

RATIO OF STUDENTS TO TEACHERS GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS



tice teaching than do Government schools, but it should be noted that even in mission schools the practice department is very small compared with Western standards.

RATIO OF STUDENTS TO TEACHERS

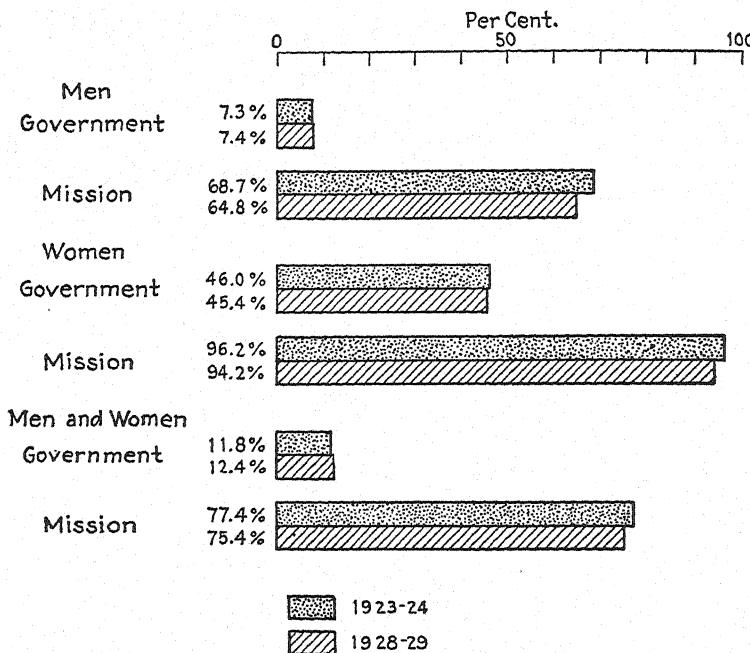
The ratio of students to teachers is another significant criterion of the quality of instruction, since the smaller the number of students per teacher, the greater the attention that the individual student receives. In this respect, too, the mission schools are superior to the Government schools. The number of students per teacher in mission schools was consistently smaller than in Government schools. In 1929, this ratio

was 9.9 in mission schools and 17.3 in Government schools. In 1924, a similar difference was found, the number of students per teacher being 11.3 in mission schools and 13.6 in Government schools.

TEACHERS WITH DEGREES

So far as the percentage of teachers with degrees is concerned, the data reveal that the proportion is definitely larger for the Government schools than for the mission schools. These differences are less marked in the women's schools than in the men's training schools. In 1929, Gov-

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS IN GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS



ernment schools for men had proportionally about twice as many trained teachers as did mission schools, while in women's schools they had proportionately only one and one-half times as many teachers with degrees.

There are at least two major reasons for the smaller percentage of teachers with degrees in the mission schools. The mission schools have a number of other criteria for selecting teachers such as interest in the aims and ideals of the missions, while Government schools select their teachers chiefly on the basis of academic preparation. Furthermore, the mission usually pays lower salaries than the Government, with the

result that the better-trained Indian teachers are attracted to Government positions.

CHRISTIAN STUDENTS IN TRAINING SCHOOLS

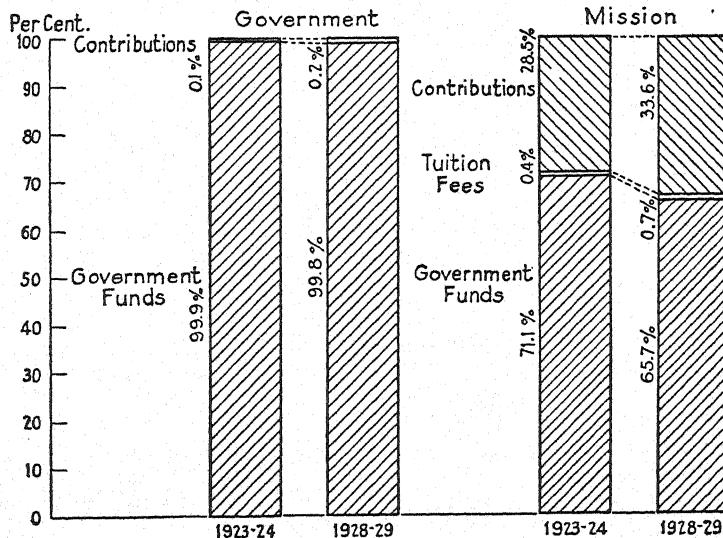
As might be expected, an overwhelming majority of the students in mission schools are Christian, while only a small proportion of the student body in the Government schools is Christian. In 1929, the proportion of Christian students in mission schools was 75.4 per cent., while in the Government schools it was only 12.4 per cent.

A significant sex difference was revealed in this connection. In the training schools for women, the proportion of Christian students is much higher than in the schools for men. This difference is found in both mission and Government schools.

INCOME OF TRAINING SCHOOLS

How do the mission and Government institutions for the training of teachers differ with regard to source of income? The Government

SOURCES OF INCOME GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS



training schools receive practically 100 per cent. of their budget from the Government. The mission training schools received in 1929 about two-thirds of their budget (65.7 per cent.) from the Government and about one-third (33.6 per cent.) from mission contributions and other sources.

It is highly significant that the proportion of income obtained from the Government has declined. In 1924, seven-tenths of the budget (71.1 per cent.) came from the Government grants, while in 1929, this proportion decreased to two-thirds (65.7 per cent.) of the total income.

In women's schools, the proportion of income obtained from mission contributions is comparatively high. Thus, in 1929, the missions donated no less than 42.4 per cent. of all expenses in women's schools, while in men's schools, they contributed only 26.2 per cent. Moreover, in girls' schools the proportionate income from the missions increased more than one-third from 1924 to 1929, while in the men's schools there was a slight decrease from this source. Apparently, the missions are tending in the direction of greater support for the education of women.

On the other hand, the proportional income from the Government was relatively greater in the mission schools for *men* than in the schools for *women*. Indeed, the income from the Government toward the upkeep of the mission training schools for women decreased from 68.4 per cent. in 1924, to 56.7 per cent. in 1929, while in the men's schools there was a slight increase from this source.

COST OF EDUCATION

The most universally accepted method for comparing the cost of education in different school systems is the cost per pupil. Other things being equal, the school that spends a greater amount of money per student is probably providing greater facilities or giving a greater degree of attention to the individual student.

The mission training schools spend consistently more per student than do the Government institutions. In 1929, mission schools cost as much as Rs.225 per pupil, compared with Rs.182 in Government schools. Moreover, mission schools have increased the amount spent per pupil by Rs.21 since 1924, while the Government schools have decreased the amount by Rs.6 per pupil during that period. The cost per pupil in women's schools is higher than in men's schools. This difference is found for both mission and Government schools in 1924 as well as in 1929, and is additional evidence of the superiority of women's schools as compared with men's schools.

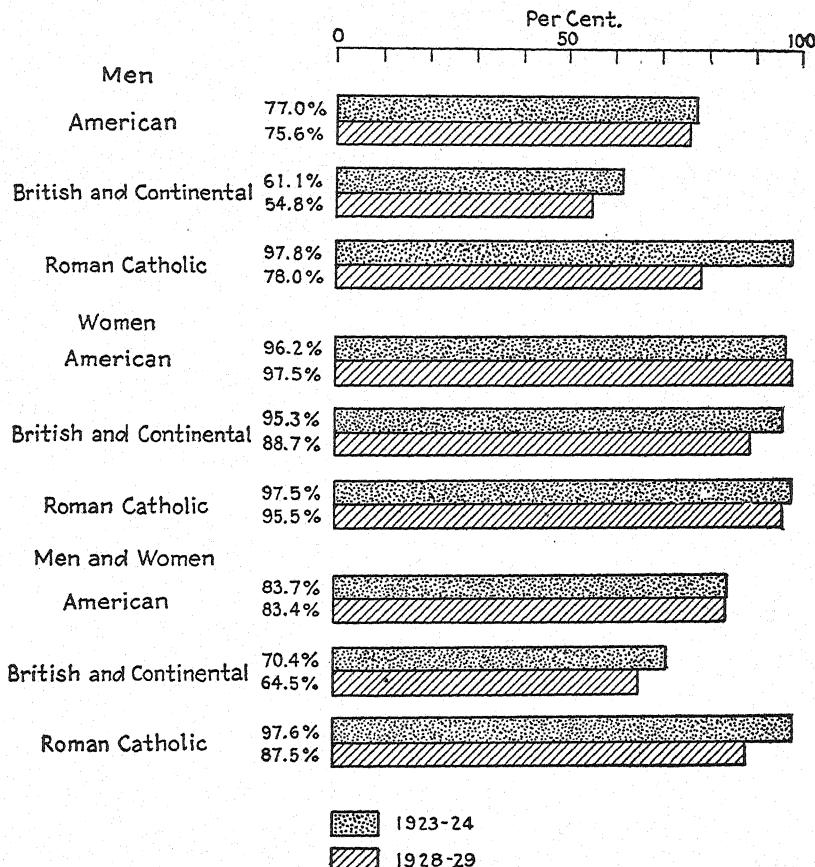
COMPARISON BETWEEN TRAINING SCHOOLS OF DIFFERENT MISSIONS

Comparisons were made among the schools conducted by American,² British-Continental and Roman Catholic missions. How do the schools of American missions differ from the other types? The British-Continental are leading in the number of training schools—thirteen schools in 1924 and sixteen in 1929. The American mission schools had a slightly

² In addition to schools conducted by the boards coöperating in this study, American mission schools in the Madras Presidency include a number of Lutheran schools.

smaller number—eleven in 1924 and twelve in 1929. The Roman Catholic missions have the smallest number of training schools—six in 1924 and eight in 1929.

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS IN MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS



It is interesting to note, however, that while the British missions have a larger number of training schools for men, the American missions have as many schools for women as for men, and the Roman Catholic missions have even more women's schools than men's schools.

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS

The Roman Catholic schools have the highest proportion of Christian students, with the percentage of 97.6 in 1924, and 87.5 in 1929.

The British-Continental Schools have the lowest proportion of Christian students, 70.4 in 1924, and 64.5 in 1929. In the American mission schools the per cent. of Christian students was 83.7 in 1924, and 83.4 in 1929.

In each type of the mission schools the proportion of Christians has decreased from 1924 to 1929. This, of course, does not mean that the actual number of Christian students has decreased. It merely indicates that the increase in non-Christian students was comparatively greater than the increase in Christian students. Considering the small percentage of Christians in the total population and the general increase in the number of training-school students, the increase in the proportion of non-Christian students is to be expected.

In girls' schools compared with boys' schools the proportion of Christians is very high in all three types of mission institutions.

PERCENTAGE OF TEACHERS WITH DEGREES

The Roman Catholic schools have the lowest per cent. of teachers with degrees, while the British mission schools have the highest. There was a marked increase in the per cent. of teachers with degrees from 1924 to 1929 in both the British and American mission schools, but a decrease in the Roman Catholic schools. In each of the mission schools the per cent. of teachers with degrees was consistently lower in women's schools than in men's schools. This is to be expected, in view of the fact that India has comparatively few women with academic degrees.

RATIO OF STUDENTS TO TEACHERS

The data show that there is a larger number of students per teacher in Catholic training schools than in the training schools of the other missions, and that in the British and Continental training schools the number of students per teacher is smallest.

II

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

COMPARISON OF GOVERNMENT, MISSION AND NATIONALIST SCHOOLS

While the preparation of teachers is of primary importance for the entire educational structure, the actual advances in the life of India are made by the educated laity, nearly all of whom are recruited from the graduates of secondary schools. The educational policies of these schools, and the points of view they inculcate are the most potent means for influencing the progress of the country.

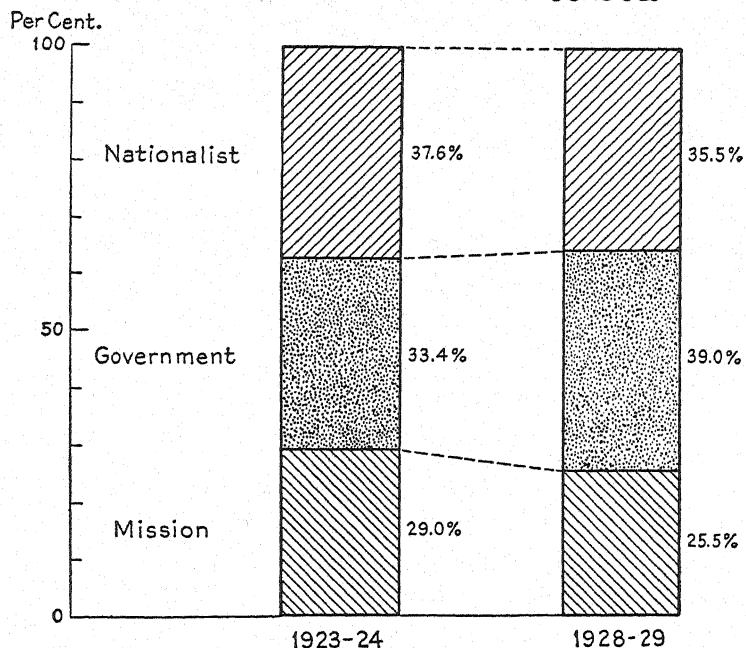
The missions have been pioneers in establishing secondary schools and have built up a considerable network of such institutions throughout the country, particularly in the Madras Presidency. The question

arises whether it is necessary for missions to continue to operate so elaborate a system. The data presented throw light on this problem.

At the present, all the recognized secondary schools of India are grouped under the auspices of three major agencies—the mission, the Government and the nationalist.¹

The purpose of this section is to determine the relative status and efficiency of the mission schools compared with Government and nationalist institutions. The comparison includes such fundamental aspects

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



of secondary education in India as the number and size of schools, classification of pupils by sex and creed, evaluation of instruction, calibre of teachers, and analysis of income and expenditures.

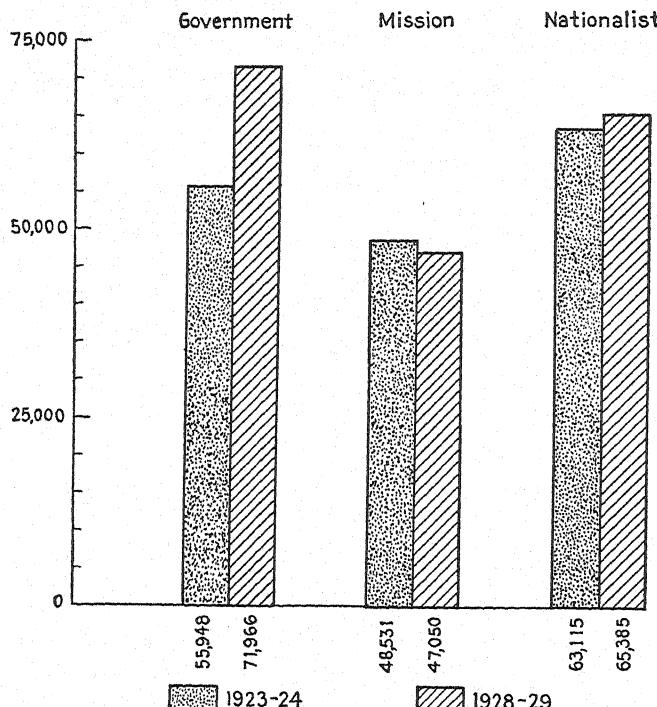
DISTRIBUTION OF ENROLLMENT

About one-fourth of the total number of secondary school students in the Madras Presidency attend mission schools. Of the total number of secondary school students enrolled in 1929 about 40 per cent. are in Government schools, 35 per cent. in nationalist schools and 25 per cent. in mission schools.

¹ The word "nationalist," as used here, has no political implication, and refers to the schools conducted by the Hindus, Mohammedans and other Indian groups.

There has been a marked increase in the general enrollment in secondary schools. From 167,594 students in 1924, the total number rose to 184,401 in 1929, an increase of 10 per cent. This represents an average annual growth of 3,361 students for the past five years. This increase, however, took place chiefly in the Government schools, where the in-

ENROLLMENT IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



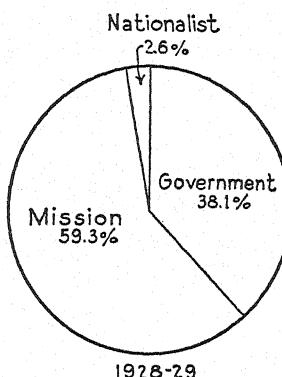
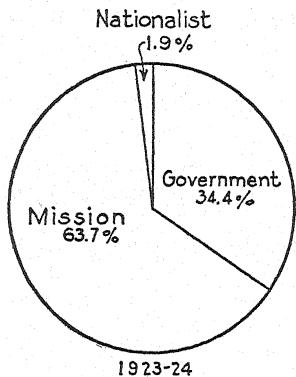
crease in enrollment was 29 per cent. The nationalist schools showed an increase of only 3.6 per cent., while in the mission schools the enrollment actually decreased 3 per cent. This decrease, however, took place in boys' schools, not in girls' schools. Thus the data show that the enrollments in mission boys' schools have been declining at a time when the enrollments in Government schools have been rapidly increasing.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

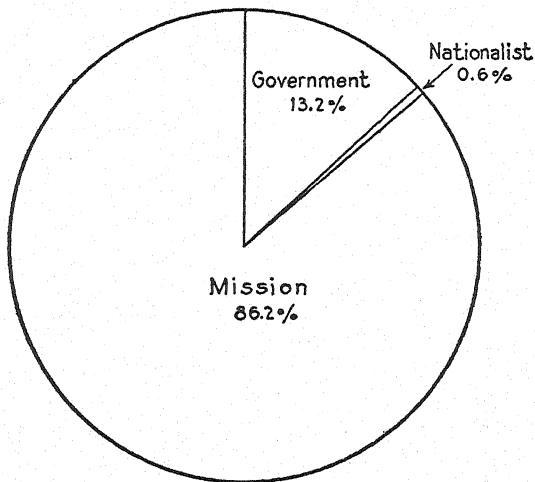
Missions place special emphasis upon girls' education. Although the missions provide for the education of only one-fourth of the total number

of secondary school students, they have three-fifths of the total number of girl students in their schools. Of the 14,556 girls attending secondary

DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENTS IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS



DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS, MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS 1928-29



institutions in 1929, fully 59.3 per cent. were enrolled in mission schools, 38.1 per cent. were in Government schools, and only 2.6 per cent. in nationalist schools.

In general, secondary education of women is lagging far behind that of men. Of the 184,401 students in secondary schools in 1929 only 7.9 per cent. were girls. Thus, in all the schools combined eleven times as many boys as girls are receiving a secondary education.

Mission schools are providing for the education of six of every ten girls who receive secondary school training. By stressing the education of girls, the mission schools are, therefore, helping to remove one of the most pronounced shortcomings of Indian education. Indeed, if the popular adage is correct that educating a girl means educating at least two people, the mission schools will eventually influence an even larger proportion of India's future leaders than the enrollment figures indicate.

Within recent years, the number of girls attending mission schools has not been growing as rapidly as the number of those in non-mission institutions. In 1924 no less than 63.7 per cent. of the 12,454 girls in secondary schools attended mission institutions compared with only the 59.3 per cent. today. During the same periods, the percentage of girl students in secondary nationalist schools rose from 1.6 to 2.6.

Comparing the number of girls and of boys enrolled in the schools of the different agencies, it becomes apparent that the Government trains one girl for every twelve boys; the missions instruct one girl for every four boys; while the nationalist agencies neglect almost entirely the education of girls. In fact, nationalist organizations operated only one girls' school in 1924 and only two in 1929.

It should be especially emphasized that during the interval 1924 to 1929 the girls in mission schools, instead of decreasing, as was the case in mission schools for boys, showed an increase in enrollment of 8.9 per cent.

CLASSIFICATION BY CREED

The proportion of Christians in secondary schools is more than twice as high as the proportion of Christians in the total population of the Madras Presidency. According to the Census of 1921, only 5.89 per cent. of the population in Madras were Christians, but the proportion of Christians in secondary schools (in 1924) was as high as 12.7 per cent. of the total number of scholars. The comparatively large number of Christians receiving secondary education is mainly the result of missionary effort.

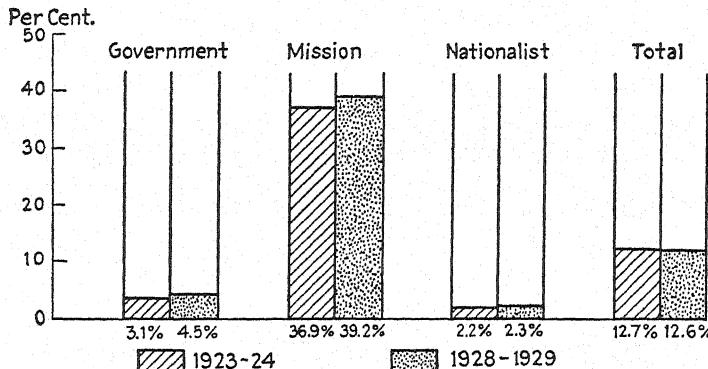
An overwhelming majority of the Christian students are enrolled in mission schools—80 per cent., while 14 per cent. of them are in Government schools and only 6 per cent. in nationalist schools.

The proportion of Christians in the student body for each type of institution is 39.2 per cent. for the mission schools, 4.5 per cent. for the Government schools, and only 2.3 per cent. for the nationalist schools.

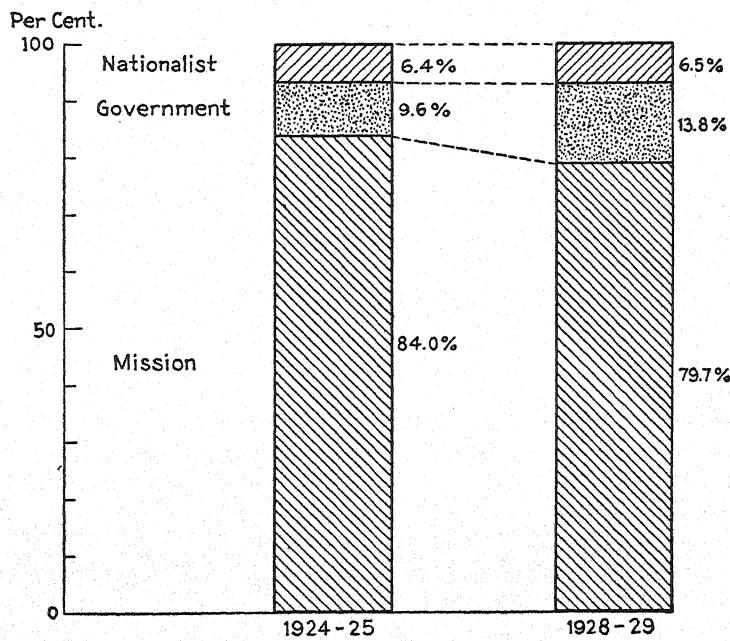
Mission girls' schools are predominantly Christian. In fact, 71 of every hundred students in secondary mission girls' schools are Chris-

tians, whereas only 32 per hundred students in mission boys' schools are Christian. Similarly, in the Government secondary schools for girls, 17.0 per cent. of the total number of students are Christians compared with only 3.4 per cent. in the boys' schools.

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS WITHIN EACH TYPE OF SCHOOL



DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



These figures make it clear that there are far more mission schools than are needed for the training of Christian students. Indeed, if all the Christian scholars now attending secondary schools in the Madras Presidency were to go exclusively to mission schools, there would still be room for 144 non-Christian students for every 100 Christians. It may be desirable, as some Christian educators maintain, to serve large numbers of Hindu students in order to establish friendly relations with non-Christians, but certainly the number of schools now being conducted under mission auspices is larger than is necessary to meet the educational needs of the Christian community.

SIZE OF SCHOOLS

The secondary schools under the control of the three agencies differ considerably in the number of pupils per school. As a rule the mission schools are smallest and nationalist schools largest. The average number of pupils in the nationalist schools is 274, in the Government schools 258, and in the mission schools 210. In 1924, the Government schools were the smallest, with an average of 227 pupils to a school. Apparently, Government schools are tending to increase, not only in number but also in students per school.

COEDUCATION

In India, secondary education of girls is generally separated from the education of boys. It is only in recent years that a beginning at co-education has been made. The proportion of girls in boys' schools, small as it is, may be taken as an index of progress in this direction. The mission schools are the most advanced in this respect. In 1929, mission boys' schools reported that 2.3 per cent. of their students were girls, compared with 1.7 per cent. in Government and nationalist schools. The degree of coeducation in the mission schools is thus about one and one-half times as large as in Government and nationalist schools. In 1924, the difference was even greater, the missions having proportionately about twice as many girls in boys' schools as did Government and nationalist schools.

SOURCES OF INCOME

There are three major sources of income in secondary schools—Government funds, tuition fees and contributions, the last consisting of endowments, subscriptions, mission donations, etc. Marked differences exist among the mission, Government and nationalist schools with regard to the relative importance of each of these sources.

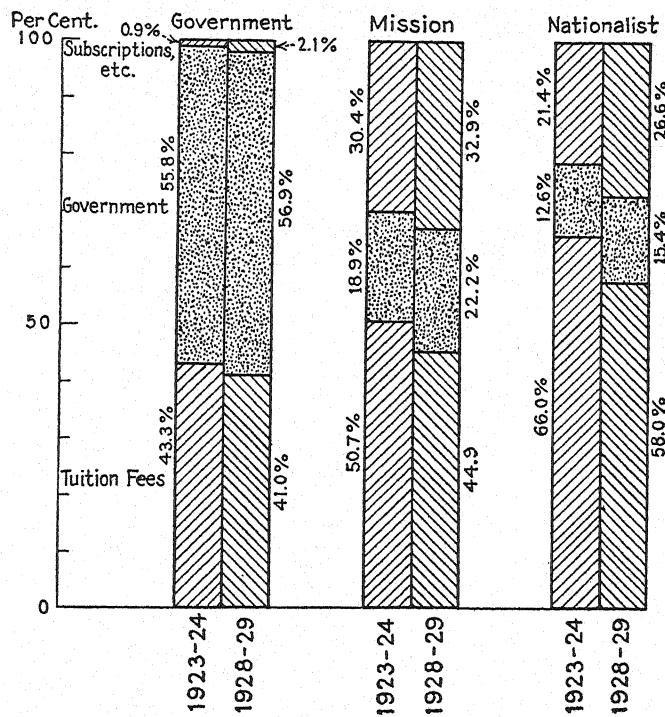
Mission schools receive a larger proportion of their income from private contributions than do non-mission schools, this item amounting to 33 per cent. of their total income, compared with 24 per cent. in na-

tionalist schools. Of course, Government schools receive virtually nothing from this source.

Tuition fees are the largest source of income for the nationalist schools, being 58 per cent. of their entire income, while in Government and mission schools they amount to only 40 per cent. of the total.

Schools for girls receive proportionately more support from the Government than do boys' schools. Among all three types of schools, the

SOURCES OF INCOME OF MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS

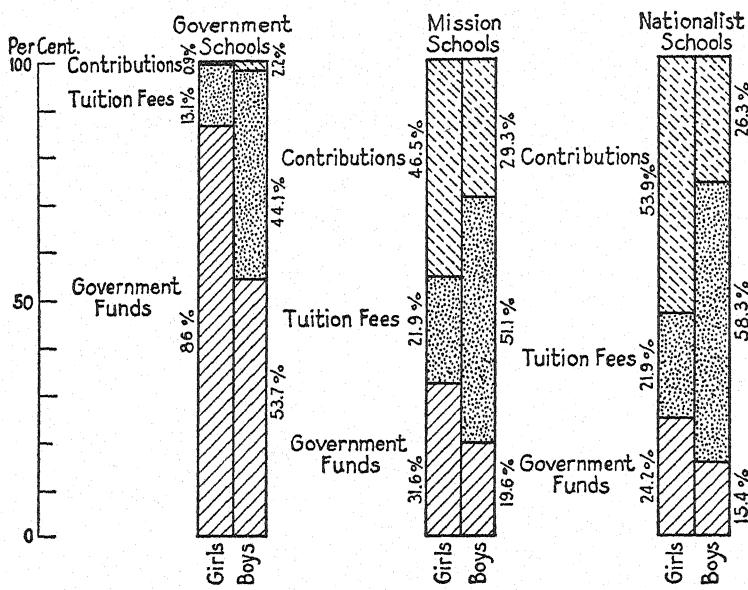


money from Government funds contributed to girls' institutions is about one and a half times the proportionate amount from this source given to boys' schools. But the boys' schools obtain nearly three times as much from tuition fees as do girls' schools. On the other hand, the proportion of the total income in girls' institutions derived from contributions is twice as large as in the boys' schools.

Between 1924 and 1929 the grants from Government funds contributed to boys' schools became increasingly important items in the budgets of

each of the three types of schools, while the proportionate amount of income derived from tuition fees showed a loss in all three cases. This loss was largest in the nationalist schools where the income from fees dropped from 66 to 58 per cent. of the total school budget. In the Government institutions, this decline was only from 48 to 44 per cent.² Among girls' schools, the tendency is reversed, each of the three types of schools reporting gains in the proportion of their total income derived from tuition fees.

**SOURCES OF INCOME,
MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS
1928-29
GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND BOYS' SCHOOLS**



COST PER PUPIL

One of the methods of evaluating the comparative status of different school systems is by an examination of the costs per pupil. In 1929, the Government institutions had the highest cost per pupil—Rs.52, while the cost in mission and nationalist schools was Rs.46.

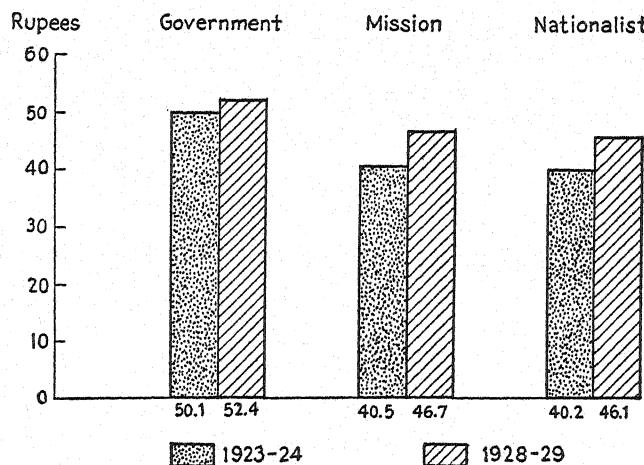
Girls' schools have higher costs per student than boys' schools. In 1929, it cost the missions about 80 per cent. as much to educate a boy as

² It is interesting to find that while the proportion of income from endowments is negligible in girls' schools, it forms 1.6 per cent. of the total in boys' schools and is largest in boys' nationalist schools.

to educate a girl, compared with 76 per cent. in Government and 66 per cent. in nationalist institutions.

Between 1924 and 1929 there was a general increase in the average cost per pupil. This increase was highest for the mission and nationalist schools, amounting to 15 per cent. in both cases, and lowest for the Government schools—4.6 per cent.

COST PER PUPIL IN RUPEES IN MISSION AND NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION

The criteria chosen for the evaluation of the efficiency of instruction are, as was the case in the training schools, somewhat indirect in nature, since no objective measures of progress and achievement are available. These criteria are: regularity of attendance, calibre of teachers and size of classes.

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE

The average daily attendance in mission, Government and nationalist schools is approximately the same—90 per cent. for both years 1924 and 1929. This average compares favorably with attendance records in the high schools of New York City.

In the Madras Presidency, boys' schools make somewhat better attendance records than do girls' schools. Mission schools for girls are slightly superior in this respect to other types of schools, while mission boys' schools fall a little below the standards set by Government and nationalist institutions.

CALIBRE OF TEACHERS

Two measures of the quality of the teaching staff were available: the proportion of teachers who were trained in teacher-training institutions, and the proportion who held academic degrees.

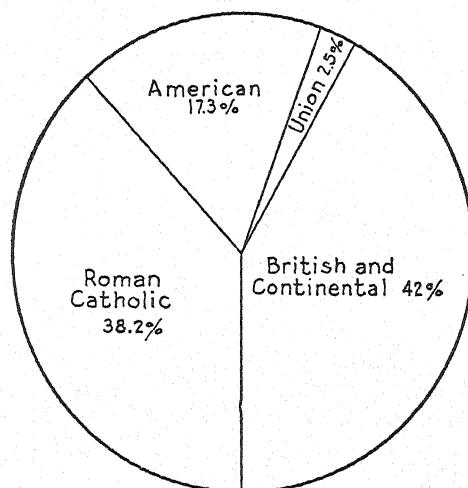
During the five-year interval, there was a general increase in the proportion of trained teachers from 74.5 per cent. in 1924, to 80.9 per cent. in 1929. But there were no significant differences in this respect among the mission, Government and nationalist schools.

The proportion of trained teachers in girls' mission schools is somewhat higher than in the schools of the Government and of the nationalists, but in the boys' schools, the percentage of trained teachers is highest in the institutions conducted by the Government.

The proportion of teachers with degrees is slightly lower for mission than for non-mission schools. As a rule, all types of schools have been increasing the proportion of their teachers with degrees, the average increase being about four points during the period from 1924 to 1929, the largest proportionate gains occurring in mission girls' schools.

Comparing the mission and non-mission schools on the basis of the proportion of trained teachers and the proportion of teachers with degrees, the girls' mission schools appear to be somewhat superior, while the mission boys' schools are either equal or inferior to the boys' schools conducted by the Government and by the nationalists.

**DISTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS
MISSION SCHOOLS FOR GIRLS
1928-29**



SIZE OF CLASSES

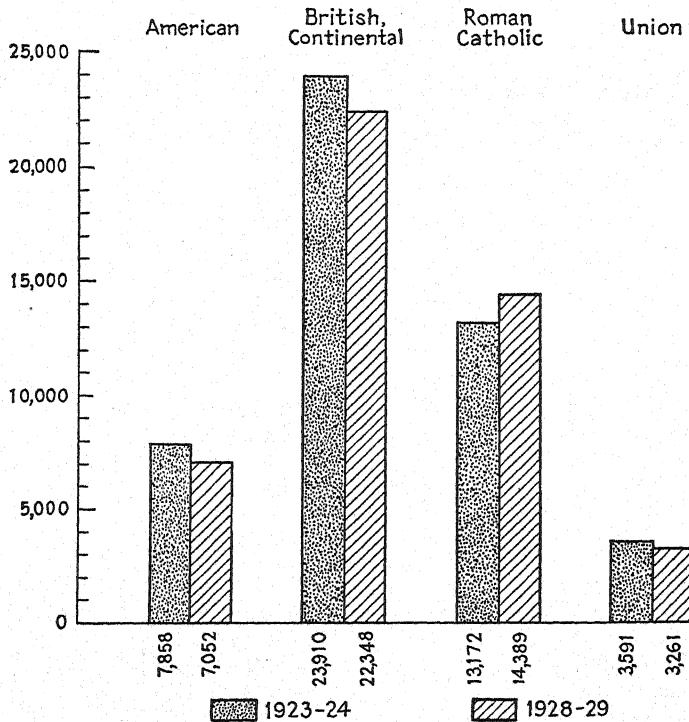
The average size of class in mission schools decreased somewhat between 1924 and 1929, indicating an improvement in the educational opportunities of the individual student.

The conclusion that emerges from this phase of the analysis is that, judged by the three criteria, secondary mission schools are not measurably superior to Government and nationalist schools.

COMPARISONS BETWEEN SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF DIFFERENT MISSIONS

The British-Continental missions have about one-half and the American missions about one-sixth of the total number of students enrolled in secondary mission schools of the Madras Presidency.

ENROLLMENT IN MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



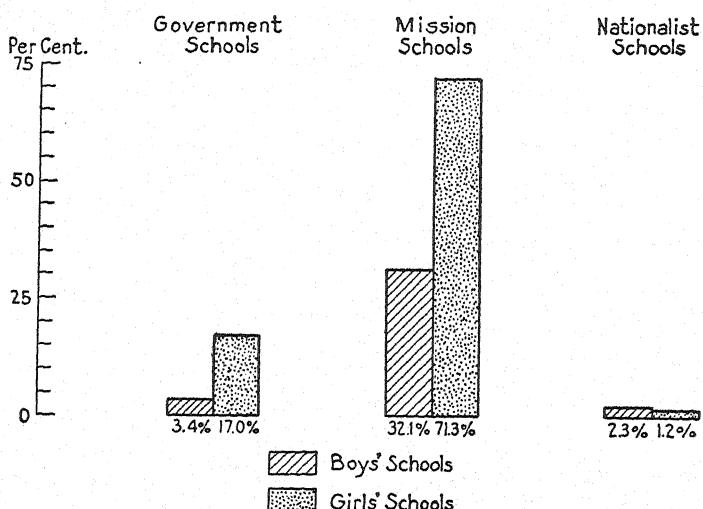
In 1924, the distribution of students in mission schools was roughly the same as in 1929, but the net enrollment in the Roman Catholic schools increased during the period, while the enrollment in the Ameri-

can and British-Continental institutions decreased. The number of schools conducted by each type of mission changed similarly, increasing slightly for the Roman Catholic schools and decreasing somewhat for the American and the British-Continental missions. But it should be pointed out that among American missions the proportional decrease in the number of schools between 1924 and 1929 was about four times as large as the proportional decrease in the number of students enrolled.

EDUCATION OF WOMEN

As was shown earlier, mission schools emphasize girls' education, but there are significant variations among the different types of missions in this respect. Of every twenty Roman Catholic secondary schools approxi-

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS IN MISSION AND
NON-MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1928-29
GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND BOYS' SCHOOLS



mately eight are for girls, while among American and British-Continental institutions the relative number is about four out of twenty, and five out of twenty, respectively.

In 1929 the number of American mission schools for girls was the same as in 1924, but during this period there was a decrease of 5.3 per cent. in the number of British-Continental schools, and an increase of 25 per cent. in those of the Roman Catholics. In total enrollment, however, the American institutions showed an increase of 19 per cent., compared with only 15 per cent. for Roman Catholic schools. It appears that the Ameri-

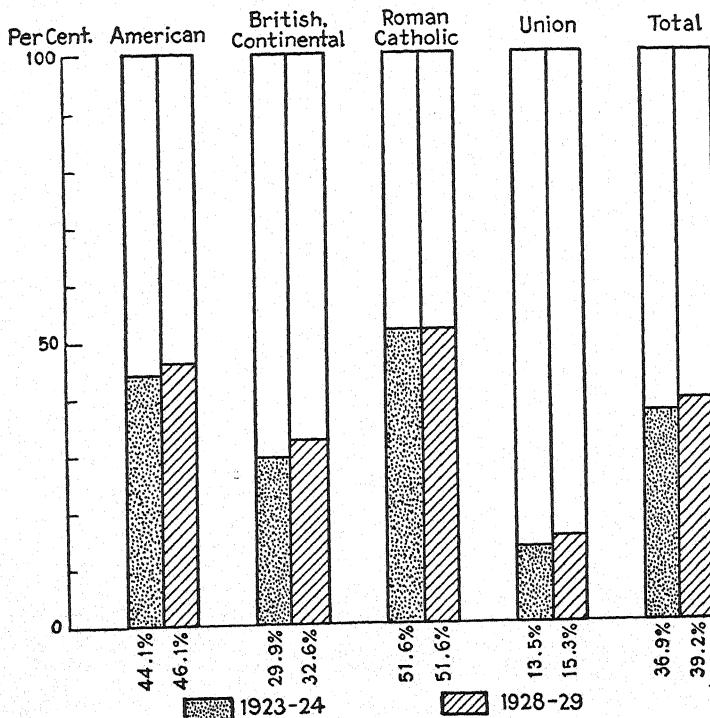
cans have increased the enrollments of their existing schools while the Roman Catholics have expanded the number of their institutions.

While the boys' schools of the American and the British-Continental missions showed a decrease in enrollment, the girls' schools of these same missions reported an increase. In other words, Christian missions are increasing their emphasis upon the education for girls.

SIZE OF SCHOOLS

The American mission schools have the smallest average number of pupils per school, while the Roman Catholic mission schools have the largest. There is a general tendency for mission schools to decrease in average size. Thus, the average enrollment in Roman Catholic schools decreased from 449 in 1924 to 213 in 1929, while that of American schools dropped from 271 to 200 during the same period. Similar decreases occurred among the schools of the other missions, the only exception being found in American mission schools for girls.

PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS WITHIN EACH TYPE OF MISSION SCHOOL



CLASSIFICATION BY CREED

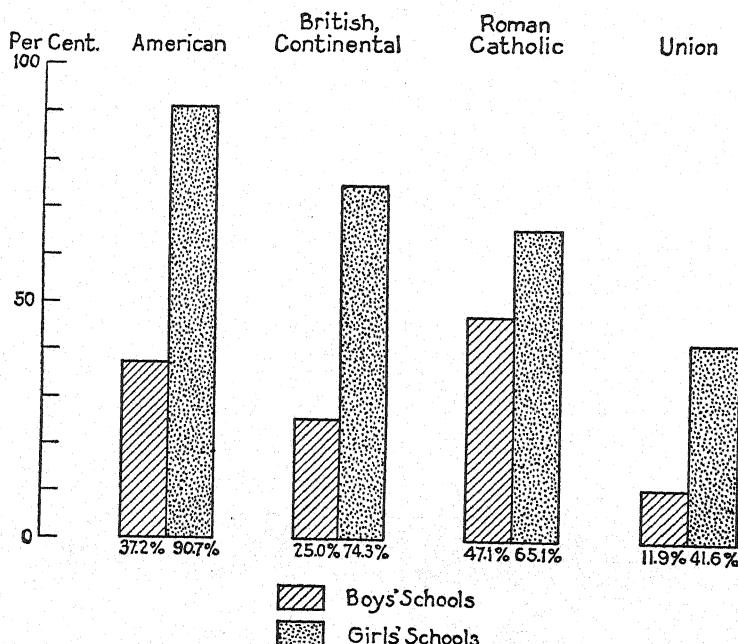
Of the 18,463 Christian students attending mission schools in 1929, about 40 per cent. were enrolled in British-Continental institutions; 40 per cent. in the Roman Catholic schools; 17.5 per cent. in American mission schools and the remaining 2.5 per cent. in Union enterprises. The distribution of Christian students in 1924 was similar.

In 1929, more than 50 per cent. of the students in the Roman Catholic schools were Christians, while only 15 per cent. of the pupils in the Union schools were so classified, the other two types of mission schools falling between these two extremes.

Considering girls' schools separately, the data show that they are primarily institutions for the education of Christians. In 1929, 91 per cent. of the students enrolled in secondary American mission schools for girls were Christians, compared with 75 per cent. in the British-Continental schools, and 65 per cent. in the Roman Catholic institutions.

The proportion of Christian students in boys' schools is decidedly

**PROPORTION OF CHRISTIAN STUDENTS
MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1928-29
GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND BOYS' SCHOOLS**



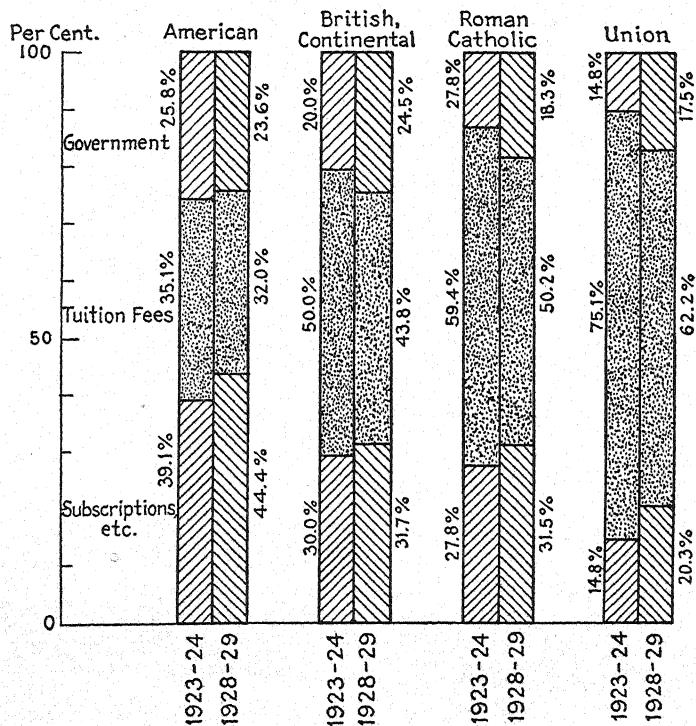
smaller than in girls' schools. Roman Catholic institutions reported the highest proportion of Christians, with 47 per cent., and the British-Continental schools, the lowest, with 25 per cent. During the five years between 1924 and 1929 there was virtually no change in the relative proportions of Christian students in the various types of mission schools.

SOURCES OF INCOME

Each type of recognized mission institution gets virtually the same proportion of its total income from Government funds but tuition fees account for more than half the budget of Roman Catholic and Union institutions, and for an appreciably smaller proportion in American schools. On the other hand, contributions form a larger percentage of the total income in American schools than in those of any other type. It is significant that American schools receive so much larger contributions from the mission society than do the schools of any other group.

In all types of mission girls' schools proportionately more money is derived from Government grants than is the case in boys' schools. This

SOURCES OF INCOME OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



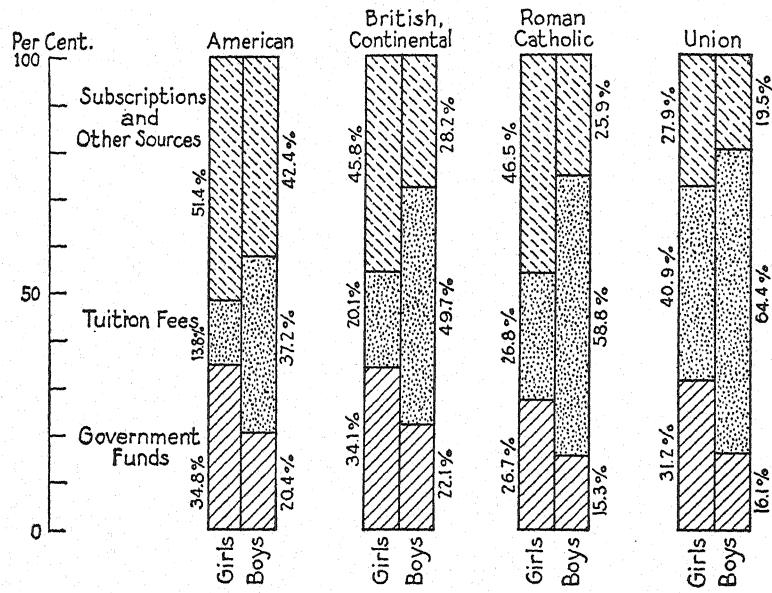
fact gives special importance to recent discussions in India that Government grants to schools be reduced.

In American mission schools for girls the proportionate income from tuition fees has been increasing while in all other types of mission schools it has been decreasing.

COST PER PUPIL

In 1929, the cost per pupil was highest in the American schools—52 rupees, and lowest in the Roman Catholic institutions—41 rupees. In every case the cost per pupil in 1929 was greater than in 1924, the largest increase being reported by the Union schools, and the smallest, by the

SOURCES OF INCOME, MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1928-29 GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND BOYS' SCHOOLS



American. In each case the cost per pupil in mission institutions is higher for girls' than for boys' schools. In 1924, it required only 63 per cent. as much money to educate a boy as to educate a girl in the schools conducted by the American missions. This proportion for the British-Continental missions was 66 per cent. and for the Roman Catholic 97 per cent. It should be noted that in the Roman Catholic schools the cost per pupil in girls' schools is only slightly higher than in boys' schools. By 1929,

both the American missions and the British-Continental had increased the relative amount spent per boy by about 8 points. In the Roman Catholic schools the proportion was decreased by 6 points. It seems that the American and the British-Continental schools are moving toward a parity in cost per pupil for boys and girls by raising the cost per pupil in boys' schools.

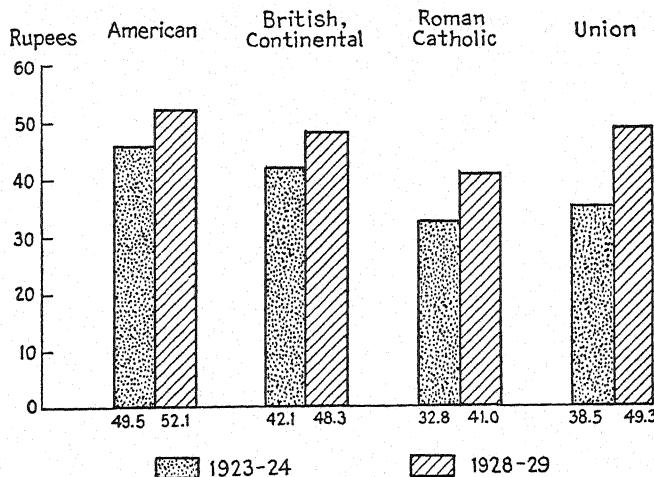
EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE

The average daily attendance in 1929 was about 91 per cent. for all the mission schools excepting the Union schools. Mission schools, excepting the Union institutions, reported a slight improvement in their attendance records between 1924 and 1929.

Among schools for boys, the Roman Catholic missions reported a

COST PER PUPIL IN RUPEES IN MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS



decline in attendance ratio from 93.7 per cent. to 91 per cent., while the American and British-Continental schools improved their averages by 3 or 4 points.

TRAINING OF TEACHERS

For all the missions the per cent. of teachers with degrees was about 20 in 1929 and 16 in 1924, an increase of a fourth in 5 years. In 1924, the Roman Catholic girls' schools had only 4 per cent. of teachers with degrees, but the relative number increased to 10 per cent. by 1929.

The per cent. of trained teachers in 1929 was approximately the same for the various missions—about 82 per cent. In 1924, this percentage showed greater variations among the various types of mission schools and in general was about 7 points less.

SIZES OF CLASSES

The American missions have a smaller number of pupils per teacher than the other mission secondary schools. This is probably indicative of higher quality of instruction, as the smaller number of pupils per teacher permits greater attention to the individual needs of the student.

III

CONCLUSIONS

As will be seen in the tables that follow this study of Madras secondary schools, several important conclusions emerge. In the first place, missions are making a great and steadily increasing contribution to women's education. Virtually six of every ten girls attending secondary schools in the Madras Presidency go to mission institutions. Moreover, the number of mission girls' schools is increasing. Since only one girl is enrolled in a secondary school for every twelve boys it becomes clear that in this field missions are making an important contribution to the educational needs of the country.

There are far more mission boys' schools than are required to train the Christian students of the Madras Presidency. On the average only one of every three students in secondary mission schools for boys is a Christian. It may be desirable for mission institutions to train large numbers of Hindus and Mohammedans, but obviously the present school system is larger than is required solely to meet the needs of the Christian community.

The secondary schools conducted by Christian missions do not appear to be measurably superior to those operated by the Government, but the teacher-training schools of the missions seem to be somewhat better than those of the Government.

American mission schools present a sharp contrast to those of the Roman Catholics. American institutions cost more per pupil; they have comparatively large numbers of trained teachers and require larger contributions from mission treasuries. Presumably, Roman Catholics have adopted the policy of operating less elaborate schools.

MISSION SCHOOLS IN MADRAS

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MISSION AND GOVERNMENT TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS

TABLE I—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES, GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS, 1928-29

	Number of Schools	Cost per Student	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME			Total
			Government Funds	Tuition Fees	Other Sources	
MEN						
Government...	58	170	99.8	0.0	0.2	100.0
Mission.....	19	191	73.2	0.6	26.2	100.0
WOMEN						
Government...	29	259	99.9	0.1	0.0	100.0
Mission.....	20	285	56.7	0.9	42.4	100.0
MEN AND WOMEN						
Government...	87	182	99.8	0.0	0.2	100.0
Mission.....	39	225	65.7	0.7	33.6	100.0

TABLE II—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES, GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS, 1923-24

	Number of Schools	Cost per Student	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME			Total
			Government Funds	Tuition Fees	Other Sources	
MEN						
Government...	63	176	99.9	0.0	0.1	100.0
Mission.....	17	188	72.7	0.3	27.0	100.0
WOMEN						
Government...	16	285	99.9	0.0	0.1	100.0
Mission.....	15	238	68.4	0.4	31.2	100.0
MEN AND WOMEN						
Government...	79	188	99.9	0.0	0.1	100.0
Mission.....	32	204	71.1	0.4	28.5	100.0

TABLE III—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION, GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS, 1928-29

	Per Cent. Attendance	Number of Practice Pupils per Student	Ratio of Students to Teachers	Per Cent. Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. Christian Students	Ratio Passing Examinations to Student Body
MEN						
Government...	89.4	0.6	22.6	42.1	7.4	54.0
Mission.....	92.2	1.4	11.7	22.4	64.8	58.9
WOMEN						
Government...	93.2	4.0	6.8	26.3	45.4	42.6
Mission.....	96.2	3.0	7.8	16.3	94.2	73.9
MEN AND WOMEN						
Government...	89.9	1.1	17.3	36.8	12.4	52.6
Mission.....	93.6	2.0	9.9	19.6	75.4	64.2

TABLE IV—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION, GOVERNMENT AND MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS, 1923-24

	Per Cent. Attendance	Number of Practice Pupils per Student	Ratio of Students to Teachers	Per Cent. Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. Christian Students	Ratio Passing Examinations to Student Body
MEN						
Government...	89.1	0.6	17.1	35.4	7.3	75.6
Mission.....	92.6	1.5	13.7	15.4	68.7	40.7
WOMEN						
Government...	92.6	3.8	5.3	18.4	46.0	54.8
Mission.....	95.8	3.0	8.2	11.0	96.2	52.6
MEN AND WOMEN						
Government...	89.0	1.0	13.6	30.3	11.8	73.0
Mission.....	94.0	1.9	11.3	13.5	77.4	44.6

MISSION SCHOOLS IN MADRAS

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TABLE V—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION, MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS, 1928-29

	Number of Schools	Per Cent. Attend- ance	Ratio of Students to Teachers	Per Cent. Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. Christian Students
MEN					
American.....	6	92.2	12.6	19.1	75.6
British and Continental.....	9	89.8	10.2	24.3	54.8
Roman Catholic.....	2	96.8	15.4	16.6	78.0
WOMEN					
American.....	6	96.6	6.3	15.4	97.5
British and Continental.....	7	96.3	6.8	15.9	88.7
Roman Catholic.....	6	95.5	11.4	6.9	95.5
MEN AND WOMEN					
American.....	12	93.8	9.3	17.2	83.4
British and Continental.....	16	91.7	8.9	21.2	64.5
Roman Catholic.....	8	96.0	12.9	10.6	87.5

TABLE VI—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION, MISSION TEACHER TRAINING SCHOOLS
1923-24

	Number of Schools	Per Cent. Attend- ance	Ratio of Students to Teachers	Per Cent. Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. Christian Students
MEN					
American.....	5	90.9	11.9	15.2	77.0
British and Continental.....	8	91.8	15.8	16.3	61.1
Roman Catholic.....	2	97.8	9.9	14.3	97.8
WOMEN					
American.....	6	97.3	8.1	8.3	96.2
British and Continental.....	5	97.6	7.9	15.6	95.3
Roman Catholic.....	4	91.4	9.0	9.1	97.5
MEN AND WOMEN					
American.....	11	93.0	10.2	12.2	83.7
British and Continental.....	13	93.0	12.4	16.0	70.4
Roman Catholic.....	6	94.0	9.3	11.1	97.6

MISSION, GOVERNMENT AND COMMUNAL* SECONDARY SCHOOLS
 TABLE VII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
 MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA, 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
Government....	279	52.4	56.9	41.0	1.4	0.7	100.0
Mission.....	143	46.7	22.2	44.9	0.2	32.7	100.0
Communal....	175	46.1	15.4	58.0	2.7	23.9	100.0
Grand total..	597	48.7	34.5	47.7	1.5	16.3	100.0

TABLE VIII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
 MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA, 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
Government....	246	50.1	55.8	43.3	0.5	0.4	100.0
Mission.....	141	40.5	18.9	50.7	0.1	30.3	100.0
Communal....	168	40.2	12.6	66.0	2.0	19.4	100.0
Grand total..	555	43.6	30.9	53.2	0.9	15.0	100.0

TABLE IX—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
 MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS, 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
Government....	253	51.1	53.7	44.1	1.4	0.8	100.0
Mission.....	102	45.0	19.6	51.1	0.1	29.2	100.0
Communal....	173	46.0	15.4	58.3	2.7	23.6	100.0
Grand total..	528	47.8	32.3	50.8	1.6	15.3	100.0

* The term "communal" in these tables is used as a synonym for "nationalist" (*supra*) in charts and text.

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**TABLE X—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923-24**

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>Cost per Pupil in Rupees</i>	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				<i>Total</i>
			<i>Govt. and Local</i>	<i>Tuition Fees</i>	<i>Endow-ment Fund</i>	<i>Subscrip-tion and Other</i>	
Government....	225	48.5	51.6	47.5	0.4	0.5	100.0
Mission.....	102	38.8	16.2	58.4	0.1	25.3	100.0
Communal.....	167	40.1	12.6	66.3	2.0	19.1	100.0
Grand total..	494	42.5	28.3	57.3	0.9	13.5	100.0

**TABLE XI—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29**

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>Cost per Pupil in Rupees</i>	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				<i>Total</i>
			<i>Govt. and Local</i>	<i>Tuition Fees</i>	<i>Endow-ment Fund</i>	<i>Subscrip-tion and Other</i>	
Government....	26	67.0	86.0	13.1	0.9	0.0	100.0
Mission.....	41	54.5	31.6	21.9	0.7	45.8	100.0
Communal.....	2	69.9	24.2	21.9	0.0	53.9	100.0
Grand total..	69	59.7	54.6	18.2	0.7	26.5	100.0

**TABLE XII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24**

<i>Type of School</i>	<i>No. of Schools</i>	<i>Cost per Pupil in Rupees</i>	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				<i>Total</i>
			<i>Govt. and Local</i>	<i>Tuition Fees</i>	<i>Endow-ment Fund</i>	<i>Subscrip-tion and Other</i>	
Government....	21	70.3	91.0	8.3	0.6	0.1	100.0
Mission.....	39	49.1	29.8	19.8	0.0	50.4	100.0
Communal.....	1	58.1	25.2	13.7	0.0	61.1	100.0
Grand total..	61	56.6	55.8	14.8	0.3	29.1	100.0

TABLE XIII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
American Mission.....	24	52.1	23.6	32.0	0.7	43.7	100.0
British and Continental....	71	48.3	24.5	43.8	0.1	31.6	100.0
Roman Catholic.....	39	41.0	18.3	50.2	0.2	31.3	100.0
Union.....	9	49.3	17.5	62.2	0.0	20.3	100.0
Total mission.	143	46.7	22.2	44.9	0.2	32.7	100.0

TABLE XIV—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
American Mission.....	29	49.5	25.8	35.1	0.0	39.1	100.0
British and Continental....	73	42.1	20.0	50.0	0.0	30.0	100.0
Roman Catholic.....	31	32.8	12.8	59.4	0.2	27.6	100.0
Union.....	8	38.5	10.1	75.1	0.0	14.8	100.0
Total mission.	141	40.5	18.9	50.7	0.1	30.3	100.0

TABLE XV—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				Total
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	
American Mission.....	17	48.8	20.4	37.2	0.0	42.4	100.0
British and Continental....	53	45.8	22.1	49.7	0.0	28.2	100.0
Roman Catholic.....	24	40.0	15.3	58.8	0.3	25.6	100.0
Union.....	8	50.5	16.1	64.4	0.0	19.5	100.0
Total mission.	102	45.0	19.6	51.1	0.1	29.2	100.0

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TABLE XVI—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	Total
American Mission.....	22	46.3	24.2	40.7	0.0	35.1	100.0
British and Continental....	54	39.3	17.0	57.7	0.0	25.3	100.0
Roman Catholic	19	32.5	9.6	69.6	0.3	20.5	100.0
Union.....	7	39.0	8.6	78.3	0.1	13.0	100.0
Total mission.	102	38.8	16.2	58.4	0.1	25.3	100.0

TABLE XVII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	Total
American Mission.....	7	69.0	34.8	13.8	3.4	48.0	100.0
British and Continental....	18	61.9	34.1	20.1	0.3	45.5	100.0
Roman Catholic	15	44.1	26.7	26.8	0.0	46.5	100.0
Union.....	1	40.1	31.2	40.9	0.0	27.9	100.0
Total mission.	41	54.5	31.6	21.9	0.7	45.8	100.0

TABLE XVIII—INCOME AND EXPENDITURES OF FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Cost per Pupil in Rupees	PERCENTAGE OF INCOME				
			Govt. and Local	Tuition Fees	Endow-ment Fund	Subscrip-tion and Other	Total
American Mission.....	7	71.6	33.3	9.7	0.0	57.0	100.0
British and Continental....	19	58.5	32.6	17.4	0.0	50.0	100.0
Roman Catholic	12	33.6	22.7	28.0	0.0	49.3	100.0
Union.....	1	34.7	24.8	44.5	0.0	30.7	100.0
Total mission.	39	49.1	29.8	19.8	0.0	50.4	100.0

TABLE XIX—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes*	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes†	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	279	4.5	95.5	33.4	66.6	1.8
Mission.....	143	39.2	60.8	36.3	63.7	2.5
Communal.....	175	2.3	97.7	26.6	73.4	1.6
Grand total ..	597	12.6	87.4	31.7	68.3	1.9

* Lower classes refers to the first five classes.

† Higher classes refers to the six forms.

TABLE XX—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	246	3.7	96.3	36.7	63.3	1.5
Mission.....	141	36.9	63.1	40.7	59.3	2.7
Communal.....	168	2.2	97.8	31.1	68.9	1.1
Grand total ..	555	12.7	87.3	35.7	64.3	1.7

TABLE XXI—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	253	3.4	96.6	30.3	69.7	1.8
Mission.....	102	32.1	67.9	31.2	48.8	2.3
Communal.....	173	2.3	97.7	26.3	73.7	1.6
Grand total ..	528	9.5	90.5	29.0	71.0	1.9

TABLE XXII—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	225	1.5	98.5	33.7	66.3	1.4
Mission.....	102	30.2	69.8	36.2	63.8	2.3
Communal.....	167	2.1	97.9	30.9	69.1	1.1
Grand total ..	494	9.7	90.3	33.2	66.8	1.5

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TABLE XXIII—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	26	17.0	83.0	71.7	28.3	1.7
Mission.....	41	71.3	28.7	58.5	41.5	3.1
Communal.....	2	1.2	98.8	69.3	30.7	10.7
Grand total ..	69	49.0	51.0	63.8	36.2	2.8

TABLE XXIV—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS,
MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
Government....	21	15.7	84.3	72.7	27.3	2.5
Mission.....	39	71.2	28.8	63.7	36.3	4.9
Communal.....	1	5.0	95.0	86.4	13.6	2.5
Grand total ..	61	50.8	49.2	67.2	32.8	4.0

TABLE XXV—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY
SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	24	46.1	53.9	32.0	68.0	4.4
British and Continental....	71	32.6	67.4	35.1	64.9	2.7
Roman Catholic.....	39	51.6	48.4	42.3	57.7	0.8
Union.....	9	15.3	84.7	26.9	73.1	4.1
Total mission.	143	39.2	60.8	36.3	63.7	2.5

TABLE XXVI—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	29	44.1	55.9	38.5	61.5	6.3
British and Continental....	73	29.9	70.1	38.5	61.5	2.0
Roman Catholic	31	51.6	48.4	46.5	53.5	1.2
Union.....	8	13.5	86.5	38.2	61.8	5.5
Total mission.	141	36.9	63.1	40.7	59.3	2.7

TABLE XXVII—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	17	37.2	62.8	30.8	69.2	5.0
British and Continental....	53	25.0	75.0	30.9	69.1	2.6
Roman Catholic	24	47.1	52.9	34.7	65.3	0.0
Union.....	8	11.9	88.1	23.8	76.2	3.8
Total mission.	102	32.1	67.9	31.2	68.8	2.3

TABLE XXVIII—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	22	37.0	63.0	37.0	63.0	6.7
British and Continental....	54	22.4	77.6	34.8	65.2	1.5
Roman Catholic	19	47.9	53.1	39.0	61.0	0.7
Union.....	7	10.0	90.0	35.0	65.0	3.5
Total mission.	102	30.2	69.8	36.2	63.8	2.3

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TABLE XXIX—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	7	90.7	9.3	39.1	60.9	1.4
British and Continental....	18	74.3	25.7	58.5	41.5	3.2
Roman Catholic	15	65.1	34.9	65.2	34.8	3.2
Union.....	1	41.6	58.4	51.8	48.2	6.2
Total mission.	41	71.3	28.7	58.5	41.5	3.1

TABLE XXX—CLASSIFICATION OF PUPILS IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Christian	Per Cent. Non-Christian	Per Cent. of Pupils in Lower Classes	Per Cent. of Pupils in Higher Classes	Per Cent. Coeducation
American Mission.....	7	94.2	5.8	49.7	50.3	3.8
British and Continental....	19	74.7	25.3	61.2	38.8	5.2
Roman Catholic	12	63.5	36.5	70.6	29.4	2.8
Union.....	1	43.3	56.7	65.0	35.0	22.8
Total mission.	39	71.2	28.8	63.7	36.3	4.9

TABLE XXXI—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	279	90.0	17.4	23.4	82.6
Mission.....	143	89.1	19.4	19.7	81.8
Communal.....	175	90.5	19.6	22.7	78.1
Grand total.....	597	90.0	18.6	22.2	80.9

TABLE XXXII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	246	89.6	16.6	19.0	76.9
Mission.....	141	88.4	20.0	15.5	74.2
Communal.....	168	90.9	19.6	17.8	72.3
Grand total.....	555	89.8	18.6	17.6	74.5

TABLE XXXIII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	253	90.3	17.4	24.0	82.4
Mission.....	102	88.7	20.6	21.1	79.9
Communal.....	173	90.6	19.7	22.8	78.2
Grand total.....	528	90.0	18.5	22.9	80.3

TABLE XXXIV—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	225	90.4	17.0	19.4	76.6
Mission.....	102	88.5	21.0	16.5	72.7
Communal.....	167	91.0	19.7	17.8	72.2
Grand total.....	494	90.1	19.0	18.1	74.0

TABLE XXXV—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	26	85.6	17.3	16.5	85.4
Mission.....	41	91.1	15.4	14.8	87.9
Communal.....	2	81.0	10.7	13.9	69.4
Grand total.....	69	88.7	15.8	15.3	86.3

TABLE XXXVI—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN THREE SYSTEMS OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
Government.....	21	80.0	13.5	14.2	79.9
Mission.....	39	88.2	16.1	11.5	80.0
Communal.....	1	76.8	15.1	12.5	87.5
Grand total.....	61	85.2	15.0	12.6	80.1

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TABLE XXXVII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1928–29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	24	89.2	18.1	19.7	81.3
British and Continental.....	71	90.6	19.0	19.6	82.5
Roman Catholic....	39	91.1	20.6	18.5	81.5
Union.....	9	69.3	19.8	24.9	78.8
Total mission....	143	89.1	19.4	19.7	81.8

TABLE XXXVIII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—1923–24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	29	86.2	17.1	15.6	73.5
British and Continental.....	73	86.7	19.5	15.2	73.7
Roman Catholic....	31	92.3	22.6	15.3	76.8
Union.....	8	90.6	22.2	17.9	69.8
Total mission....	141	88.4	20.0	15.5	74.2

TABLE XXXIX—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1928–29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	17	88.4	19.8	19.9	79.8
British and Continental.....	53	90.8	20.3	20.2	81.1
Roman Catholic....	24	91.0	21.9	21.9	78.1
Union.....	8	66.4	20.1	27.1	78.5
Total mission....	102	88.7	20.6	21.1	79.9

TABLE XL—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—BOYS 1923–24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	22	84.9	18.4	15.6	73.5
British and Continental.....	54	86.8	20.8	15.4	72.3
Roman Catholic....	19	93.7	23.2	19.2	72.2
Union.....	7	90.1	22.5	18.2	69.2
Total mission....	102	88.5	21.0	16.5	72.7

TABLE XLII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1928-29

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	7	93.5	12.6	19.4	86.0
British and Continental.....	18	89.8	14.3	17.3	87.7
Roman Catholic....	15	91.5	17.6	10.2	89.8
Union.....	1	91.7	17.8	9.5	81.0
Total mission....	41	91.1	15.4	14.8	87.9

TABLE XLIII—EVALUATION OF INSTRUCTION IN FOUR TYPES OF MISSION SECONDARY SCHOOLS, MADRAS PRESIDENCY, INDIA—GIRLS 1923-24

Type of School	No. of Schools	Per Cent. Attendance.	No. of Pupils per Teacher	Per Cent. of Teachers with Degrees	Per Cent. of Trained Teachers
American Mission..	7	95.0	11.2	15.9	73.9
British and Continental.....	19	86.0	14.4	14.3	79.4
Roman Catholic....	12	87.7	21.1	4.0	85.2
Union.....	1	95.0	19.8	15.8	73.7
Total mission....	39	88.2	16.1	11.5	80.0

MEDICAL WORK IN INDIA

by

FRED J. WAMPLER, M. D.

INTRODUCTION

THIS brief report is a study made of medical and public health work in India with special reference to a group of mission hospitals during the fall, winter and spring of 1930-1931. More than one hundred and thirty hospitals, sanatoria, asylums, medical schools and colleges, health departments and health centers were visited in person and written reports were secured from many more hospitals and most of the medical schools and colleges. About three hundred interviews were held with missionaries, medical and public health officials, nationals and others.

Questionnaires were sent to mission hospitals. Doctors W. G. Lennox, Edward H. Hume, E. M. Dodd, J. G. Vaughan, W. W. Peter, Mark Ward, and B. C. Oliver aided in preparing these forms.

The writer is greatly indebted to the Surgeon General of the Medical Service and the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and their subordinates throughout India and Burma for every consideration and assistance during the study, to the medical missionaries for willing coöperation, to Dr. B. C. Oliver, Secretary of the Christian Medical Association of India, for advice and much time given during the field work, and to Doctors W. M. Firor and Edward H. Hume for helpful criticism as the manuscript neared completion.

BACKGROUND

India's rainfall is largely limited to special seasons of the year. At these times it is difficult to reach the villages with medical service since the rains are usually heavy and the roads often flooded. After the rains, owing to a large increase in the number of places for mosquito breeding, malaria is much more prevalent.

In some of the drier sections, which have been irrigated in recent years, special health problems have appeared because of the change in food, habits, and surroundings of the people.¹

The location and diverse climate of India mean that it has most of the diseases commonly known as tropical diseases, and also practically all those of temperate climates. Plague and cholera had death-tolls in British India in the decade 1915-24 totalling 2,375,857 and 3,187,885 respec-

¹ Mr. H. G. Jackson, interview Nov. 18, 1930.

tively.² The Punjab with a population of 20,685,024 some years ago had more than 100,000 deaths from cholera in one week.³ Fevers caused the largest number of deaths for India as a whole in the decade referred to, there being 50,327,407 deaths under the heading "fever." Malaria was the biggest single factor.

Besides the other fevers commonly known as fevers in the West, much tuberculosis and some of the anemias get classed in with fevers in India. Dysenteries and diarrheas claimed 2,382,298 victims.⁴ While the Provincial Health Departments of India push vaccination against smallpox, there is still considerable smallpox in the Empire and the total number of deaths from this cause for 1927 was 118,197; for 1928, 96,123. Kala-azar is confined mainly to Assam Province, Bengal and Madras Presidencies, and has had a very high mortality until recently. At present, owing to very efficient remedies, this disease is on the decrease.

Leprosy is more widespread than was formerly thought. One village recently surveyed by one of Dr. Muir's survey groups reported 1.6 per cent. infection. This included only the men. Had the women been examined and checked, the figure would likely have run to more than 2 per cent. Dr. Muir estimates that there are between 500,000 and 1,000,000 lepers in India.⁵ The total very likely approaches the higher figure.

Intestinal parasites are very prevalent in many parts of the country. Some places report 80 per cent. hookworm infestation, and ascaris is very common in some sections. Influenza is prevalent and in the pandemic of 1918 more than 7,000,000 deaths were reported from this cause alone.⁶ In the Government classification 3,230,963 deaths were reported from respiratory diseases from 1915 to 1924.⁷ Tuberculosis is much more prevalent than was formerly thought. Because many people have not had proper medical care and much of the medical service is of rather a low type, tuberculosis has not always been distinguished from other diseases. Sir Leonard Rogers⁸ states in a recent publication that "the post-mortem examinations in the Medical College Hospital, Calcutta, show a higher mortality in Calcutta from tuberculosis than from any of the so-called tropical diseases." The infection rate in Madras has also been estimated as very high. Cancer is also present; syphilis and gonorrhcea have very high figures, though the latter two seem not to be so severe in India as they are in other parts of the world.

SOME SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF HOSPITALS

In India many of the hospitals need no heating equipment, since there is no cold weather in the central and southern parts of the country. On

² *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 6.

³ Statement Maj.-Gen. Forster, interview Jan. 16, 1931.

⁴ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 6.

⁵ Dr. E. Muir, interview Feb. 20, 1931.

⁶ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 7.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*

⁸ *Loc. cit.*

the other hand, practically every hospital has times when it needs electric fans or some cooling arrangement.

Moslems will not eat Hindu food; and Hindus will not eat Mohammedian food or food prepared by a lower-caste Hindu. This means that the food for patients in Hindu hospitals must be prepared by either a higher-caste Hindu or by one of the same caste. The kitchen for preparing this food must also be reserved for the caste. This is one of the arguments for allowing relatives to stay in the hospital with patients. The large variety in castes among Hindu patients means that a number of kitchens must be provided, and that at least one relative or friend must be accommodated in the hospital along with the sick.

Mohammedan women and the higher-caste Hindu women, especially in North India, refuse to be treated by men doctors except for the most trivial complaints. They also insist that the hospital to which they go shall have only women attendants. General hospitals with special wards for women are not considered secluded enough by these classes.

The social standards of the Indians, which are suggested by the purdah system, mean that women nurses cannot usually nurse men patients. These moral conditions also prevent many women from taking up nursing in general hospitals. The lack of education among the women also makes for difficulty in getting suitable women to train for nursing work. All this reacts against the women's hospitals as well as the general hospitals.

I

MEDICAL RELIEF

GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

The Government of India developed a hospital and dispensary service, in the first place, to take care of government officials, employees and their families. This system was expanded until now the Government carries on a large hospital and dispensary program for general diseases. The hospitals and dispensaries are located throughout the whole of India, most of them being situated in the large cities, the district headquarters cities, and smaller cities of the Empire.

Staff: The Government hospitals are staffed by officers of the Indian Medical Service and the Provincial Medical Services. The staff members are classed as civil surgeons, assistant civil surgeons, and sub-assistant civil surgeons. A good proportion of the civil surgeons are Europeans, but the number of Indians in this class is constantly increasing. There are a number of Europeans in the assistant civil surgeon class but here the Anglo-Indians and Indians predominate. In the sub-assistant civil surgeon class there are a few Anglo-Indians but mostly Indians. The writer did not succeed in getting the total number in these different classes for all India.

Many of the mission and private hospitals, with their beds, in-patients, and out-patients, are included in the figures of the four following tables.

NUMBER OF MEDICAL INSTITUTIONS AND BEDS PER 100,000 OF POPULATION IN VARIOUS PROVINCES

Province	Institutions	Beds
Bombay.....	3.5	37.8
Bengal.....	2.5	12.9
Central Provinces.....	2.4	14.5
Madras.....	2.7	22.2
United Provinces.....	1.2	14.2
Punjab.....	5.0	37.6
Assam.....	3.3	14.3
Northwest Frontier Province.....	4.3	48.7

POPULATION OF PROVINCES IN 1931, WITH NUMBER OF DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS FOR EACH PROVINCE AND NUMBER OF BEDS FOR 1928

Population 1931	Provinces	Dispensaries and Hospitals	BEDS		
			Male	Female	Total
21,102,126	Bombay.....	668	4,497	2,820	7,317
49,997,376	Bengal.....	1,156	3,934	2,079	6,013
15,472,628	Central Provinces.....	340	1,270	750	2,020
46,731,850	Madras.....	1,128	5,309	4,081	9,390
48,423,264	United Provinces.....	563			6,439
23,580,520	Punjab.....	1,026	4,316	3,467	7,783
8,784,943	Assam.....	252	781	303	1,084
37,590,356	Bihar and Orissa.....	673	2,577	1,322	3,899
2,423,380	Northwest Frontier.....	97	708	388	1,096
254,106,443		5,903	23,392	15,210	45,041
<i>Indian States</i>					
2,442,924	Baroda State.....	91			
5,090,462	Travancore.....	82			
6,554,573	Mysore.....	215			
268,194,402		6,291			

NUMBER OF IN-PATIENTS, MALE, FEMALE AND CHILDREN, IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES DURING YEAR 1928

Province	IN-PATIENTS			
	Male	Female	Children	Total
Bombay.....	61,399	36,243	9,450	107,992
Bengal.....	60,034	26,139	7,630	93,803
Central Provinces.....	19,352	9,254	3,775	32,381
Madras.....	103,464	70,520	13,738	187,722
United Provinces.....	60,762	34,450	9,884	105,096
Punjab.....	89,688	62,951	20,663	173,302
Assam.....	10,451	2,381	754	13,586
Bihar and Orissa.....	40,393	16,453	5,856	62,702
Northwest Frontier.....	14,167	4,523	2,364	21,054
	459,710	262,914	74,114	796,738

NUMBER OF OUT-PATIENTS, MALE, FEMALE AND CHILDREN, IN GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES IN DIFFERENT PROVINCES DURING YEAR 1928

Province	OUT-PATIENTS			
	Male	Female	Children	Total
Bombay.....	1,707,709	824,036	1,277,517	3,809,262
Bengal.....	3,616,282	1,098,547	1,434,133	6,148,962
Central Provinces.....	1,302,971	427,215	831,699	2,561,885
Madras.....	5,701,580	2,729,033	3,234,627	11,665,240
United Provinces.....	3,026,630	1,149,074	1,694,438	5,870,142
Punjab.....	4,657,381	2,402,726	3,557,031	10,617,138
Assam.....	1,094,593	283,909	345,821	1,723,823
Bihar and Orissa.....	2,984,799	987,724	1,423,252	5,395,775
Northwest Frontier.....	666,981	181,792	298,204	1,146,977
	24,758,926	10,084,056	14,096,222	48,939,204

Only those mission and private hospitals, which, for one reason or another, do not report to the Government are left out. The figures, therefore, include a very large per cent. of the hospitals and dispensaries found in the provinces of British India. Hospitals, however, run by municipalities are not included in these figures. How few hospital beds there really are is shown by comparing for India and the United States the relative number of general hospital beds and of beds for mental cases.

BEDS FOR MENTAL AND GENERAL PATIENTS
PER MILLION INHABITANTS
INDIA* AND UNITED STATES

Beds for Mental Patients per Million Population



Beds for General Patients[†] per Million Population



*Provinces having hospitals for mental patients.

†Does not include tuberculosis and special hospital beds.

The medical staffing of the Government hospitals is now quite largely Indian. The more important positions are generally held by Europeans; but even this is changing so that a number of the higher positions are held by Indians. It is a question whether Indianization in the Indian and Provincial Medical Services has not taken place too rapidly for their good.

The Government hospitals generally have a sufficient staff of trained

physicians and surgeons to take care of patients applying for relief. A district headquarters hospital will usually have a civil surgeon, an assistant civil surgeon, and two or three sub-assistant civil surgeons; and often there will be several internes in addition.

Funds: There is a fairly liberal financial allowance to Government hospitals, which makes possible equipment and special medicines and drugs thought necessary for the proper care of the patients. The full staff is also due to this same condition, namely, funds sufficient to pay the members of the staff considerably more than many of them would make in private practice.

Free Medical Care: Government hospitals can treat patients free, which enables a number of people to go to the hospital when sick, who otherwise could not go.

MISSION HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

A questionnaire was sent to nearly all mission hospitals and dispensaries in India and Burma. A total of eighty-three replies were received. Nine reported that the hospital or dispensary was closed, or that their doctor was home on furlough, or that they hadn't time to fill out the questionnaire, or, running only a dispensary, the questionnaire was not very practical for them. A number of those replying gave only a few facts and, consequently, could not be entered in the tabulation. No hospital answered all the questions. This fact accounts for the various numbers given for hospitals reporting on one or other of the items.

Mission hospitals parallel the work of Government hospitals, but there is little overlapping. In Madras City, for instance, there are two mission hospitals for women. They and the Government hospitals for women are full to overflowing. There are, however, many fields that have no hospitals at all, while others, like Madras City, are comparatively well supplied.

Distribution: The distribution of the mission hospitals by provinces is interesting. Bengal, with the largest population (46.6 millions), has only 9 mission hospitals. The United Provinces, with a population very nearly as large (45.3 millions), have 14; Madras, with 42.3 millions, has 39 hospitals. For Bihar and Orissa's 34 millions, there are 10. Bombay and the Punjab, each with approximately 20 millions, have 22 and 21 hospitals respectively. The Central Provinces, less than half as large but with about the same population as Burma, have 9. Among the States, Hyderabad, with 12.4 millions, has 9; Mysore, with 5.9 millions, has 5.

Unoccupied or poorly occupied fields are thus suggested. Most of these are in the Indian States. In Central India there are 26 small states, with a total population of 4,533,305, in which there are no medical missionaries (in fact there is no mission work at all in 18 or more of these). In the two Bengal States of Cooch

Behar and Tripura with 900,000 between them there are none. Similarly in Orissa there are 26 Feudatory States unoccupied by medical missions; in Rajputana 19, in the Central Provinces 15, in the Punjab 17, in Bombay 9, in Baluchistan 7, in Madras 4, in the United Provinces 3. The grand total of population for all these is about 30,000,000. Nepal is not included. Perhaps quite as numerous and with even larger populations are certain districts in British India devoid of medical missions. It has been estimated that there are at least 100 million people in India who are without medical relief of an approved sort.¹

Concentration versus Distribution, and Staff: In the *Prayer Cycle of the Christian Medical Association of India*, published in August, 1930, there are listed 193 mission hospitals. From this, with the aid of Table No. 2 under Appendix A in *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, it was possible to work out a reasonably accurate classification of all but seventeen of these hospitals. There are seventy-eight general hospitals or hospitals for men, ninety-eight hospitals for women and children, with seventeen unclassified. This is a larger list of mission hospitals than given in the Table referred to above but the Survey Committee of the Christian Medical Association of India did not designate any institution with fewer than ten beds as a hospital. Some of the mission institutions with fewer than ten beds class themselves as hospitals. This probably accounts for the difference in numbers.

Few mission hospitals, if any, have been placed where they are not needed; but some missions have built more hospitals than they can either finance or man adequately. There are many mission hospital buildings without a foreign doctor and some without any doctor at all. There are many with only one foreign doctor, some with one or two Indian assistants, and some with none. Other hospitals have two or three foreign doctors assigned to them, besides several Indian assistants.

Of the coöperating boards, the Methodist Woman's Board generally has hospitals with only one foreign doctor and one assistant. Several Methodist hospitals are being run successfully with Indian men and women physicians in charge. The Baptist Telugu Mission has two hospitals with two foreign doctors each and one or more Indians assisting. There are two smaller hospitals of that mission which were not visited by the writer. Of the four hospitals of the American Board two are manned by two Western physicians and two Indian assistants each; one by three American physicians and three Indian assistants; and one by an American physician and an Indian assistant. The Presbyterian hospitals have one or two physicians for each hospital, excepting Miraj, which has several. The Arcot Mission hospitals have one and two American doctors, respectively, with Indian assistants. The United Presbyterian Mission has one hospital with two American doctors and three with only one

¹ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, pp. 18-19.

each. This mission has recently gone on record as favoring the closing of all its hospitals that cannot have two American doctors each.

Many of the medical missionaries feel that there should be at least two foreign doctors for each mission hospital. In addition there should be two or three Indian associates. If, as a number of the doctors believe, the mission hospital should be a model for the Government hospitals and general practitioners in the smaller cities and towns, it would seem that a hospital with at least two foreign doctors and several good Indian associates is desirable. The American Board hospital at Wai with three well-trained American physicians, has three Indian assistants, one of whom is a college-grade man. This institution endeavors to help its community by inspiring all local agencies for medical relief, as well as by caring for its own patients.

Seventy-one hospitals replying to the questionnaire sent out reported a total of 127 foreign physicians. There were 114 Indian graduates in fifty-nine hospitals. Fifty-five hospitals reporting on laboratory and X-ray technicians gave twenty-five. There were 112 pharmacists reported in sixty-seven hospitals, and a matron in 52 per cent. of the hospitals. Seventy hospitals reported 101 foreign nurses, and sixty-six reported 218 Indian graduate nurses. Forty-seven of the hospitals reported nurses training schools.

Hospital Buildings: Mission hospitals are generally well built. Forty-six reported burned brick construction, sixteen stone, seven cement, seven mud brick, and four wood. Several of these overlap because some of the hospitals have two types of construction. As to the style of architecture, eleven hospitals report native, thirty-two modified native, and twenty foreign designs. Thirty-one of the hospitals report the original cost of buildings and additions as Rs.5,125,029. The estimated present value of these buildings is Rs.5,357,829.

Sanitation: Thirty-eight of the hospitals reported flush toilets, thirty-two of which were using septic tanks. There were thirty-two hospitals using latrines with removable receptacles, and eight using dry-earth closets. This is one of the difficult problems all hospitals in India have. Forty hospitals had surface wells as their source of water supply, eleven had artesian wells, and eleven used river water. Thirty-two of the hospitals had running water throughout their buildings, fifteen had it in certain parts of the hospital, and ten reported no running water.

Screening: In a land where there are so many disease-carrying insects as there are in India, one would expect the hospitals to be screened as a protection to their patients. Less than 9 per cent. of the hospitals are fully screened. Forty-three per cent. had no screening whatever, while 49 per cent. reported partial screening of the patients' rooms. Approximately 23 per cent. had their kitchens and latrines screened, and 77 per cent. reported that these were not screened.

Heating and Lighting: Only ten of the hospitals used any method for

heat, while fourteen of them had special cooling arrangements. Electricity and kerosene, or a combination of these two, were the only methods reported for lighting.

Bathing of Patients: Sixty-two per cent. of the hospitals bathe all patients on admission and 29 per cent. bathe some of them. Sixty per cent. report all patients bathed regularly and 28 per cent. bathe some of their patients regularly.

Bedding: Seventy-three per cent. of the hospitals provide bedding for all their patients and 19 per cent. of the others supply most of the patients with bedding.

Ward Clothing: Fifty per cent. of the hospitals replying supply all the ward patients with clean clothing, 23 per cent. supply most, and 21 per cent. supply some of the patients with clothing.

Ninety-two per cent. of the hospitals allow a friend to live in the wards with the patient, either always or occasionally. The friends of the patients usually prepare the food but, in certain cases, the hospital staff controls this.

Equipment: Mission hospitals are generally equipped with iron beds, sometimes with springs, but more often with broad cotton tape. Practically all of the hospitals, however, have times when they put patients on the floor because most hospitals in India have more patients than beds. Fifty-six hospitals report a total of 5,007 beds. The cost of equipment for twenty-three hospitals was Rs.577,560, and the estimated present value of this equipment is Rs.579,900.

The question whether or not the hospital had an X-ray outfit was not asked; but eight reported taking X-ray pictures. From *A Survey of Medical Missions in India* and this study it is evident that there are at least eleven X-rays in mission hospitals in India, not including Burma. Some mission hospitals have X-ray work done in neighboring hospitals. Eighty-eight per cent. had pressure sterilizers, and 73 per cent. had an adequate supply of surgical instruments. Ninety-seven per cent. had a good microscope, with a good oil immersion lens, and 90 per cent. had a blood pressure apparatus. Only 21 per cent. had a bacteriological incubator. In India as a whole, mission hospitals average better in equipment than do the Government hospitals.

Patients Treated: In the year under review (1930), sixty-one hospitals treated 538,502 new out-patients and fifty-seven hospitals did a total of 1,424,379 treatments in their out-patient departments. Sixty-seven hospitals had 80,562 in-patients during the year. Sixty-three hospitals reported 18,857 major operations, while there were 39,655 minor operations in sixty-six hospitals. Ten hospitals report 57 autopsies. Most of these autopsies were performed in three hospitals. Thirty-eight hospitals conducted 95 outlying dispensaries. The total number of treatments in these was not given. Thirty-nine hospitals report 16,882 visits outside the hospitals in the homes.

Finances: Thirty-two hospitals of the non-coöperating boards giving the receipts and expenditures for the last fiscal year, named receipts of Rs.935,192. This same group of hospitals recorded for the same year receipts from the home boards of Rs.156,764 and other foreign gifts of Rs.57,471, making a total of Rs.214,235, or 22.9 per cent. of total income.

Twenty-two hospitals of the six boards, which gave their finances so that they could be properly studied, reported receipts of Rs.646,343. They received from the home boards Rs.201,587, and other foreign gifts of Rs.41,838, which makes a total of Rs.243,425, or 37.66 per cent. of total income. These receipts do not generally include the home boards' contributions toward the salaries of the foreign staffs. It will thus be seen that the hospitals of the coöperating boards are using approximately 15 per cent. more foreign funds than the hospitals of other boards. The total foreign receipts for all the hospitals reporting was Rs.457,660, or 28.93 per cent. of total income.

Some hospitals list gifts from the West under "local receipts." Others have beds endowed by friends in England or America, and these are generally reported as either "local receipts" or "other foreign gifts." In case these could be known and added, the percentage of foreign money would be somewhat higher.

Apparently there has been a very substantial advance toward self-support in mission hospitals within the last few years. The survey of mission hospitals conducted by the Committee on Survey, Efficiency and Coöperation of the Christian Medical Association of India, had returns on finances from 152 hospitals which reported a total income of Rs.2,344,768 for one year. Of this amount local receipts provided Rs.1,453,761. This is about 62 per cent. of the total income, leaving 38 per cent. to come from foreign sources. This present survey gives a smaller group of hospitals, but shows an increase of approximately 9 per cent. in the local gifts.

Self-Support: Most of the missionaries agree that urging self-support on mission hospitals is not desirable. The burden of raising most or all of the funds on the field when put upon the hospital staff, is likely to interfere with the scientific efficiency and activities of the missionary. If a policy of rigid self-support were adopted many poor people desperately in need of medical service would be turned away.

One of the arguments in favor of the mission hospital is that it treats the poor and depressed classes with such consideration. Catering to the rich or to the people who can pay, tends to limit the field of service of the hospital by compelling the doctors to admit the cases and to specialize in the types of medical relief, such as surgery, that bring in larger financial returns. By having this constant worry and burden upon the medical staff, just that much less time can be devoted to the scientific work that these doctors should do.

This also requires the doctor to spend time in visits to the homes of

patients, which takes an undue amount of his time and also gets him in trouble with the local practitioners in the neighborhood, because they say the mission hospital is running in competition with them for private practice. The hospital thus generates a spirit of antagonism between itself and the men with whom it should keep on the best of terms if it is to render its biggest service in the community.

Use and Abuse of Foreign Money: Some of the hospitals referred to are self-supporting, receiving no funds from Europe or America except the salaries of the foreign personnel. This means that some are using a much higher percentage of foreign funds than the average, in some cases as high as 66 to 75 per cent. The writer would not say that there is an actual abuse of foreign funds, but many patients are admitted to some hospitals free when they could and should pay at least small fees.

This same condition holds for the out-patient departments. Not only is medical service given free, but medicines are likewise free. In many hospitals the church-members are admitted to the hospital, and out-patient department services are provided, at a lower rate of pay than is allowed to the non-Christian community. In some cases church-members are admitted entirely free to rooms for which non-members pay very well. These church-members generally demand much more attention than the average patient, and are likely to be more severe in criticisms of the hospital. Some of the mission doctors are agreed that this practice is wrong; others resent it, but have not been able to discard it.

Control: The control of mission hospitals varies greatly. Some of the churches have a medical committee for the entire mission. To this committee the superintendent of the hospital is responsible; but, as a rule, only in a very general way. Usually the senior medical man or woman in the hospital is the "big chief" and runs the medical work much as he or she determines.

In replying to the questionnaire on boards of directors, the report was generally, "We have none," or, "There is no such thing." There is generally a committee on medical work either in the local mission field or conference or presbytery. Some individual hospitals have committees. Most of these organizations come under three heads: committees of doctors and nursing sisters, generally made up of the foreign doctors and nurses in the station or the foreign doctors and nurses in the mission; committees of all the fully qualified medical and nursing staffs of the mission, Indian as well as foreign; and mixed committees of medical and non-medical members, sometimes including and sometimes not including Indian members. Some of the missions have no medical committee. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a conference committee composed of missionaries and a minority of Indians. Medical missionaries or nurses cannot be members of this committee unless they are ordained. This organization has not proved very satisfactory to some of the doctors.

It is very evident that the Indians have not generally been taken in

on the management of mission hospitals. Where they are included on committees, their position is often only advisory. The Kinnaird Hospital in Lucknow had a committee of nine Indians to advise with the regular hospital organization. This committee gradually lost interest, and at present is defunct.

Hospital Records: Forty-seven out of fifty-nine hospitals report that they keep case records, including history and examination, on all inpatients. Twenty-six report the same for out-patients. In the hospitals visited, the writer did not find as high a percentage with satisfactory records for the in-patients; and detailed records on the out-patients were so seldom kept as to be the exception.

There are some places, however, where excellent records are kept. The Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram is one of these exceptions. The records kept there are full and in detail; and an excellent piece of investigation could be made by going in there and working up any phase of the disease or treatment.

One place that affords an excellent contrast to the average lack of good records in the out-patient departments is the Jumna Dispensaries at Allahabad. Here careful records are kept and filed in a convenient way so that in a short time a person can get from the records a series of one, two, or three hundred cases of a certain disease and find the symptoms, the progress under treatment, and so forth.

Some of the hospitals have fairly good records, but most of the records would be entirely inadequate and unsatisfactory for use in a scientific paper. One of the reasons for this is the same as for some of the other difficulties in mission hospitals, and that is the lack of sufficient staff.

Laboratory Work: Practically all hospitals reported doing urinalyses, and a large majority reported doing fecal analyses and blood smears. A smaller number, but still a good majority, did white and red blood counts. Where numbers were given, the figures were as follows:

	Hospitals Reported	
32		56,177 Urinalyses
24	"	14,984 Fecal Examinations
24	"	9,761 Blood Smears
21	"	3,715 White Blood Counts
22	"	3,561 Red Blood Counts
12 (24)*	"	4,224 Wassermann or Kahn Tests
5 (11)	"	2,586 Fluoroscopic Examinations
8 (16)	"	1,963 X-ray Examinations
4 (7)	"	125 Cystoscopic Examinations
6	"	261 Tissue Pathology
2 (3)	"	196 Bacteriological Cultures
3 (12)	"	27 Widal Tests

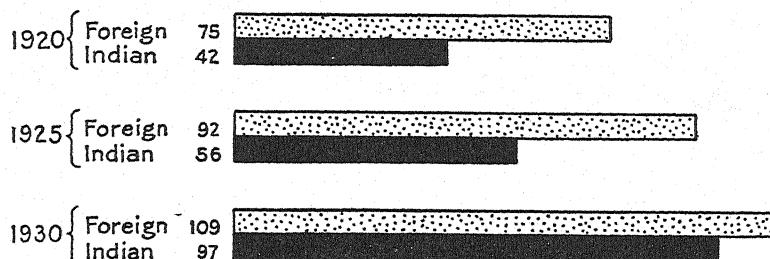
* The figures in parentheses represent the total number of hospitals that reported doing these examinations. Some reported without giving numbers.

Figures for laboratory work for the hospitals reporting show a rather large number of laboratory tests of certain types. From the numbers that are given, one would imagine that in many cases no definite records have been kept, and that figures quoted were just estimates. One hospital re-

porting a large number of urinalyses said that the nurses did 3,000 while the laboratory technician did only 397. Most of the hospitals do not have laboratory assistants and, since the staff is so busy with other things, not much laboratory work gets done. On the other hand, some of the hospitals emphasize laboratory work and are really doing excellent work in this line. Much more could be done with the present hospital staffs; but before all the hospitals can do good work in the laboratory, more laboratory technicians must be employed.

A few hospitals are training their own laboratory assistants; but these do only the simpler tests. There are two places where laboratory technicians are being trained. One of these is the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram and the other is the Jumna Dispensaries at Allahabad. Each of these can train only a few technicians at one time, consequently the numbers being trained are, after all, inadequate. This is rather better, however, than a few years ago when none was being trained, except

FOREIGN AND INDIAN DOCTORS IN 64 MISSION HOSPITALS



where here and there a doctor trained one of his assistants to do some of this work.

Indianization of Staff: A study of the increase in foreign and Indian personnel showed that in the mission hospitals that replied to the questionnaire on this subject the number of American and European doctors increased between 1920 and 1930 more than 45 per cent. and the number of Indian graduates increased about 131 per cent. While this increase in Indian personnel looks very satisfactory, it is practically all made up of graduates of only a medical-school course that trains men for sub-assistant surgeon work.

The criticism coming from the Indian medical assistants, heard very generally throughout South India but less frequently in North India, was that they were not given proper status nor the experience that trained them to carry responsibility. In many cases the salary was also said to be very inadequate.

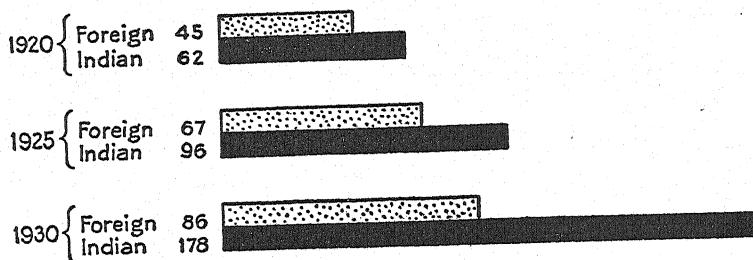
The medical missionaries generally agree that there is much room for improvement; but say that the Indians, men and women, cannot carry

responsibility and generally are not qualified for increased status, for two reasons: first, because they have generally come from the depressed classes within a few generations and are still burdened with an inferiority complex which keeps them from assuming responsibility and from having the courage necessary to carry through difficult tasks; and, second, because they have not been trained to do the higher grade of medical work.

Non-medical missionaries, with whom the writer talked on this subject, were inclined to agree with the Indian assistants; and a number said the mission medical service was far behind the other mission services in the process of Indianization. It is certainly very far behind the Government service in this respect.

Training of the Indian Medical Personnel: Thirty-four of the Indian doctors in mission hospitals were trained in Ludhiana; twenty-four in

FOREIGN AND INDIAN GRADUATE NURSES IN 58 MISSION HOSPITALS



Vellore; thirty-one in Miraj; two in the London Mission Medical School, now closed; four in Lahore; two in Calcutta; three in Madras; one in India and England; and ten in India unclassified. One hospital with twelve sub-assistant surgeons reported its men trained in Miraj and Madras. These cannot be assigned; but the majority were graduated from Miraj.

It will thus be seen that certainly ninety-one, and probably about a hundred of the 123 Indian medical assistants in mission hospitals, have been trained in the mission medical schools—the first four mentioned above. This is a compliment to the mission medical school; but it is not a compliment to the hospitals when one thinks that these mission medical schools train only assistants of the Licentiate grade. Most of the other twenty-three would be from this grade of medical school. Of the 123, only six are definitely known to be full college-grade men with M.D. or M.B., B.S., or equivalent degrees. The writer knows of at least three Indian medical men of college grade who are serving in mission hospitals that did not return the questionnaire. It can be seen, however, from these

reporting, that the majority of the Indian staff of the mission hospitals have had only a low grade of medical training.

Nursing Staff: The nursing work in the mission hospitals for women is generally very well done, and there is usually a reasonably full staff of nurses. In the general hospitals the women's side is taken care of very well; but there is not so full a staff of nurses on the men's side. There are some exceptions to this, however. In the hospitals that replied so that the ten-year period, 1920 to 1930, could be compared, the trend in nursing in the last ten years is shown by there being a 91 per cent. increase in the American and European nurses and a 187 per cent. increase in the Indian graduate nurses. At present there are more than twice as many Indian graduate nurses in the mission hospitals as there are foreign nurses.

Coöperation and Coördination: There is some coöperation between mission medical work and other branches of mission activity. School children and missionaries are in some cases given health examinations. The Christians in the community usually get a bigger share of attention than non-Christians. Mission hospitals are usually located where other mission work is carried on; but often the hospital works with a very different group from that with which the church and school are working. In fact, the three departments are sometimes working among entirely separate groups, with very little coöordination. There is very little co-operation among hospitals. Great relief might result at times if one hospital were to help out a neighbor. The Christian Medical Association of India affords one form of medical inter-mission coöperation. This is discussed more fully at another place.

Popularity of Mission Hospitals: Generally speaking, the mission hospitals are more popular in a community than are the Government hospitals. This is true not only with the poor, but also with the wealthier and higher-caste groups. Many prominent Hindus and Mohammedans with whom the writer talked were strong in their praise of medical missions. One of the arguments given is that to get service in the mission hospital little or no bribery is necessary. Better nursing care is another point for which the mission hospitals are deservedly popular.

In hospitals for women, the missions have done an outstanding work. Purdah women insist on being treated by women physicians and nurses; they also object to male help about the hospital or wards. The men of purdah families will leave their women in a women's mission hospital, confident they will be protected and the purdah regulations respected.

Medical missionaries are usually assigned to a place for a long term of service, even life tenure; and this means they get acquainted with the people in the neighborhood and their reputations become established. Thus, too, the medical missionary will take a greater interest in his plant, because it is more intimately his.

Criticisms of Mission Hospitals: The criticisms here made by the writer are based on the data gathered as interpreted by generally accepted hos-

pital standards. In the present mission hospitals there is a marked shortage of doctors and nurses. Not only is the foreign personnel too low, but the Indian personnel on these staffs is not only insufficient, but generally inadequately trained.

The medical missionary, in addition to his hospital and medical work, sometimes has many other responsibilities. Some doctors have charge of the school and evangelistic work at a station in addition to the medical plant.

Lack of finances is also a drawback to mission hospitals, most of which are running considerably under the budget held to be requisite for hospitals of their size. Many of them could increase their budgets by catering to a different class of patients; but it is a question whether the churches at home that support them would wish them to do this with consequent losses in other respects.

The lack of laboratory equipment and of laboratory work should be emphasized here. One wonders how men that are trained scientifically are willing to do diagnosis and treatment work without employing much more often the microscope, bacteriological cultures, chemistry, blood chemistry, etc. There is evidence that there has been considerable improvement in this line the last few years.

Too many of the hospitals are admitting patients free who could pay for at least a part of their services, and that the church-members in certain cases are admitted free or get hospital services at a considerably lower rate than non-Christians of the same financial standing.

Sanitation of many of the hospitals needs to be improved; and there should be a big increase in the amount of screening. Even if, in general, screening is too impracticable because of the heat, certainly all the rooms for patients with diseases that are transferred by insects should be thoroughly screened.

The lack of research and the lack of a preventive program are discussed in other parts of the report.

THE MEDICAL MISSIONARY

There is a great difference in medical missionaries. A number of them represent the very best products of Western medical institutions. Some of these men and women are doing their best by means of medical literature and post-graduate study to keep up with all the latest advances in medicine and surgery. By the large practice they have in certain diseases, they come to be very adept and develop into strong personalities.

There are others who do not do so well from the scientific point of view. A number of them take only one, and some of them do not take any, professional journal. This same type is very likely to do no post-graduate work when on furlough.

The medical missionary is likely to be an individualist. He has often started and developed work single-handed, and seen that work grow to

large proportions. The individualism thus generated does not work well with others. There are some outstanding examples both within the ranks of the coöperating missions and in those of other missions.

This individualism accounts for some of the one-man and one-woman hospitals, and for some hospitals that now have no doctor in charge. Some missionary physicians are so individualistic that they cannot build up a staff of qualified medical help. A doctor with a big, self-supporting medical work cannot be considered successful when a staff is not being trained to take over the work in his absence.

SPECIAL HOSPITALS

Mental: In British India in 1928 there were sixteen mental hospitals distributed as is shown in the following table. These are all supported and run by Government and are under the direct control of the provincial and administrative officers. The number of beds in these hospitals is not given; but the daily average strength would about represent the number of beds, and this is small in proportion to the 251,683,063 population in the provinces for which these hospitals are supposed to care.

Bengal, the province with the largest population in India, has no mental hospital within its borders; but has two-thirds of the beds and supplies two-thirds of the running expenses for the one in Bihar and Orissa.

According to the 1921 Census, there was a total population for all India and Burma of 318,942,480; and in this population were recorded 88,305 insane persons, making the proportion of insane to sane of three per 10,000. This does not include the feeble-minded nor, probably, the lighter forms of insanity. In most cases the mental hospitals are so crowded that only the violent are admitted, and those who would be a danger to the community or have suicidal tendencies. Only here and there one finds someone in India who takes any interest in the problem of the mental patient.

There is another mental hospital in India, but it is for Europeans and is controlled by a board of trustees. This hospital is located at Ranchi in Bihar and Orissa and is under the charge of probably the best alienist in India, Lt. Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill.

The Indian States that are known to have mental hospitals are Baroda, Cochin, Gwalior, Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore.

So far, Christian missions have entered this field only in prospect. The Christian Medical Association of India has a committee on this subject, and there is now a rough plan for a mental hospital for each of the language-areas in India. With the shortage of funds, however, there seems little prospect for the accomplishment of this program in the near future. In South India the plans are pretty well worked out for a mental hospital under Christian auspices in Madras.

Tuberculosis: The Madras Government has a tuberculosis hospital with seventy beds. Bihar and Orissa have a small one at Itki which has

NUMBER OF MENTAL HOSPITALS, TOTAL POPULATION OF THESE INSTITUTIONS, AND NUMBER DISCHARGED CURED, AND DIED DURING YEAR 1928

Provinces	No. of Mental Hospitals	Admitted and Re-admitted During Year	TOTAL HOSPITAL POPULATION		
			Males	Females	Total
Assam.....	1	61	401	97	498
Bihar and Orissa.....	1	111	1,246	259	1,505
United Provinces.....	3	484	1,339	381	1,720
Punjab.....	1	400	1,053	271	1,324
Central Provinces.....	1	73	379	103	482
Bombay Presidency.....	6	724	1,702	596	2,298
Madras Presidency.....	3	440	1,216	379	1,595
Total.....	16	2,293	7,336	2,086	9,422

Provinces	Discharged Cured	Died	Daily Average	Daily Average Sick	Criminal Patients
Assam.....	16	40	438.13	60.38	245
Bihar and Orissa.....	125	46	1,332.41	68.67	658
United Provinces.....	193	109	1,306.8	112.20	88
Punjab.....	119	101	949.84	80.54	222
Central Provinces.....	20	29	411.76	28.98	131
Bombay Presidency.....	289	153	1,657.7	89.4	189
Madras Presidency.....	159	83	1,198.68	192.84	195
Total.....	921	561	7,295.32	633.01	1,728

fifty-two beds. There are four special tuberculosis hospitals in Bombay City with a total bed capacity of ninety-four, which are owned by the provincial or municipal governments. The governments of some of the provinces make appropriations toward a number of privately owned and mission institutions; but, so far as the writer could learn, the above are the only sanatorium beds in British India that are fully controlled by the Government.

The governments of the Indian States of Mysore and Gwalior have one small tuberculosis sanatorium each.

There are a number of private sanatoria. King Edward VII Sanatorium at Bhowali in the United Provinces has ninety beds. There is another institution at Kasauli near the Simla Hills with fifty beds. Bombay Presidency has five private sanatoria with a total bed capacity of more than 180. There are several other less important private sanatoria, some of which are philanthropic and some run for profit.

The largest, best, and most widely known sanatorium in India is the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram in South India. It is about 150 miles from Madras, situated in a beautiful spot 2,500 feet above sea-level, surrounded by hills, and in a good climate. Fourteen missions coöperate in running the institution.

Last year (1930) the total cost to these missions was Rs.7,000 or Rs.500 each. This included the salary of the foreign staff. The entire

budget was Rs.124,000. This institution is a model and is visited by provincial government officials and officials from the Indian States who are interested in tuberculosis. The treatment and the care of the patients here would rank with the best to be had in the United States. In 1930 the sanatorium had 197 beds.

Another union sanatorium located at Almora in the Himalayas has forty-one beds. Still another in the Punjab near Kasauli, also in the Himalayas, has about thirty beds. The Wanless Mission Sanatorium at Miraj is a union institution opened only in 1931. At present it has twelve beds. The Methodist Episcopal Church conducts two sanatoria, both in Rajputana State; one for women, of 105 beds, and one for men, of thirty-three beds. The Disciples of Christ conduct a sanatorium of fifty-five beds in the Central Provinces at Pendra Road. The American Presbyterian Mission has a twenty-bed sanatorium connected with St. Luke's Hospital, at Vengurla, Bombay Presidency. A sanatorium of twenty-six beds is located in Rajahmundry District, Madras. A mission hospital in Bangalore City has recently converted its hospital into a tuberculosis hospital of eighty beds.

It will be seen that missions have more beds for tuberculosis than the provincial Governments, municipalities, and other private institutions combined.

Leprosy: The leprosy problem in India is being attacked by four major groups—the Government, the Mission to Lepers, the Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association, and the missions. The work of these interweave and there is a good degree of coöperation. There are in different parts of the country some committees that work locally, usually in coöperation with one or the other of the four groups just mentioned. The Mission to Lepers supplies the superintendent for one Government institution and does religious work in others. The Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association supplies workers for survey to the Provincial and Native States Governments, and makes appropriations for leprosy relief to the provincial councils. The Government makes appropriations to hospitals run by the Mission to Lepers and mission hospitals for lepers. The last two named coöperate very closely.

The Mission to Lepers and the missions have led in leprosy work from the beginning; and at present have the largest hospitals and are doing some of the best leprosy work in India. At the end of 1929, the Mission to Lepers had under its management thirty-five leper homes and aided an additional sixteen. These homes have not all been converted into hospitals with dispensaries attached; but a number of them have been, and the others are doing some hospital and dispensary work. Three of those visited still had from one-third to one-half their beds taken up by older and burnt-out cases, for whom there was no hope of improvement. The rest of the cases in these institutions were getting treatment accord-

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ing to the latest methods. Generally the managers of these institutions and, often, the doctors in charge are supplied by the mission working in the city where the home is located.

The numbers of hospitals by provinces under direct control of, or assisted by, the Mission to Lepers, and the numbers under Government or other agency in 1929 are shown in the following table:

Province	MISSION TO LEOPERS		GOVERNMENT OR OTHER AGENCY	
	Hospital or Asylum	No. of Inmates	Hospital	Clinic
Assam	1	121	2	
Bengal	3	384	1	
Bihar and Orissa	6	1,572	2	
Bombay	8	782	6	
Central India Agency	1	12	3	
Central Provinces	8	1,642		5
Hyderabad	1	439		3
Madras	8	1,054	1	6
Mysore			1	
Northwest Frontier				
Punjab	6	731	1	
Travancore	2	113		
United Provinces	7	851	3	

It will thus be seen that the Mission to Lepers and missions are considerably in front in hospital and asylum work for lepers. The writer could not ascertain the number of beds in the different Government hospitals. The Mission to Lepers' asylums and hospitals also have clinics in which they treat outdoor patients.

The Indian Council of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association was started in January, 1925, and its object is to rid the Indian Empire of leprosy. It does not consider segregation the best means of stamping out leprosy. It carries on research, trains or assists in training doctors so they will know leprosy and know how to treat it. It pushes propaganda through the distribution of literature and with lantern slides and poster lectures, and pushes surveys in an effort to determine the endemicity and incidence of the disease. The writer was impressed with the highly efficient work of this organization which now ranks with the most effective forces against leprosy in the Indian Empire.

Some of the provincial governments are beginning to do leprosy work through surveys and dispensaries for treatments. Some of the Government hospitals have special skin clinics and the predominating disease treated in these is generally leprosy.

The incidence of the disease is much greater than the Census figures indicate. In some places in Bengal the incidence has run as high as 5.5 per cent. In one district the percentage for the entire district was 1.3. The percentage of villages affected in surveyed areas of Bihar and Orissa

was 61.3. Expert survey Census figures run from four to six times higher than the Government Census. The Census figures of 1921 give the total number of lepers in India and Burma as 102,513. This is much too low. Dr. E. Muir, M.D., F.R.C.S., as already noted, estimates the number at somewhere between 500,000 and 1,000,000.

Criticism: Some of the mission and Mission to Lepers hospitals are being run on a strictly up-to-date scientific basis. Patients that are beyond help by treatment and that are not infectious to the community are not kept in the hospital, their places are taken by early cases in which there is hope for a cure.

EVANGELISM IN MISSION HOSPITALS

Some medical missionaries and many other missionaries consider medical work as an adjunct to evangelism. If this is the task of medical missions, their day in India is passing. If, on the other hand, the purpose is to heal the sick, prevent diseases that can be prevented, and help the people of the community to be healthier and happier, then there is still great need for Christian medical work. If the spirit of mercy, expressed in the act of the Good Samaritan and the many healing ministries of Christ, is essentially a part of the Christian spirit, then medical work in its broader aspects will be found everywhere the Christian Church is active.

Along with the mission hospital questionnaire mentioned, was sent a questionnaire on the evangelistic aspects of the medical work. To this questionnaire doctors and nurses replied. The paragraphs immediately following give a brief résumé of these returns.

All medical missionaries are interested in the religious side of their work; but there is a wide divergence of opinion as to the best methods of reaching the people with the Christian message. The largest number of doctors placed the Christian spirit of the professional and nursing staffs as first in importance, and good medical care of the patient was voted second in importance, in reaching the patient with the Christian message. Actual preaching services in the hospital were given fifth place. Some few of the medical missionaries regard it as unethical for a doctor to try to convert a man to his religion while the man is sick and when the physician has an undue advantage and influence over the patient.

Large numbers of the medical missionaries are agreed with the basic statement of the Christian Medical Association of India, which is as follows:

It is our conviction that the ministry of healing is an essential part of the work of the Christian Church, whose mission it is to represent God as revealed in Jesus Christ. We observe that Christ's own testimony concerning His mission was that He came to do the will of the One Who sent Him and to finish His work. We must believe that the ministry of healing for the body is an

expression of the attitude and mind of God toward man, and has its source in the compassion and love of God. It is our conviction that the Christian should concern himself with the care of the sick, apart from whether others are carrying on the work or not. From this conviction it becomes our duty to develop Christian medical work as part of the essential work of the church in India, and to consider how this may best be done.

The recognition of the ministry of healing as an essential part of the work of God through the church, which is the body of Christ, involves the thought that the service thus rendered is a natural and vital expression of the spirit of Christ, and can best be engaged in by men and women imbued with the spirit of Christ, Who served men for the love of them, and Who, as evidence of his Messiahship, drew attention to the work he was doing—"The blind receive their sight, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached unto them."

Members of the Christian Medical Association of India had much to do with the passage at the Jerusalem Conference of the following, which is from Vol. VI, Chapter 10, of the report of the Conference:

The one inclusive purpose of the missionary enterprise is to present Jesus Christ to men and women the world over as their Redeemer, and to win them for entrance into the joy of His discipleship. In this endeavor we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indivisibly rooted in all his conditions—physical, mental, and social. We are, therefore, desirous that the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships.

A number of medical missionaries will argue that ministry to the sick is itself a spiritual service and is an end within itself. These same people believe in talking to their patients about Christianity, but will first be interested in giving them the best of scientific care. This idea has not by any means gripped all of the medical missionaries; and there are still many who are willing to work with inferior equipment and spend time in educational and evangelistic work that might be spent on better medical care of their patients.

One of Mr. Gandhi's criticisms of medical missions is that they are used as a bait to get people to preach to; and that often the service is done with an ulterior motive, the desire to care for the body or the life being far less than the desire to convert the patient to the Christian religion. He says that one has no right to correct the feeding of an infant and save its life and then use this as an entering wedge to preach to and convert the child's mother to Christianity; that one has no right to am-

putate the gangrenous leg or arm of a boy and save his life, and then try to convert him to Christianity.

II

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN INDIA

WESTERN PRACTICE

There are two types of regular medical practitioners in India, the fully qualified doctor with an M.D. or the M.B., B.S. degree, and the Licentiate. The latter receives a training of four years in the medical sciences, based upon a preliminary education about equivalent to the American high-school course. The training of the former is much like that given in the approved colleges in Europe and the United States. In this class are many American and European physicians.

The Government Medical Service: The Indian Medical Service is a military service with a large war reserve in civil employ. Just before the war 475, or 62 per cent., of the men were in civil employ. In times past the professional standard of the Indian Medical Service was very high.¹ For several reasons the service is not at present attracting the same high-grade personnel that it once did; but it still has an excellent reputation. The men of this service in civil employ serve India through the hospitals, medical colleges and schools, and in mental hospitals, jails, etc.

The Women's Medical Service: This service is composed of women working in Government medical service in India. There are forty-four officers in this service and six to eight in training reserve.² These women staff the one Government medical college, the two medical schools for women, and the twenty-eight hospitals for women that are under the service. Just about half the women in this service are Indian or Anglo-Indian. In addition to these officers, a number of assistant and sub-assistant surgeons are assisting them in the work.

Other Government Medical Services: Each provincial Government has a medical service that supplies assistant surgeons and sub-assistant surgeons for the hospitals and dispensaries in its territory.

Private Practitioners: There are many private practitioners scattered throughout India. These men represent both types of physicians spoken of in the opening paragraph.

Medical Missionaries: In the *Prayer Cycle* published by the Christian Medical Association of India, dated August, 1930, there is a list of foreign doctors in service in the mission hospitals in India. From this list it would seem there are about 373 foreign medical men and women assigned to India. Some of these are home on furlough and some few are retired.

¹ Sir Patrick Hehir, *The Medical Profession in India*, pp. 37, 42.

² *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 12.

From the records it is impossible to determine the sex of thirty of these; but of the remainder, 133 are men and 210 are women. About this same number of Indian sub-assistant surgeons are working in these hospitals.

Distribution of the Physicians: The number of doctors per 100,000 in the Provinces in the 1921 Census are distributed as follows:³

Bombay.....	21	(1 to 4,761)
Bengal.....	11.8	
Punjab.....	11	
Assam.....	6.5	
Madras.....	5.6	(1 to 17,857)
Bihar and Orissa.....	4.9	
United Provinces.....	3.3	
Central Provinces.....	2.8	(1 to 35,714)

It will thus be seen that Bombay Presidency has the highest percentage of doctors to the population, or one to every 4,761. In Central Provinces there is only one to every 35,714.

In India, even more than in America, the qualified medical practitioners are concentrated in the cities and larger towns. Everything that tends to cause such concentration in America is present, and operating more intensively, in India; and in addition there is the extreme poverty of the rural people which makes it impossible in most cases for a doctor to make a satisfactory living in village practice.

There are registered in Bombay Presidency, 3,703 physicians who now reside somewhere in that province. Of these, 1,256, or more than one-third, are located within Bombay City. A majority of the others are in cities like Poona, Sholapur, Ahmedabad, Karachi, etc. In Bengal Presidency, with a population in 1931 of 49,997,376, there are 5,988 registered physicians. Of these, 1,727 are in Calcutta and suburbs, where in 1921 there was a population of almost 1½ millions. Colonel Bradfield, formerly surgeon in the General Hospital, Madras, gives this for Madras:

There are today 629 doctors practising in Madras towns and roughly one doctor for every 840 people, a higher proportion than in the British Isles, where there is one doctor to 920. Other towns show large numbers of doctors and these figures take no account of the many practitioners of other systems of medicine.⁴

INDIGENOUS SYSTEMS

Sir Patrick Hehir⁵ says that one-third of the indigenous population in India is being treated by the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. According to the report of the health officer at Madras, more people attended the Ayurvedic dispensaries in that city than all the Government, mission, and other agency dispensaries practicing Western medicine, combined.

³ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ *The Medical Profession in India*, p. 96.

The basis for the Ayurvedic or Hindu system of medicine is found in the Ayurveda, or Vedas, dealing with medicine. These sacred books are believed to have been communicated from Brahma through several stages to a learned sage named Bharadwaja. This spiritual or inspired origin of Ayurvedic medicine should be kept in mind when one is thinking of the problems Western medicine must overcome before it can lay claim to having won first place in India.

The Unani, Tibbi, or Græco-Arabic system is that most popular in the Moslem sections of India. Its practitioners are known as hakims.

With the coming of Nationalism, there has been a great revival in interest in these two systems. The schools for both of these are now adding anatomy, pathology, physiology and pharmacology to the subjects taught; which shows, even though these subjects are perhaps taught in a very elementary and unsatisfactory way, that there is some attempt at reform. A number of the municipalities, as well as some of the native states, support dispensaries of one or the other of these systems of medicine.

A number of articles appeared in the newspapers in India during the winter season of 1930-31 urging that more attention be paid to developing these two systems, and that they be given wider Government recognition. Mr. Gandhi gives as one of his reasons for opposing the advance of Western medicine in India the fact that it retards the progress of the indigenous systems. Many will now urge that Indians should patronize one of these systems as a patriotic duty. It is argued that they are Indian and indigenous in contrast to scientific medicine which is Western and from outside.

There is no general medical practice act for India, and anyone who wishes to do so can practice medicine; but only registered practitioners can sign certificates of birth and of death. Because of the two systems mentioned, and of this lack of a practice act, many people who have no special qualifications practice medicine. Some of the men practice a mixture of Western and indigenous medicine; but many of them are little better than quacks.

THE CHRISTIAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION OF INDIA

The Christian Medical Association of India is the organization of the Christian medical forces in that country. It has 391 members and holds biennial meetings. The association publishes a bi-monthly medical journal. This association is the medical committee of the National Christian Council, and the secretary-treasurer of the association is one of the secretaries of the National Christian Council.

The organization has several important committees. One of these is the Committee on Survey, Efficiency and Coöperation, which recently made a survey of mission hospitals in India. Another is a committee on tuberculosis, which has been of much help in pushing anti-tuberculo-

sis work in India. In the committee's program for advance against this disease, they urge that there should be a union mission tuberculosis sanatorium in every province. There are now two union mission sanatoria which are, at least partly, a result of this committee's work—one at Kasauli, near Simla, in the Punjab; the other near Miraj, in Bombay Presidency. There is a committee on preventive medicine, which is not yet working at full steam ahead. A committee on a medical college for men was appointed at the meeting at Allahabad in 1928, and at the meeting in 1930 this committee was enlarged and made into a committee on medical education.

III

PREVENTIVE MEDICINE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

Vital statistics in India are only fairly accurate; but when one considers that such a large percentage of the people are rural, and that almost universal illiteracy prevails in the rural districts, it is surprising that the statistics are as accurate as they are. Where there are no trained medical practitioners to make out death certificates, the cause of death cannot be depended upon as accurate in many of the cases, and the classification must be grouped under large headings rather than in detail.

Birth-rates: The total number of births in British India for 1928 was 8,882,573, giving a birth-rate of 36.78 per 1,000 population. In 1927 the rate was 35.27, as against 34.64 for the previous five-year mean.

Death-rates: The number of deaths in British India for the year 1928 was 6,180,114. The death-rate was 25.59 per 1,000 population, as against the previous five-year mean of 25.97. The urban death-rate was 30.06, as compared with the rural death-rate of 25.15.

DEATH-RATES IN INDIA FOR 1927-28 COMPARED WITH FIVE-YEAR MEANS IN SEVERAL OTHER COUNTRIES

New Zealand	average rate for 1921-25.....	8.1
Netherlands	" " " "	9.4
Australia	" " " "	9.4
England and Wales	" " " "	10.9
United States	" " " "	11.7
France	" " " "	14.2
India	" " " 1927	24.89
India	" " " 1928	25.59

A graph comparing India's death-rate with that of Burma and some of these other countries can be seen in the *Medical Report on Burma*.¹

Infant Mortality: Of the total mortality during the year, 25 per cent. occurred in children under one year. The corresponding figure for England and Wales the same year was 9.3. There were 172.94 deaths per 1,000 births for 1928. The infant deaths for England and Wales for the

¹This Volume.

same period were sixty-five. The infant death-rate in cities is higher than in rural areas. This may be due to crowding in the cities and greater exposure to communicable diseases, but better reporting of deaths in the cities will account in part for the excess.

DEATH-RATES FOR FIRST YEAR OF LIFE IN INDIA FOR YEARS 1927-28
AND AVERAGE FIVE-YEAR MEAN FOR CERTAIN OTHER COUNTRIES

New Zealand	average rate for 1921-25.....	43.
Australia	" " " "	58.
Netherlands	" " " "	64.
United States	" " " "	72.
England and Wales	" " " "	76.
France	" " " "	95.
India	" " " 1927	166.93
India	" " " 1928	172.94

The chart comparing infant mortality in India with that in Burma and some of the above countries can be seen in the *Medical Report on Burma*.²

Factors That Make for High Death-rates: The principal factors in high infant death-rates are ignorance, poverty, superstition, and religion.

Ignorance in India is proverbial. Late figures, including Burma, give the literacy rates for men at 13.9 per cent., and for women as 2.1 per cent.³ With such a low literacy rate among women, there would be little chance to reach the mothers through infant welfare literature.

Poverty is another factor. With India low down in the economic scale, many of the people do not have enough to eat. In many cases where mother's milk is not available, it would be impossible to pay for a suitable milk supply, were one obtainable. The mother is often forced to work long hours away from home, and this is harmful to the infant. Crowded quarters in the extreme heat contribute no little toward the infant death-rate.

Syphilis is very common and must be producing some of the infant deaths. There are no reliable statistics on the frequency of syphilis in the general population, but from some studies that have been made in the different parts of India, it must be very prevalent.

Religion influences the mother, who, because of caste and other factors, believes that in the next birth the child may be born into a much better station. Such a mother might not only do little to save the life, but might even welcome the death of her child as an escape from a low, bitter estate into a much better one. The tendency to accept whatever happens as coming from the gods causes less effort to be put forth to save the life of a child.

Early marriage is a lesser factor in the high rate of infant mortality. These same factors act to a certain degree on the regular death-rate

² This Volume.

³ *Village Schools in India*, p. 52. Figures from the 1921 Census, for India alone, give 10.7 for men and 1.45 for women.

and, in addition, many tropical diseases and tuberculosis help to make the rate high. Malaria is almost universal in some parts of India and complicates other diseases in many cases. It slays its thousands. Cholera and plague still take all too many lives.

Lt. Col. A. D. Stewart, in the *Indian Medical Year*, 1927, says:

The real wonders and possibilities of human life on this earth are not yet realized by the masses in India; human life is held too cheap, produced too thoughtlessly, and lost too lightly.

BIRTH CONTROL

In a country like India where the population so nearly reaches the maximum that can be meagerly supported by the land, one wonders about the advisability of trying to save more of the child life. Some form of birth control would seem to be advisable to make the intervals between childbearing longer for the overworked and underfed mothers. There is much sentiment against this, however, among the medical missionaries, the Indian Christians, and the Hindus. The Mohammedans are not so adverse to it.

At present there is much birth-control literature in English to be had at the railway bookstalls and in the bookstalls in the Indian bazaars. The writer understands that there is also considerable literature in the native dialects on this subject. Marie Stopes' books are much in evidence and generally recommend, as do most of the others, some apparatus which those needing it most would find both too expensive and too difficult to use.

Contraceptives: Some investigation of the sale of contraceptives was made in Calcutta. All the people found selling these devices were agreed that there was a great increase in the sale of contraceptives during the last three years. From the information obtained, it would appear their use is not reaching to any noticeable extent the problem of overpopulation. Most of those selling these articles think that they are used largely for immoral purposes.

THE HEALTH OF THE INDIAN CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The death-rate for the Indian Christian community is consistently lower than that for other Indian communities. The corrected rates per thousand for 1928 for the three communities in Madras Presidency were as follows: Mohammedans 24.64; Hindus 26.39, and Christians 22.99. It will thus be seen that the Indian Christian death-rate was 1.65 per thousand lower than the Mohammedan rate, and 3.4 lower than the Hindu rate.

When one considers that the Indian Christians have been largely recruited from the depressed classes, this showing is all the more remarkable. Could you take out of the Hindu figures the depressed-class mor-

tality-rate and compare this with that of the Christian group, the contrast would be much more striking than it is. This would be a fair comparison, since only a generation or two back the same Christian community was largely in the depressed-class group.

INFANT MORTALITY IN MADRAS CITY FOR YEAR 1929

<i>Race or Caste</i>	<i>Infant Mortality per 1,000 Births Registered</i>
Europeans.....	20.8
Anglo-Indians.....	127.0
Indian Christians.....	186.8
Hindus.....	261.8
Moslems.....	275.3

INFANT MORTALITY IN BOMBAY CITY IN 1929

<i>Race or Caste</i>	<i>Infant Mortality per 1,000 Births Registered</i>
Hindus, low caste.....	324.3
Hindus, all other castes.....	311.8
Moslems (including Negro Africans).....	312.1
Parsis.....	94.4
Jews.....	150.3
Indian Christians.....	288.1
Anglo-Indians.....	150.0
Europeans.....	84.9
Buddhists.....	222.2

The infant mortality-rate is considerably lower with the Christian group than with the other community groups.

PREVENTABLE DISEASES

A glance at the list of diseases given in the introductory paragraphs, at the infant mortality and the high maternal mortality, will convince the most skeptical of the need of a strong preventive program. In a land where preventable diseases have been estimated as high as 80 per cent. of the total, one wonders why the Government and voluntary agencies have been so slow in really pushing this subject. A quotation from a resolution that was passed in identical terms at the all-India conferences of Medical Research Workers held in 1924 and in 1926, gives a good idea of the physical and mental suffering and the economic loss due to preventable diseases.

This Conference believes that the average number of deaths resulting every year from preventable diseases is about five to six millions, that the average number of days lost to labour by each person in India from preventable disease is not less than a fortnight to three weeks in each year, that the percentage loss of effi-

ciency of the average person in India from preventable malnutrition and disease is not less than twenty per cent., and that the percentage of infants born in India who reach a wage-earning age is about fifty, whereas it is quite possible to raise this percentage to eighty or ninety. The Conference believes that these estimates are under-statements rather than exaggerations, but, allowing for the greatest possible margin of error, it is absolutely certain that the wastage of life and efficiency which results from preventable disease costs India several hundreds of crores each year. Added to this is the great suffering which affects many millions of people every year.

This Conference believes that it is possible to prevent a great proportion of this waste at a cost which is small in comparison with the expenditure.

The Conference believes that the greatest cause of poverty and financial stringency is loss of efficiency resulting from preventable disease, and, therefore, considers that lack of funds, far from being a reason for postponing the enquiry, is a strong reason for immediate investigation of the question.

GOVERNMENT PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

The attitude of the Government is that public health principles must not be unduly forced upon the people, especially where religious practices are involved. Research and investigation are being pressed, and health propaganda is used, to create sentiment and open the road for future expansion in public-health measures. There is already some awakening in urban areas; but the rural areas are in deep night on this subject.

Public health is a transferred subject; that is, the details of administration rest with the local governments. The central Government has power to intervene only in the framing of all-India legislation in respect to contagious and infectious diseases.

The provincial health departments work with varying degrees of enthusiasm, depending upon the director, the state of the provincial finances, and the principal diseases. Madras is pushing health propaganda, rural sanitation in the Madura area, anti-leprosy work, and dispensaries, surveys, etc. Bengal has excellent health literature for distribution and is doing something toward the sanitation of water supplies; but has been hindered in some important advances because of the failure of the legislative council to appropriate the necessary funds. Bombay is working on a scheme for training and supervising midwives for the rural areas. The Punjab is assisting in the opening of health centers and the training of native midwives, has a good school for health visitors, and is extending its staff to cover more and more of the province.

All the provinces are pushing as far as they can the increase of the personnel for the rural areas. Madras has just recently appointed a

woman physician as one of the four assistant directors of public health. She will be in direct charge of the infant, maternity, and midwife section. The United Provinces have a woman assistant director of public health.

The Punjab, the United Provinces, and the Central Provinces have schools for health visitors. There are four other health schools in India, located in Delhi, Calcutta, Madras and Poona; but these are largely supported by private or voluntary agencies.

Practically all the provinces supply material for anti-plague and anti-cholera inoculations and staffs that give the inoculations in endemic areas and at epidemic times. There are in all the provinces public vaccinators who vaccinate against smallpox. These men make the rounds of their districts twice a year, vaccinating new cases and re-vaccinating certain old ones.

The municipalities are farther advanced because public sentiment in them is more favorable. Madras, especially, is pushing the health centers and maternity work so that in 1929 roughly 50 per cent. of the births were looked after by trained midwives who are under the supervision of the women doctors who head the health centers. Bombay and Calcutta are pushing this work to a less extent.

SEMI-OFFICIAL AND VOLUNTARY AGENCIES

The Indian Research Fund Association is a semi-official organization for the "promotion and assistance of research, the propagation of knowledge and experimental measures generally in connection with the causation, mode of spread and prevention of disease primarily of a communicable nature."⁴

The following diseases and subjects were under investigation in 1927-28: kala-azar, malaria, plague, cholera, helminthology, leprosy, nutritional diseases, tuberculosis, sprue, indigenous drugs, drug addiction, filariasis, maternal morbidity and mortality, bacteriophage, diabetes, and a number of other subjects.

The Indian Red Cross Society has 96 per cent. of its members Indian. Each province has a branch, and the branches are subdivided into districts. The activities of the society are child welfare and health education. It has the best selection of health literature in India. It is doing excellent work through its Junior Red Cross and has more than twice as many members in the Junior section as it has in the adult.

St. John's Ambulance Association (Indian Council) is a teaching body whose main purpose is to teach men and women first-aid, home-nursing, hygiene, and sanitation.

The Countess of Dufferin Fund does work for women by providing female medical tuition, female medical relief, and midwives for hospital and private work.

⁴ Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, p. 485.

The Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund has for its object the training of *dais* in the duties of midwifery.

Lady Chelmsford All-India League for maternity and welfare is now merged with the Red Cross.

The Coöperative Anti-Malarial Society of Bengal is a purely voluntary organization with more than 2,000 branch societies throughout Bengal. It is doing an excellent piece of work.

The Seva Sadan Society of Poona carries on educational, medical, and cultural work throughout India. It has a few maternity hospitals and dispensaries, as well as some health centers. The training school for health visitors at Poona is maintained by this society.

There are a number of other voluntary organizations doing work in limited fields.

MISSION HOSPITALS AND PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

Medical missionaries have been kept so busy trying to patch up broken-down and deformed people that they have neglected to do their share in preventing disease. Here and there, however, there are exceptions—the work of Dr. Louise Hart at Madanapalle, for instance, out of which grew the tuberculosis sanatorium at Arogyavaram.

Two examples of the lack of preventive effort must suffice. One hospital visited had between October 1 and Christmas, 1930, more than 1,000 patients in the out-patient clinics on each of twenty different days. In the early 1900's this same hospital's dispensary was occasionally running at a rate of more than 1,000 cases a day. Here you have a period of more than twenty-five years in which the same old grind has been run through, with six men prescribing for the patients, 50 per cent. of whom had malaria, while a good many of the others had other preventable diseases. How much of the work this hospital has done would have been rendered unnecessary, and how much suffering would have been avoided, if one competent and sympathetic man had devoted his time through the years to teaching the natives ways and means to cut down malaria?

This lack of a sense of the importance of prevention shows up in some of the leper asylums. Here is an example from one of the most prominent. Of more than 500 lepers in this asylum, at least 200 are old, burnt-out cases much deformed in body, and sometimes blind. When the director was asked if they did not have early cases of leprosy out in the villages, he replied, "Yes, plenty of them." When asked why he kept 200 of these early-stage patients out of the hospitals by caring for 200 blind and harmless cases, he asked, "What are you going to do with these?" Did he fully realize that in two years, on an average, 200 of these new cases out in the villages could have been returned home, cured, undeformed, productive members of society, and that in ten years, which will be the average life of these decrepit cases, 1,000 curable cases

will be kept out of his hospital? These 1,000 curable cases will also, in turn, be infecting members of their families and other members of the community, so that another one to three thousand lepers will have been produced unnecessarily.

Answering the hospital survey questionnaire, 23 hospitals reported doing health examinations of missionaries, and 22 reported the same for school children. Only five, however, reported having done such examinations in Government schools. Only nine of these reporting say that systematic records have been kept and only three hospitals made an estimate of the number of defects found and corrected. Fifty-three reported health being taught in their schools; but only twenty-five said that their staff took any part in this teaching. Eighteen of the hospitals have given some health lectures to church groups, and twenty-three have done the same for community groups. Twenty hospitals reported their staff helped in health education for teachers, thirteen of them helping in the preparation of health-education material.

Forty-nine reported the missionaries and most of the Christian workers immunized against smallpox. A number of the hospitals reported the missionaries protected against typhoid by inoculations; but very few of the Indian Christians have this protection.

Twenty-five hospitals held pre-natal clinics. This is a big increase over that found a few years ago by the survey committee of the Christian Medical Association of India.⁵ Twenty-one have taken an active part in organizing community health agencies in the field served by their hospital.

Some health propaganda is carried on; but in most cases it is feeble. Most of the hospitals that train women nurses give them a course in midwifery. Some few are giving a special course to indigenous *dais*; but this is one field where hospitals for women, especially, have an opportunity for great service.

HEALTH IN MISSION SCHOOLS

Every student in one of the most widely known and most highly praised mission schools in India this last year had malaria. Some of these pupils came from non-malarial areas. They, very evidently, became infected while they were in the school. A girls' school in South India has a record very similar to the above, continuing over a series of years. A nursing school had similar trouble for several years until the hospital authorities screened the living quarters of the nurses. The above three schools are under the coöperating societies. The girls' school mentioned was screening the living quarters of the pupils at the time of the writer's visit.

In Bengal Presidency, not many miles from Calcutta, is a union mission school, supported by one British and one American society. This school is right near a village that has a very bad malaria record. The

⁵ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 36.

writer was informed that there was not a case of malaria in the school and that there had not been a case for some time. They had taken care of the mosquito breeding by stocking the canals and water ways with larva-eating fish.

MALARIA AND THE MISSIONARIES

One is struck with the large number of missionaries in India who have malaria and still more impressed with the fatalistic attitude that the majority of missionaries have on this subject. In spite of the fact that malaria has been, by one means or another, eliminated from large sections of the world, the attitude of the average missionary in India is that one will be sure to get malaria there, regardless of what is done to prevent it. By screening and other anti-malarial means, malaria can be reduced to a minimum among the missionary forces even in India.

RURAL MEDICAL AND HEALTH WORK

Rural medical and health work is probably the most urgent need in India. The distribution of the Government hospitals and of the medical practitioners shows clearly the lack of trained scientific help in the rural areas.

REASONS FOR NOT DOING PREVENTIVE WORK

There are certain factors that make it very difficult to do more preventive work. One is that the hospitals have a continuous incoming stream of the sick, lame, blind, and halt which the average mission doctor has difficulty in turning down, although in many cases the prospect for relief is negligible. Another factor is a shortage of staff for properly taking care of the hospital patients with the number of beds that these hospitals already have. The glamour of surgery, which gives the average medical missionary quite a thrill, is another factor. Then there is the personal touch and also the sense of obligation that one gets in work with a patient as an individual, which one fails to get in group or community work. And to these factors should be added the fact that curative work of the hospital produces traceable evangelistic results. Here you have individuals that first come under the influence of the Gospel in the hospital and later become Christians. In preventive work you cannot lay your finger so definitely upon results of this kind. Curative work also brings returns financially, while preventive work in a community at the low economic stage of the average Indian community at the present time does not. Then there are the great difficulties in the way of preventive work in India due to the religion of the people, their ignorance, poverty, superstition, etc. Lt. Col. Stewart in the *Indian Medical Year*, 1927, says:

If we were asked what is the greatest obstacle to sanitary and medical progress among the masses in India, the answer might

be Belief in a glorious past and in a blessed hereafter, and an indifference to the present.

HEALTH EDUCATION MATERIAL

One of the drawbacks to the mission hospitals in doing health propaganda is the lack of satisfactory literature, charts, slides, films, etc. The many different language areas in India work against printed literature being used extensively. Movie films in the language of the people are, for the same reason, very limited.

The largest and best selection of public-health propaganda material is that published by the Indian Red Cross Society at Delhi. The provincial health departments all have some material. The best collection in this group is perhaps that with the Director of Public Health for Bengal at Calcutta. Madras Presidency also has a fairly good selection and is working up a set of health cinema films.

Another source of health education material, especially slides for stereopticon lectures, is the Y. M. C. A. Lecture Department at 5 Russell Street, Calcutta.

MEDICAL RESEARCH

India is a field with a great wealth of material for research. There are not many diseases of tropical or temperate climates that are not represented there. The Government carries on research work through the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, the Medical Research Department, and the Indian Research Fund Association. The Association carries on its work any place in India where material is available. The School of Tropical Medicine and Institute of Hygiene in Calcutta, and the Haffkine Institute in Bombay, both do much research work each year. In addition to the last named and the Central Research Institute at Kasauli, there are five Pasteur institutes and the King Institute of Preventive Medicine, all of which do some research work.

One hundred seventy-seven scientific papers on research were written by the research workers under the Government of India, The Indian Research Fund Association, and the Provincial Governments, and were published during the year 1928. In addition to this there is some little private research.

In contradistinction to the above, five mission hospitals, replying to the questionnaire, reported six publications. Several others intimated that they published papers at times. Some few of the hospitals have cooperated with the research workers and some of them have served as out-station research centers for Government research workers.

Whether or not general research is advisable for mission hospitals is a question. Perhaps with the work that is going on, excepting where medical missionaries are specially adapted to research work, a large amount of the medical missionary's time should not be spent in research

work. On the other hand, there should be close observation and records should be kept so that the vast amount of material in mission hospitals may be used to further scientific knowledge.

IV

MEDICAL EDUCATION

THE VARIOUS SCHOOLS

Earlier in this report the two indigenous systems of medicine, the Ayurvedic and the Unani, were discussed.

At present there are schools for these systems of medicine. The Ayurvedic has recognized schools in Madras, Mysore, Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi, and other places; while the principal Unani schools are in Madras, Delhi and Hyderabad. The Punjab University subsidizes the teaching of both systems. Education in these two systems was being carried on in Calcutta more than a hundred years ago—the Ayurvedic in the Sanskrit College under Dr. Madhusudan Gupta, and the Unani in the Madrossah College.¹ The addition of the modern subjects is of very recent date, however. That anatomical dissection was carried on by Hindus two thousand years ago is clearly shown by the Sushruta Samhita and the Shastras.² At the present time, treatment is the principal subject taught; but the more advanced schools have added anatomy with dissection, pathology, and physiology. The Biddi College in Delhi, in addition to these departments, has a research institute attached which is investigating the chemical composition of some of the Indian drugs. This school teaches both branches referred to above and also allopathy. The School of Indian Medicine at Madras teaches both systems and a third, the Siddha. This school is owned by the Government and the head is loaned from the Indian Medical Service. The school in Hyderabad teaches the Unani system. It is decidedly the most inferior school of this type the writer visited.

GOVERNMENT MEDICAL EDUCATION

As mentioned earlier under "The Medical Profession in India," there are two recognized grades of medical education in India. The education that is carried on in medical colleges and hospitals is presumed to be comparable to that done in the universities in England and the United States. These colleges give the M. B. B. S. degree. The lower grade of medical education is given in medical schools. These prepare men only for sub-assistant surgeon or medical assistant grade work. The graduates from the medical schools are not usually given a degree. When they are, it is generally the L. M. P., which means Licentiate of Medical Practice, or something similar.

¹ *The Medical Profession in India*, p. 7.

² *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Medical education along Western lines in India began in Calcutta in 1822. The early work was very unsatisfactory. In 1835 the Calcutta Medical College was opened. At first there was no hospital connected with the college, but in 1838 a small hospital was opened with the professors of the college as its physicians and surgeons. This is said to have been the first close combination of medical college and hospital in the world.³

The teaching in the Calcutta Medical College was initially very elementary; anatomy being taught by use of clay models. The better classes of Hindu students would not take up the study of medicine, because they objected to anatomy classes, dissection, and the touching of dead bodies. On January 10, 1836, the late Pundit Madhusudan Gupta entered the dissecting room of the Calcutta Medical College and touched a dead body and became the first demonstrator of anatomy in the college.⁴

At present there are ten medical colleges in India. Bombay and Calcutta have two each and Madras Presidency has two; Lucknow, Lahore, Patna and Delhi have one each, that in Delhi being for women. Most of the other nine are coeducational; but women students are few, except in Grant Medical College, Bombay, and Madras Medical College. The total number of students in these institutions in 1928-29 was 3,953, of which 260 were women. Thus, only 6.58 per cent. of the medical college students were women.

There are twenty-five medical schools in eight provinces. Bengal heads the list with eight, and Madras Presidency follows with six. Madras is closing two of its schools. The School of Tropical Medicine is considered later on, so there are twenty-four to be considered here. Besides the two mission medical schools for women, there are two other schools for women, one in Madras and one in Agra. Many of the schools for men admit women. There were 5,245 men students and 423 women students enrolled in 1928-29. Of the women students all except seventy-six are in the four schools for women. The two mission medical schools are training 42.3 per cent. of the women students. Only 7.1 per cent. of all the students in all the schools are women.

In the twenty medical schools reporting on the religious affiliation of their students in 1929-30 or in 1930-31, there were 365 Christian students. These same twenty schools have a total of 4,263 students. They include the two Christian medical schools for women, in which there are about 154 Christian students. In all the Government medical schools reporting, therefore, there would not be over 211 Christians enrolled. Anglo-Indians and Europeans are classed separately and are, therefore, not included in these figures for Christians. The Christian Medical School at Miraj has approximately fifty students, most of whom are Christians.

Nine medical colleges gave the religious affiliations of their students

³ Lt. Col. Goil, interview February 20, 1931.

⁴ Hehir, Sir Patrick, *The Medical Profession in India*, p. 11.

in 1929-30 or in 1930-31 as 274 Christians in a student population of 3,906. In Grant Medical College in Bombay there are 82 Christians.

Four hundred and three of the Christian students are in the medical schools and colleges of Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Seventy-nine others are in the Christian medical school for women at Ludhiana, making 482 being trained in these two presidencies and one Christian medical school for women, leaving seventy-five students to be distributed among the other medical colleges and schools in India. In Madras Presidency the exact proportion of Catholic and Protestant students is not known, but it is estimated that in Government medical institutions, outside the missionary medical school at Vellore, at least two-thirds of the Christian medical students are Catholics. Dr. Margaret Balfour reports that in Bombay 90 per cent. of the 82 Christian students there are Catholics. Many of the Christian students think they are discriminated against in the Government medical schools and colleges in Central, Northern, and Northwest India.

COST OF MEDICAL EDUCATION

The average cost to Government for each student per year in the medical schools is Rs.358-11, while the average cost in the medical colleges, for the four colleges reporting, is Rs.1,150-6-3. The cost varies greatly in the medical schools, from Rs.908 down to as low as Rs.130 per year; and in the medical colleges from Rs.1,997 in the Vizagapatam Medical College in Madras Presidency to Rs.472 in the Grant Medical College in Bombay.

SHORTCOMINGS OF MEDICAL EDUCATION

In the medical colleges the preliminary education seems not to be rigidly enforced, or the men have great difficulty studying in a language that is not their mother tongue.

Another complaint is that there is too much shifting of personnel from one department to another.

Sir Patrick Hehir⁵ mentions among other subjects in which medical education in India was deficient a few years ago, pharmacology, physiology; bacteriology, midwifery, and diseases of women. At that time, 1923, there was no separate Chair of Pharmacology. Physiology in all its branches, together with pharmacology and histology, were all under one head. There was no special Chair of Bacteriology, but this subject was under the Department of Pathology.

In midwifery and gynecology there is still a great lack of material, owing to the customs of the women in India. Students in the medical colleges in Lahore and Lucknow go to the Government Maternity Hospital in Madras for their practical training in these subjects.

There are very few hospitals where special subjects can be taught.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

Ear, nose and throat hospitals, and skin and venereal disease hospitals are not to be found. X-ray teaching is somewhat better cared for now than formerly.

Hospitals for the diseases of children are very few, and there are no specially qualified teachers in mental diseases connected with any of the medical colleges in India. The writer was impressed with the tendency to depend upon models for teaching rather than upon the use of the actual material that was at hand, often in great abundance.

Still other criticisms that should be noted are, that there are generally no electives, that there is no research in which the students can take part, and that the examinations are largely tests in memory.

The School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene in Calcutta is a research institution of the first rank, dealing with tropical diseases and hygiene. It has nine professors, two lecturers and six research workers on the teaching staff. It probably has the best medical library in India; and some of the best research men in the Empire are connected with it. This school is of special importance to the mission forces, since it is the most logical place for the medical missionaries and their National associates to take special work in tropical medicine.

MISSION MEDICAL EDUCATION

There is no mission medical college in India. There are three mission medical schools, one for men and two for women. The oldest of these, that at Miraj, was founded by Dr. (now Sir) William Wanless at the completion of the American Presbyterian Hospital in 1892. Classes are started on alternate years so that there are only two classes in the school at one time. It is conducted by the American Presbyterian Mission without any assistance from other groups. Since its founding, to December 31, 1930, 222 men have been graduated from the school, which was started to prepare hospital assistants under Christian auspices for mission hospitals.

There are now on the teaching staff five foreign and two Indian men who rank as professors, while there are about sixteen associates in the school and hospital. The hospital has a bed capacity of 225. In addition to the central hospital, there are some out-station hospitals and eight out-station dispensaries under the direction of the medical school. In these different hospitals and out-patient clinics, there were 5,413 inpatients and 82,748 out-patient treatments during 1929.

The expenses for the fiscal year ending March 30, 1930, for the medical school and hospital were Rs.147,862-8-11, and receipts were Rs.145,723-11-6. These figures do not include the salaries of the missionaries on the staff. Only Rs.3,665-6 came from the mission treasurer. The balance was raised in India.

That the medical school and hospital should be so nearly dependent upon local receipts for their income puts a load upon the director that

is unreasonable. What medical college in the United States runs on fees from the students; or what hospital, having the majority of its beds open for charity cases, can run without special gifts, appropriations or endowments? It not only is hard on those responsible for the school and hospital but it means that the place must cater to the type of work that pays best. Since surgery brings in more money than medicine, it is natural that surgery should be developed out of proportion to medicine, obstetrics, and non-surgical specialties. This, of course, means that the students get a strong surgical bias and are thus poorly prepared in other subjects.

Another criticism of the school is that there is no board of trustees or directors, and that the faculty is hardly considered in the running of the institution. The result is that a number of foreign members on the faculty are much dissatisfied with the way the school and hospital are run and believe that it will be impossible to make much improvement in the school until there is a more liberal policy in the management.

The Women's Christian Medical School at Ludhiana was the first medical school for women under Christian auspices. This school was founded by Dr. Edith Brown, its present principal, in 1894. The Punjab School of Medicine for Women is incorporated with this school and the Punjab Government makes the largest single contribution toward its support. In March, 1931, there were 118 students enrolled in the school, eighty-nine of whom were Christians. There have been 197 graduates up to and including the class of 1929. These graduates are to be found in mission hospitals, Government hospitals, private practice, and health centers. Several of the graduates have received the Kaisar-i-Hind medal which is annually awarded by the Government to Indians and Europeans for meritorious service to India. There are eleven European women on the faculty and ten Indians. All of the latter were locally trained.

The school has only four laboratories and these are not as well equipped as they should be. There is no library and no X-ray.

The annual expenditures, including the salaries of the staff, in 1929, were Rs.191,719, and the receipts were Rs.198,155. Of the receipts, Rs.92,602 came from Government and other grants, practically all of which are from the Punjab Government. Less than Rs.28,000 came from abroad.

When all the handicaps are considered, the school is doing a good piece of work. The program is progressive; and if it could be adequately financed it should do excellent work. The writer thinks that, from an administrative point of view, a greater degree of coöperation regarding details and policy should obtain on the faculty council whose members should be consulted more freely.

The Missionary Medical School for Women at Vellore is the youngest of the three mission medical schools. Unlike the other two, it is a

union institution in which twelve missions coöperate. It was founded in 1918 by Dr. Ida Scudder, the present president.

This school has a hospital of 250-bed capacity. It was running only about 165 beds occupied in November, 1930; but the patients had been increasing rapidly since the completion of the new building. In 1930 they treated 4,618 in-patients and had 36,177 new out-patients with a total of 45,893 calls. In addition to these they have five routes over which traveling dispensaries are run weekly. On these routes they gave nearly 24,000 treatments last year.

A group of excellent college buildings and dormitories was being constructed in November, 1930, just outside of the city of Vellore. With these buildings completed they will have the best building-equipment of the three mission medical schools in India. The new plant will have a complete set of laboratories. These should be pretty well equipped by the fall of 1931. The hospital is new and is up-to-date.

The faculty consists of eight full-time Western professors and five Indian associates and assistants. In addition to these teachers, the students get their training in mental diseases and in diseases of the eye in the hospitals in Madras under the men in charge of these special hospitals. Special work in tuberculosis is had at the Union Mission Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Arogyavaram.

There were seventy students in the school in November, 1930. Entrance requirements include one year of the basic sciences. Up to and including 1930, the school had graduated 129 women. About half of these graduates are in mission service and the other half in Government service. The reputation of the graduates with the examiners is excellent. Those coming from the other medical schools are usually far behind them in grades.⁶

Financially, the school is in the best shape of the three mission medical schools. It receives a small grant from the Madras Government, but most of the income is from the twelve supporting missions. Students' fees help some, and there is an endowment of \$300,000. The plan is to bring the endowment up to \$1,000,000. The receipts for the medical school in the fiscal year 1929-30 were Rs.77,503 and the disbursements were Rs.60,784. The receipts for the hospitals and dispensaries were Rs.45,280 and payments were Rs.40,400, leaving a balance on hand for the two of Rs.21,599.

A CHRISTIAN MEDICAL COLLEGE FOR MEN

The missionary medical forces in India agree on the establishment of a medical college for men under Christian auspices. The Christian Medical Association of India has a medical college committee which is pushing forward the program for the establishment of such an institution.

⁶ Surgeon General Megaw, interview March 2, 1931. Also Major General Sprawson, interview November 24, 1930.

Plans are on foot to raise the Missionary Medical School for Women at Vellore to college grade in the near future.

Some of the reasons stated for establishing Christian medical colleges are, briefly, as follows:

(1) The Christian Church cannot continue to stigmatize its members, medically trained, by giving them only a secondary-grade medical education.

(2) They should train Christian doctors of the highest possible qualifications for carrying out the medical program of the Christian Church in India.

(3) The Government is gradually raising its standards of medical education. Some of the medical schools are now being discontinued, and one year is being added to the medical school course in others. Likely before many years medical schools will not be recognized.

(4) Such a medical college, fully equipped and staffed with the best type of doctors the West has, should be a constant stimulus to the Government medical colleges and medical profession. A number of medical men in high Government service in India would welcome an institution like this.

(5) It would assist the mission hospitals by offering post-graduate courses to the medical missionaries and their associates.

DENTAL SCHOOLS AND WORK

One is impressed with the lack of a standard dental school in India. The Government seems to have done nothing in this line. There are a few places where a little dental training is given, but this is of a very elementary grade. Some few of the Government hospitals have some dental work done for the out-patients. The writer found only one mission hospital with equipment for dental service and that was one under the charge of an Indian doctor. (British and American dentists, engaged in private practice, are to be found in the larger cities; there are also some Western-trained Indian dentists.)

NURSING EDUCATION

Along with the questionnaire sent out to mission hospitals was included a questionnaire on nursing education.

Forty-seven out of sixty-eight hospitals replying to the questionnaire sent out by the writer had training schools for nurses. Thirty-eight of these schools reported that they had 570 pupil nurses, of which 496 were women and sixty-three were men and eleven unclassified. Twenty-nine of the schools are for women only, three are for men, and six have both men and women in training. All the pupil nurses are Christian excepting one man and eleven women. Twenty-eight give their nurses midwifery training and eight give a course in compounding. The minimum age for admission to the training school is as low as 16 years in

twelve training schools, 17 years in eighteen training schools, and 18 years in seven. This low age is likely due to difficulty in getting older women, because of the early age at which girls marry in India and to the tendency of girls not to take higher education.

The bed capacity of the hospitals in which these nurses are being trained is 2,048 beds for women and 541 for men.

Faculty: Sixty-four Western nurses and 91 Indian nurses teach in these schools, assisted by 59 foreign, 4 European-trained, and 46 Indian-trained Indian doctors. The training period is generally three-and-a-half to four years. The longer courses all include midwifery training for the women and a compounder's course for men.

Apparently the greater percentage of the nurses marry soon after graduation. In the homes in India there is little private nursing like that common in Western countries. Many of the nurses who continue work after graduation do so in hospitals, health centers, and other places where there is organized work.

The Christian Church has made a big contribution to India in the nursing field. Definite figures are not obtainable concerning the religious affiliation of the nurses; but it is estimated by those who should know that 85 to 90 per cent., and perhaps more, of all the graduate nurses are Christians. In the mission training schools reporting, 97.9 per cent. of the pupil nurses are Christians. In the figures for classes in training in Government schools, there are about 80 per cent. Christians. In only one hospital investigated were there as many as 40 per cent. non-Christians. There is said to be a gradual increase in the number of non-Christian women taking nursing.

Most of the women nurses in mission hospitals nurse only women. In some few of the hospitals they do some nursing on the men's side. Most of the foreign mission nurses in India are agreed that neither the men nor the women are ready for this. The superintendents in the Government hospitals say they have little difficulty at the present time; but their nurses in training are so predominantly Anglo-Indian that the problem is altogether different. The Anglo-Indian nurse is not so likely to be subjected to indignities by either the Indian doctor or the Indian patient as is the Indian nurse.

It would seem that the protection that is thrown around girls in mission schools and in mission nursing schools is abnormal. Little attempt seems to be made to have girls meet young men. They are reared too much as hot-house plants. The head of the training school that supplies nurses for the four hospitals of the Calcutta Medical College, prefers women who have not been reared in mission schools or convents for their training, because of the greater moral danger those girls are in as a result of their lack of social experience.⁷ It is a complex problem but it is certainly not being solved very rapidly by keeping a woman entirely sepa-

⁷ Miss Woodsmall's interview with Miss Thompson, Calcutta.

rated from men until she is twenty years old, and then expecting her to take care of herself in a country where moral standards are extremely low. The moral temptations are perhaps greater after graduation than before. Therefore, unless something is done to educate these women so they can take care of themselves, it will be a long time in India before there can be any satisfactory nursing service, and before women nurses can work freely in child health and maternity welfare work.

SOME MORAL PROBLEMS OF INDIAN WOMEN DOCTORS

Women doctors and midwives have to be very careful in responding to calls to visit patients in homes. There are sometimes fake calls. Often when the call is a legitimate one, she is subject to improper advances. The traditional reputation of the indigenous midwife counts against the women doctors and nurses. It has often been said that the *dai* serves as the mistress of the man employing her.

The Indian women doctors and some nurses in Government hospital service have temptations that are very different from these. Their superiors in the hospital, on being refused, will often report adversely on the woman's professional work. A number of women leave Government employ for this reason.

HOW THE MISSIONARY NURSE LOOKS AT HER JOB

Not so many nurses were interviewed, but a number of those who were said they thought the most important part of the work they had to do was the training of Indian girls as nurses. This opinion was expressed in both North and South India. Others thought that their biggest service was their conscientious care of the sick. Some of them are much impressed with the great good they can do in the prevention of disease. All of them are interested in the religious side. Many of them feel, however, that the greatest asset in this line is conscientious nursing service.

MIDWIFE TRAINING

The maternal mortality in India is very high, and it is impossible to know just how many deaths there are. The United Provinces for 1928 reported a rate of 12.1 per thousand births. More than 7,000 maternity cases studied in Madras Presidency recently showed a maternal death-rate of 18 per thousand births. The average rate for England and Wales over a fifteen-year period ending with 1928 was 3.87 per thousand births.

The Dufferin Fund hospitals, the Government Maternity hospitals, and the mission hospitals with training schools, train women in midwifery. The Dufferin Fund hospitals and the Government maternity hospitals usually give only midwife training, while mission hospitals and Government general hospitals give their midwifery training after three years of training in general nursing.

Probably more than 50 per cent. of the graduates of mission hospitals, and the same number from the Government general hospitals, marry. Some of these married women still carry on their profession, but most of them either drop it or assist only close relatives and friends.

Health centers are quite generally training the indigenous *dai* or native midwife. The training of these women is a difficult task; but it is probably the quickest way to have any big influence on the maternal mortality. In a number of places now these *dais* must register and are supervised. Nine mission hospitals, four of the coöperating boards and five under British boards, are training native *dais* as well as giving their nurses midwife training.

V

OBSERVATIONS

In making the following remarks the writer thinks that three things, especially, should be kept in mind regarding the mission medical program in India. One is that there are already a number of hospitals scattered here and there through the land which are doing a reasonably good service. Another is the fact that volunteers for medical missions are not as plentiful as they once were. A third is that there are exceedingly few well-trained Indian physicians who are working in mission hospitals.

All the ills of India cannot be cured by mission hospitals. Beds and patients may well be limited to such numbers as can be properly cared for. In the future, emphasis on the quality of the medical service rendered rather than upon the number of patients seen would seem advisable. Probably, vastly more will be accomplished by stimulating the ethical and scientific standards of the medical fraternity in India than by continuing to treat a small per cent. of the population.

WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN INDIA

by

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

INTRODUCTION

GENERAL PLAN OF THE REPORT

THIS report presents the environment of Indian women in its various phases—social, economic, health, educational and religious—and discusses in each section, against this background, the work of Government and of private agencies, the relationship of Christian missions, and the needs for further efforts. Special attention has been focussed throughout the study upon changes that are vitally affecting the women of India, for a process of change necessitates readjustment in missionary policy and program. The various problems of the missionary enterprise, in the terms of reference of the Laymen's Missions Inquiry, are discussed throughout the study and summarized in a concluding section.

This study on Women's Interests and Activities, as a presentation of the life of Indian women as a whole, is necessarily a cross-section of all fields of missionary effort. Each of these is intensively treated by other members of the Fact-Finding Staff. As far as possible, this report on women has been coördinated with these intensive studies of each field, and has been based on the same supporting data.

FACTUAL BASIS OF THE STUDY

In making this study, the factual method has been followed, so far as has been feasible or possible; but in the evaluation of the life situation of Eastern women, intangibles, which constitute the chief realities, escape the dragnet of statistics. A finer method is necessary, therefore, to reach discriminating conclusions.

The report represents the writer's composite thinking derived from 280 personal interviews, and seventy interviews of her Indian colleague; visits to forty-five different towns and cities and 130 institutions; four group conferences with Indian Christian teachers; two women's conferences, the All-India Women's Conference and the All-Asia Conference; seventy replies from a questionnaire on Women's Interests and Activities; a number of special questionnaires on different phases of the work such as Bible women, the place of women in the church, the present status

of nurses; case studies of a number of institutions; a study of graduates from five women's colleges, three mission and two Government; ninety replies from a questionnaire on the effects of the cinema; a study of the current press; and the questionnaire material of the staff specialists on health and education.

In addition to all of these avenues of information, the writer has used whatever secondary sources were available, a special study on industry by the National Council of Women, reports and special studies of the National Christian Council, reports of the various mission boards, and the reports of Government commissions, such as the Hartog Report on Education and the Age of Consent Commission.

SCOPE AND CHARACTER OF INTERVIEWS AND VISITS

The interviews represent the opinions of a great variety of types of people, Christian and non-Christian, Indian and foreign, including men and women in professions and in private life. The 130 institutions visited cover those of the coöperating boards, other mission boards and non-mission institutions both Government and private. The institutions further include the various types of work represented in this study, educational institutions, schools and colleges (mostly girls' schools but also some boys'), hospitals and health centers, factories and industrial welfare centers; social service institutions, widows' homes, rescue homes for girls, children's courts, orphanages, community service centers, Y. W. C. A.'s, religious centers, Bible training schools, Indian Ashrams, and visits with Bible women.

THE ITINERARY

The itinerary covering 10,500 miles in India was determined by the desirability of visiting mission stations of the coöperating boards, the centers of work of non-American missions, the distinctive Indian institutions and the main urban centers of thought, as well as Indian villages. The diversity and scope of a study of Indian women necessitate a broader schedule than would be necessary in some other fields. Furthermore, a general sampling process has peculiar limitations in India owing to the racial and religious diversities. The environment and thought of Indian women in North and South India are radically different.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTOR IN THE APPROACH

The approach, and the method of making this study, have been affected by the psychological factor which at present plays a dominant rôle in India. The defense attitude, due to Nationalism, characteristic of India as a whole in relation to a foreign fact-seeker, is accentuated if the inquiry is directed toward Indian women. India is smarting under the insult to her womanhood inflicted by *Mother India*, which wounded national pride too deeply to be forgotten soon. The Indian woman's im-

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mediate reaction toward an American woman investigator is one of self-protection, if not resentment. To allay suspicion and fear, and to invite confidence, requires, therefore, a careful personal approach, and at least the semblance of leisure rather than the formidable questionnaire and notebook attack. The pain left by *Mother India* can only be allayed by establishing normal friendly contacts.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writer is deeply grateful to the many missionaries and Indian friends who have shared richly of their time and experience in helping to make this study possible. The writer is also deeply appreciative of the very valuable collaboration of Miss Lilly Devasahayam, her Indian colleague.

I

CHANGING SOCIAL CONDITIONS

THE EMERGENCE OF WOMEN INTO NATIONAL LIFE

The emergence of Indian women in the last twelve years into a position of recognized national importance is one of the most striking realities of India today. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report in 1919 made only a passing reference to women in discussing the social obstacles to female education. The Simon Commission Report in 1930 mentions Indian women repeatedly in both volumes, commenting on the fact that no document discussing India's future could today omit the women of India. In pregnant terms it states:

The women's movement in India holds the key of progress and the results it may achieve are incalculably great. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens.¹

It is significant that the report does not use the capital letters; the women's movement in India is not an organized movement, an external expression, but is an inward movement that is stirring Indian women to their depths.

PARTICIPATION IN THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Nationalism is the dominating factor in the emergence of women. Following the call of Mr. Gandhi in launching the Civil Disobedience Movement, they have pressed forward from the sheltered seclusion and quiet life within the home into the lurid limelight of the national strug-

¹ *Report of the Indian Statutory Commission* (Simon Commission Report), Vol. I, p. 53.

gle. Processions long and wearisome in crowded city streets, picketing of wine-shops and cloth-shops in the heat and dust of the Indian bazaar, exposure to *lathi* or baton charges from the police, and imprisonment for months in ordinary jails—all these results of civil disobedience were not only accepted willingly but courted as a personal privilege of sacrifice for the national cause. It is estimated that at least 3,000 women were imprisoned during the Civil Disobedience Movement.

Although the Movement represented widely different social levels and religious communities, the leaders in most places were women of position and culture. Women have repeatedly held the post of War Dictator, each one, however, only for a limited period, perhaps an hour or a day as imprisonment was the inevitable price of election after the Congress had been declared illegal.

Women have figured not only in the Civil Disobedience Movement and in National Congresses (over a thousand women attended the Karachi Congress recently) but also in less public patriotic service; for example, in promoting *swadeshi* or boycott of European cloth and in serving as volunteer nurses and doctors in the Congress hospitals. Many women preferred this less spectacular expression of nationalism and showed remarkable initiative and organization.

POLITICAL AWAKENING AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

The emergence of Indian women was so sudden and unexpected that it seems as if they had been catapulted from obscurity into the focus of national life. Nevertheless, women leaders, at least a small number, were not totally unprepared for public activity. The awakening of a small minority into political consciousness antedated their Satyagraha activities by over a decade when the first demands for women's suffrage were presented by an all-Indian deputation to the Secretary of State. Since that time women have gained the franchise on the same basis as men in the nine major provinces of British India and five Indian states. In seven provinces out of nine, women may be members of the legislature and are eligible for election or nomination to the Central Legislative Assembly.

Madras first nominated a woman member, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, and made her deputy president of the Legislative Council. She has furnished a distinguished example of fearless leadership in promoting social reform by legislative measures.

Disparity of Men and Women Voters

In connection with woman's suffrage, a problem peculiar to India exists in the great disparity of men and women voters. There are only 268,000 women voters in a total of 8,250,000. The principle of equality with men on the basis of property qualification is not equality but practically non-enfranchisement for Hindu women, since they are excluded by Hindu law from holding property. The problem of the dis-

parity of voting strength between men and women has been recognized as of major importance by the Simon Commission which proposed that in addition to whatever property qualification is adopted in the Constitution, there should be an alternative educational qualification applicable equally to men and women; further, that there should be two special qualifications for women giving suffrage to the wife over twenty-five years of age of a man who has a property qualification to vote and a widow over that age, whose husband at the time of his death so qualified.²

Status of Women in the Future Constitution of India

In a memorandum sent to the Round Table Conference, a joint committee of the three main women's organizations—the Women's Indian Association, the National Council of Women, and the All-India Educational Conference—has recommended as a basis for the status of women in the future constitution of India, merely adult suffrage without preferential treatment for women.³

This request from the women of India will be given serious consideration, as women's share in forming national policies is fully recognized. This recognition is based on the sound experience of the past decade, during which time Indian women have rendered effective service to India in political, educational, economic and social spheres.

WOMEN IN PUBLIC POSITIONS

Aside from holding positions of political leadership, women have entered other lines of public life, serving on municipal committees, district boards and educational bodies. Women have also been appointed on two Government commissions: The Age of Consent Committee, 1928-29, and the Auxiliary Committee on the Growth of Education under the Simon Commission, 1928-29. The Royal Commission on Industry, 1929-31, did not have a woman member but requested Indian women to collaborate.

The first Round Table Conference had two women members, a Moslem and a Hindu, both of whom figured prominently in the Conference. "By their very presence," as Sir Mohammed Shafi said, "they made a significant contribution to the reorientation of the English attitude toward India." They gave an example of modern Indian woman leadership to offset the prevailing opinion, "that Eastern women are ignorant, devoid of ambition or desire to take part in public life, and that their one and only interest centers in their husbands."⁴

Begum Shah Nawaz, the Moslem representative, herself illustrates

² Simon Commission Report, Vol. II, p. 93. Cf. Vol. II, p. 78.

³ See Memorandum of Women's Indian Association, March, 1931. Letter from Lakshimabai Rajwade, Secretary of All-India Conference, also Convener of Joint Committee of women's organizations.

⁴ Statement of Begum Shah Nawaz, *Sunday Dispatch of London*, reprint in *Indian Social Reformer*, Feb. 28, 1931.

the rapidity of change in India, having advanced in ten years from the seclusion of purdah to the world-wide publicity of the Round Table Conference.

Women's organizations, conscious of the fact that two women in a delegation of one hundred men cannot represent half of India's population, have appealed to the different political parties to send at least a dozen women delegates to the next Round Table Conference deliberation.⁵

CHIEF CHARACTERISTICS OF WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

A significant feature however, of the forward movement of women in India, is the fact that it has not been characterized by a phase of struggle for women's rights against masculine opposition. Such an attitude is repudiated as "Mid-Victorian" by women leaders like Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, who was one of the first Indian women to be educated in England. "Indian women do not wish to follow the West in any such conception of women's rights. Equality of men and women as citizens of India is the goal." In this spirit Indian women are moving forward calmly, asserting recognized rights, but not as a feminist movement in the Western sense of the term.⁶

The participation of women in national life has been promoted by men as a valuable means toward the general objective of Swaraj or autonomy. Suffrage, therefore, has met with comparatively little opposition from Indian men. Complete equality of women with men was early recognized as a national essential, and voiced by the Social Reform Movement in 1917 in a Woman's Charter of Freedom, "that sex shall form no disqualification to women entering any position or profession for which she shows herself capable."⁷

The close association of Indian men and women as co-workers in the nationalist movement has set the precedent for a new relationship, very different from the sex-consciousness typified by child-marriage and purdah. In this light one understands the observer who remarked: "Nationalism seems to have purged India of the domination of sex."

ORGANIZED WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS

Through this period of awakening of Indian women, several women's organizations have been called into being because of the need for collective thought and action on the various problems of national welfare. Three movements representing women of all races and religions have

⁵ Women's Indian Association Memorandum, Joint Committee of Women's Organizations Memorandum, Memorandum of a London Committee to the Round Table Conference, Dec., 1930.

⁶ Shrimati Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, "The Status of Women in India," p. 5; *Women in Modern India*.

⁷ Cousins, Margaret E., *The Awakening of Asian Womanhood* (Janesh & Co., 1922), p. 102.

national scope and significance. The Women's Indian Association has been the spearhead of the suffrage cause and has also carried on a general educational program. The National Council of Women has centralized the work of other women's councils in India working for social and legislative reform. The All-India Women's Conference, since its inception in 1926, has become the most powerful instrument of propaganda in India, educating public opinion to the need for the social and educational progress of women. Few Indian Christian women have so far been members.

A remarkable recent development in the Woman's Movement in India was the All-Asia Conference in Lahore, January, 1931. The call to conference was issued by Indian women to the women of Asia. The objectives of the Conference included the promotion of an All-Asian solidarity among women, the evaluation of Oriental and Occidental culture, and the promotion of world peace. The significance of the All-Asia Conference lies in the fact that it sought the awakening of an inter-Asian consciousness among women. That this Conference should have been called by Indian women shows the widening of their horizon and their assumption of leadership in the Eastern world.

SOCIAL CHANGES

The emergence of women as seen in their political activities and in the organization of women's movements, represents the most striking feature of the new freedom. Meanwhile, a fundamental process of social change is taking place slowly, and almost imperceptibly affecting the home life and family relationships of women. The old religious and social systems of India are being undermined by Western influence and the vibrant spirit of nationalism. In a country with the racial, religious and social diversity of India, it is difficult to generalize on social conditions. There are however, certain high lights of change.

In an Indian woman's life there have always been certain fixed factors: Early marriage by parental arrangement with motherhood as its single goal; a joint family under the control of a mother-in-law; absolute devotion to the husband and family even to the point of self-abnegation; purdah, if a Moslem, and also if an upperclass Hindu—a measure of seclusion whatever the religion; the fear of divorce and the possibility of there being a co-wife; and the shadow of the disgrace of widowhood, if a Hindu. These are the main outlines of the picture.

It would be unfair and untrue to imply either that all Indian home life is rigidly built on this basis or that it is entirely devoid of happiness. There are many homes of every religion where mutual devotion of husband and wife, joy in children, and a united family relationship have created a true family life. But Indian men and women have recognized a need for change in the old basis of home-building and have begun to mili-

tate against the evils that have constituted such a heavy handicap for women.

CHILD MARRIAGE

The Sarda Act

The Child Marriage Restraint Act commonly known as the Sarda Act, April, 1930, which legally terminated the time-honored custom of child-marriage, represents the culmination of reforms begun in 1891. By this Act the minimum marriage age for females is established at fourteen; for males, at eighteen. The need for such legislation is shown by the terrible extent of child-marriage. Over eight and one-half million girls, or one-half of the girls of India, are married before they are fifteen years of age. This includes one and one-half million Moslem girls. More than two hundred thousand are under five years, over two million are between five and ten years, and over six million are between ten and fifteen years of age.⁸

Before the Sarda Act was passed, the Age of Consent Commission, through a nation-wide referendum, registered the widespread recognition of the evil of child-marriage and especially the universal endorsement of the law by women.⁹ The tenacity with which this custom has gripped Indian mentality was evidenced by the widespread wish to perform such marriages when the Act was being framed, and just before it became operative.

Since the Sarda Act was not implemented for enforcement, it is freely violated. This is a matter of deep concern to Indian women. The All-India Conference at Lahore passed a recommendation urging an active program of law enforcement.¹⁰ The Government is freely criticized for its neutral attitude in the Indian press.¹¹ Although the Sarda Act has not eradicated the practice of child-marriage, it serves as a powerful leverage for educating public opinion and arming the progressive younger generation with a legal weapon against rigidly orthodox Hinduism.

Christian missions have exerted an imperceptible but steady force against child-marriage through the promotion of girls' schools, and through the contact of women missionaries with *zenana* homes. Their influence is now focussed on enforcement of the Marriage Act.

STATUS OF WIDOWS

India has held the world's record for the number of widows, because of child-marriage and the rigid prohibition against the remarriage of

⁸ 1921 Census. *Review of the Growth of Education in British India*, by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission, Oct., 1929 (Hartog Report), p. 153.

⁹ See *Report of the Age of Consent Committee, 1928-1929*. (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1929.)

¹⁰ All-India Women's Conference, Lahore, Jan. 12-19, 1931—Resolutions.

¹¹ Cf. *Calcutta Statesman*, Apr. 5, 1931.

widows. This record will not be modified probably for another generation, since the wholesale marriages caused by the Sarda Act will produce a new crop. The number of Hindu widows who, because of child-marriages, have not yet reached puberty, is appalling. The 1921 Census, under religions, gives a total of over twenty million Hindus of both sexes. There were 750 under one year, 15,000 under five years, 102,000 between five and ten, and 279,000 between ten and fifteen years of age.

The tide of reform that began in 1829 with the abolition of *suttee*, or the immolation of Hindu widows on their husbands' funeral pyres, as well as the practice of infanticide is gradually, though slowly, modifying the condition of Hindu women. Nevertheless, as one watches the throng of coarsely robed widows, with saris drawn closely over their shaven heads, making the rounds of the temples at Brindaban, or bathing at Benares in the cold dawn, one has only the impression of the tragedy of Hindu widowhood. But a visit to Sister Subbalakshmi's Widows' Home in Madras lightens the picture. Institutions like this, following the pioneer example of Pandita Ramabai at Kedgaon, and many widows' homes under Christian missions, are preparing Hindu widows for economic independence so that they may cease to be helpless, ill-omened household menials.

Reforms in the status of widows are directed toward remarriage and rights of inheritance. Though for many years advanced Hindu leaders, and Hindu reform societies like the Arya Samaj, have advocated the marriage of child-widows, yet the tradition against remarriage, which was legalized in 1856, is still strong. The primary motivation of such reforms is a revolt against the injustice of orthodox Hinduism, as expressed by Mr. Sarda: "Widow remarriage should become as general as widower remarriage at present is. If marriage is a sacrament and can be performed only once in life, why is a widower allowed to perform it a second, a third, or a fourth time when a widow is not so allowed."¹²

Another reform in behalf of Hindu widows is the agitation for inheritance rights, since legally a Hindu widow inherits nothing. Even though a will may insure her rights during her lifetime, under the Hindu joint-family system she does not have full possession of her property.¹³ Legislation is recognized as urgently needed. The Hindu Widows' Right of Inheritance Bill introduced in September, 1928, in the Central Legislature by Mr. Sarda was not passed. If inheritance rights were sustained by law, the terrible tragedy of widowhood would be partly mitigated. The All-India Conference has been very articulate in the support of all measures leading toward the amelioration of the calamity of Hindu

¹² Sarda, Mr. H. B., "Presidential Address, Forty-second Indian National Social Conference, December, 1929," *The Indian Social Reformer* (1929), p. 273.

¹³ Mr. M. R. Jayakar, "Presidential Address Forty-first National Social Conference."

widowhood. Baroda has recently introduced legislative reforms in the status of widows.¹⁴

DECREASE IN POLYGAMY

Although child-marriage and widow reforms most vitally affect Hindu women, changes as to polygamy or purdah definitely benefit Moslem women. There is no aggressive reform movement, and no possibility of legislation, against polygamy since either would rouse violent Moslem opinion. But change is coming very slowly in the general public attitude. The economic factor operates in the decrease of polygamy in cities. Women's education also is a determinant in the upper classes, since an educated wife demands married life on a different basis from that of a co-wife.

BREAKING OF PURDAH

The breaking of purdah which a Moslem woman in Calcutta describes as "a painless death by carbon dioxide" is coming slowly but inevitably. The nationalist movement has undoubtedly speeded up the process as purdah women have come out in crowds for processions and mass meetings. Although they may temporarily return to purdah after the flare of nationalism has died down, having once seen the outside world they do not remain in the narrow confines of the *zenana*.

There are many indications of the loosening of the iron grip of the purdah system, the breaking of which would mean, not merely the actual discontinuance of the *burgah*, the shroudlike garment which robs a Moslem woman of elements of individuality, but the weakening of the whole idea of seclusion. Any exposure to new ideas or new contacts through freer circulation in the outside world is conducive to change. Compared with other Moslem countries, the purdah system of India seems immovable and hopeless; but each year sees some advance. Many believe that purdah will not be abolished by legislation, but, following the example of other Moslem countries, will be undermined by the growing pressure of public protest. Political organizers, reform societies, missionary leaders, women's organizations like the All-India Conference, all exert their influence against a system that paralyzes forty million Indian women, the estimated number of the purdah *nashin*.¹⁵

DISSOLUTION OF THE JOINT-FAMILY SYSTEM

A fundamental social change that is being slowly effected is the dissolution of the joint-family system, the most striking feature of Hindu society, and one broadly characteristic of Indian society as a whole.

Economic and social factors are contributing to this change. The increasing pressure of modern life, migration of labor from village to

¹⁴ *New York World Telegram*, from New Delhi (June 26, 1931).

¹⁵ All-India Women's Conference at Lahore, Jan., 1931.

city, and the specialized education of the younger generation for independent support, are determining economic causes undermining the joint-family.

This transition from the complex family group to the single family idea is also a logical concomitant of the other social changes already mentioned. The social system is a composite; one social change is accompanied by another until a complete social reorganization is effected. Child-marriage, widowhood, polygamy, and purdah are geared into the joint-family idea; but the passing of these social handicaps for women brings conflict in the patriarchal family system. The younger generation demands a fuller married life, more opportunity for home making, and more freedom than is possible in the joint-family.¹⁶

THE NEW CONCEPTION OF MARRIAGE

The whole idea of marriage is slowly changing. Marriage under the old established system is a matter of arrangement, inevitable and focussed on the sex-relationship. Marriage according to the new idea is becoming a matter of choice, hence a companionship. This introduces a new element of congeniality and love as the requisite for marriage, an entirely foreign idea to the orthodox Hindu.¹⁷ Marriage on the new basis may not be happier than many marriages on the old, but "the essential difference," as a Hindu man expressed it, "lies in the fact that the new system means love and then marry; the old, marry at all events and then love later if possible."

The changing ideal of marriage is establishing a new relationship between men and women. The purdah and child-marriage régime set absolute social limits between the sexes; the new system is based on social freedom. But the atmosphere is not yet cleared for social freedom. Opportunities for normal social intercourse in India as a whole are lacking. This fact constitutes a major problem in the present period of social transition and readjustment.

It must be remembered that basic social changes affecting sex-relationship, marriage-ideals and family life are not precipitate. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, this process of change is taking place. None the less surely, however, the whole social fabric in India is being rewoven.

It requires no imagination to perceive the vital influence of Christian missions in this arena of social change. Their direct influence can be clearly traced through various channels, as will be shown throughout this study. But the indirect effects of mission contact are even greater. The new social ideals of India are being formed by Western impact from many sides. Who can estimate the influences radiating from every mis-

¹⁶ Substance of discussion from Questionnaire on Women's Interests and Activities.

¹⁷ Rothfeld, Otto, *Women of India* (Bombay, D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1928), pp. 52-53.

sion as an exemplification of home and family life on the high level of Christian principles?

SOCIAL CHANGES AMONG INDIAN CHRISTIAN WOMEN

In the preceding discussion of social change, we have been focussing attention on the fact that far-reaching social changes are vitally affecting non-Christian Indian women. There have been no such spectacular evidences of social change in the Christian community; because Indian Christians, not handicapped by child-marriage and polygamy and the stigma against widowhood, have had no pressing need for social reform.

In this connection it is interesting to note the shift that is taking place in the relative positions of Christian and non-Christian women leaders. Christians are no longer in the lead in social reform, as the non-Christian leaders have forged rapidly ahead with their demands. Indian Christian women have not been carried forward by the nationalist movement. Although many are keenly interested in it, they have for the most part kept aloof from active participation in the women's movements. Indian Christians have not been in positions of conspicuous leadership; but have quietly contributed a very valuable quality of sound and seasoned experience. They are coöperating, but not directing the movement.

Intermarriage with non-Christians

As to social trends within the Christian community, the question of intermarriage of Christians with non-Christians is receiving a good deal of consideration. In North India, there is a discernible trend toward the marriage of well-educated Christian women with non-Christian men. Such marriages are the result of the limited marriage possibilities among Christians of the higher class in the North, and the disparity in education and culture of Christian men and women. The Christian girl desiring a marriage based on cultural and intellectual congeniality often fails to find a husband among Christians meeting her standard. This trend is a subject of some concern to the Christian church and missions, as was shown by the discussion at the General Methodist Conference in Cawnpore, December, 1930.

In South India, intermarriage of Christians and non-Christians is motivated by the survival of caste. First-generation Christians are especially caste-bound. The feeling gradually becomes weakened, although it sometimes survives even into the third generation. This caste-consciousness does not play a part in intermarriages in the North; whereas cultural disparity and a limited choice are not problems in the South, since the Christian community is larger.

Intermarriage in the South has been more frequent than in the North, and has become a serious issue in the Christian church, especially in the case of a Christian woman marrying a non-Christian man, as it

practically means that she leaves Christianity. "Most churches will permanently excommunicate the parents who arrange such a marriage. One-third of the thirty or more discipline cases that come before me annually are of this type."¹⁸

Social Intercourse among Christians

Although Indian Christian women have not been handicapped by certain social customs militating against social freedom, there has not been a marked degree of social intercourse in the Christian community. This may be partly due to the influence of a non-Christian environment, natural Oriental reserve, and the prevailing conservatism of the older leaders of the Indian church. Many of them fear a too-rapid advance, and are still thinking in the protective terms of a period prior to the general social economic and political ferment. The intermingling of the sexes on a purely social basis is, therefore, not common. There is, however, an increasing degree of contact of Christian men and women in church or general religious activities.

Younger Indian Christian leaders, feeling the handicap of limited social intercourse, are endeavoring to increase the opportunities for social contact through various Christian organizations. Such societies as the following serve a twofold purpose—social and religious: The National Student Christian Association, the Inter-religious Student Fellowship in Madras, the University Christian Union in Lucknow, and the Gospel Team in Allahabad. The promotion of social life among Indian Christians is recognized by many missionaries as of great importance, not only to Christians but also to non-Christians. If the Christian community lags behind socially, it will lose the opportunity of demonstrating normal social intercourse on a fine Christian basis.

EFFECT OF THE CINEMA ON CHANGING SOCIAL IDEAS

One of the influences shaping the change in social ideas, especially of the educated minority, is the cinema. As far as women are concerned, this is scarcely more than a trend, as women have only recently begun to attend the cinema. They are seen in large cities at the cinema, the more advanced attending with the men of their families, the less advanced in groups of other women. The purdah section in some theaters attracts the more conservative. Christian teachers from mission schools attend, in some places only if chaperoned by a missionary. The writer has noticed a distinct increase since 1928, when a similar study was made.

The attitude of women toward the cinema is changing in some places now that Indian films are being produced with well-known Indian women in the leading rôles. Opinions differ as to the social effect of American

¹⁸ Letter from the Rt. Rev. F. J. Western, M.A., Bishop of Tinnevelly, May 29, 1931.

films. According to some, it is negligible, the whole atmosphere being so foreign that it does not inspire imitation; others feel that films interpreting Western social freedom, not only have a bad moral influence but have a derogatory effect on American prestige. The cinema has not yet reached village people, except in the Punjab where it has been used with remarkable effect by the Demonstration Train of the North Western Railway. Thousands of village women for the first time saw the outside world on the screen. The cinema offers unexplored opportunities like this for general educational propaganda, and especially village uplift.

CHANGES IN THE LIFE OF VILLAGE WOMEN

General Lack of Social Change in the Village

We have spoken of the development of a women's movement, politically and socially conscious, and of social changes affecting women of the non-Christian and Christian communities. It would be erroneous to conclude, however, that all women in India are being equally influenced by these changes. The millions of peasant women who numerically constitute the women of India have never heard of a women's movement and are not yet conscious of social reform. The cleavage between the small emancipated minority and the depressed masses of Village India is so great that any generalization on Indian women can be challenged. Freedom, the emergence of women, social change, are empty words to an Indian woman whose life has always been and, as far as she knows, always will be bounded by the mud walls of the village. The nationalist movement may have had some repercussion in the village, but has as yet made no impression on the village woman.

Social customs and attitudes have remained untouched by outside currents. Child-marriage, polygamy and a purdah attitude have stamped the village woman with social inferiority. The name "Sarda Act" is scarcely known. The breaking of the purdah complex has not begun in the village. Although actual purdah, in the sense of the veil, does not exist,¹⁹ the writer—during a previous study of women in Moslem countries—observed that, with the great majority of village women, a strong purdah psychology prevails which impels a younger woman to draw her sari over her face in the presence of any older men of the family and keeps the village women within their own compound. Women of the higher social level, however, keep strict purdah, thereby giving it social distinction and inspiring imitation. The only change as yet affecting village life is the weakening of the joint-family owing to the shifting of rural laborers to urban centers. This often throws the family burden on the village woman, and is not only an economic hardship but a moral danger, as vice spreads from the city to the village.

¹⁹ Brayne, F. L., *Socrates in an Indian Village* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1929).

The present village situation, though as yet little changed, has some elements of change. Women are beginning to travel more, at least from the village to the nearest town. Crowds of village women seen at the Mainpuri county fair made the writer realize that influences from the town are bound to flow back into the village. The village is also coming more into the general consciousness. National self-respect is demanding more attention to village uplift and to the welfare of the village woman.

Social Customs of the Village Christian Woman

A comparison of the social customs of the village Christian woman with those of the non-Christian woman reveals very little difference. There are, of course, exceptions to the rule. But, as a whole, the village Christian minority is impressed by the social customs of the non-Christian majority. Missionary effort is steadily directed against prevailing social evils, such as early marriage. One method used is the refusal to allow the Christian marriage rite, if the age violates the Sarda Act. However, this method is usually not an effective deterrent since the non-Christian ceremony is always possible. Eighty-five per cent. of the village Christian marriages in some districts, it is estimated, are performed by the old rites.²⁰

Christian widows are free to remarry, but there is often much difficulty over inheritance. Polygamy among Christians, although not usual, is not unknown. The general relationship between village Christian men and women does not differ essentially from that of non-Christians. Women are regarded as inferior and treated accordingly. Village Christian women cling tenaciously to the old joint-family, non-Christian ideas. Hence a primary task for Christian missions is the uplift of the village woman.

SOCIAL AND MORAL PROBLEMS

PROSTITUTION

India presents the world-problem of prostitution and need of protection for women and children in a double form—the Devadasi temple girls and commercialized prostitution.

Devadasi Temple Girls

From time immemorial hundreds of young Hindu girls have been dedicated by the priests to the service of the temple and thus debarred from normal married life. Under the aggressive leadership of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, legislation has been passed to abolish this system in Madras.²¹

²⁰ Dr. C. D. Rockey, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago.

²¹ Cf. Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, *My Experience as a Legislator* (Current Thought Press, Madras, 1930), chapter xi.

Commercial Prostitution

Urban conditions in India are highly conducive to the spread of commercial vice, a primary cause being the abnormal excess of males in the cities owing to the mobility of labor. The extent of prostitution is not fully indicated by the 1921 Census figures, which give a total of 183,000 prostitutes, procurers and dependents.²² Figures for Christian prostitutes of all races are given also in the 1921 Census: For Bombay, sixty-four, and for Calcutta and suburbs, fifty-five prostitutes; for Bengal, eighty-three prostitutes and beggars. This seems very small in view of the total.

Vigilance Societies

Five vigilance societies of different cities representing all religions are united in the All-India Vigilance Association with an English social worker, Miss Meliscent Shephard, as secretary. Legislation has been passed in Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and certain native states, abolishing segregated areas and penalizing brothels.

Public recognition of the vice problem is growing. The All-India Conference devoted one session of the Lahore Conference to this subject. Indian women magistrates are very active in the Bombay juvenile court and elsewhere. Rescue homes have been established by vigilance societies, women's councils, non-Christian private societies, and Christian missions. These shelter girls rescued from brothels, and often village girls kidnapped or lured to the cities under false pretenses. The tolerated areas of Calcutta alone require the renewal of 1,000 to 1,500 girls annually.²³

An investigation of this extensive traffic in girls is urgently needed. Unfortunately, because of political tension, India was excluded from the recent International Commission on this subject.

The vice problem presents certain definite needs: The necessity for aggressive education of Indian opinion against prostitution; more courageous legislative action; women investigators of brothels, and police women.

The Social Purity Movement has been initiated and promoted by a few Christian workers, Anglican bishops, and Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. secretaries. Conferences of heads of mission schools and hospitals have been held to discuss moral training on a Christian basis. A Sex Hygiene Committee of the National Christian Council is working on school programs on social hygiene.

²² *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-1928*, Dept. of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, India. (Seventh Issue) (Government of India Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1930).

²³ Address by Rev. Herbert Anderson, "A Review of Moral and Social Hygiene," April 19, reprinted in *The Shield* (Dec., 1929), p. 29.

Rescue Homes

There are a number of rescue homes throughout India under the Salvation Army, the League of Mercy, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and Catholic Sisters. Many other missions have orphanages and homes for delinquent children.

Attitude of Missionaries

Leaders of the Vigilance Movement express the feeling that many missionaries avoid open discussion of the subject of sex morality. "Until the missionaries themselves are unembarrassed in thought and discussion, it is obviously impossible for them to give definite teaching to their converts." The opinion is also expressed that, "Unless the missionary societies in India endorse the principle of moral equality between the sexes, they will not only fail to produce a higher standard of sex-conduct but will deny the fundamental principle of Christianity."

PROHIBITION OF ALCOHOL AND THE PREVENTION OF DRUG TRAFFIC

Fifty societies for temperance are working in India; by far the greater number of them are entirely Indian and non-Christian. It is interesting that Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity are united in principle in the opposition to alcohol, and also that nationalism has motivated a united drive for temperance. The picketing of liquor shops, assigned especially to women during the Civil Disobedience Movement, proved exceedingly effective, thus serving alike economic, political, and social interests.

Christian agencies have been actively identified with the Temperance Movement through the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. This society, because of its Christian basis, is not coördinated with the other temperance societies united in the Prohibition League. The W. C. T. U. is concerned not only with temperance, but with the serious problem of narcotics. The amount of opium produced in India is five times the production of any other country. Of this excessive production, India consumes one-half.²⁴ Active propaganda for Government regulation of the drug traffic has been urged by the All-India Conference at Lahore. Public opinion is being aroused against licensing opium shops and liquor shops.

SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

We have sketched in briefest outline the major social problems of India, which are indeed appalling in their extent and difficulty. The most hopeful feature, however, of what might seem to be an all but hopeless situation is the growing sense of social responsibility among Indian women which, in itself, is one of the most significant evidences of progress in India today.

²⁴ Discussion on Opium, All-Asia Conference, Jan. 23, 1931 (*The Lahore Tribune*).

WIDESPREAD INCREASE OF SOCIAL INTEREST OF INDIAN WOMEN

The number of social agencies is increasing all over India. The writer has been repeatedly impressed with the striking contrast in this respect between India today and India fifteen years ago. You need only read the recent index of the *Handbook of Women's Work for the Bombay Presidency*, compiled by the Bombay Presidency Women's Council, to realize how diversified and widespread the awakened interest in social service has become. This directory lists a great variety of types of social work, both Christian and non-Christian, foreign and Indian. The predominance of Indian women's societies is significant. The non-Christian social effort is largely along communal lines; Indian Christian effort is coördinated with missions or the church.

A similar survey of women's work in Calcutta made by the Bengal Presidency Council reveals a smaller amount of work along the same general lines, with fewer Indian agencies but some very advanced Indian women leaders. Madras shows a progressive group of women leaders in social service, including many prominent Christian women. Other cities like Lahore, Lucknow, and Delhi are also producing leaders in social service; and all over India, even in small places, child-welfare centers have called forth volunteer service. Ladies' clubs have formed a nucleus for social effort, and have furnished opportunity for women in purdah to do social service work.

SIGNIFICANT EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL WORK

A few outstanding examples of social work carried on by Indian women merit special attention: Seva Sadan Centers in Bombay, Poona and Madras; the Saroj Nalini Dutt Women's Institutes in Calcutta and Bengal; Hindu widows' homes in various places, especially Madras, Lahore and Benares, and women's institutes in the Punjab.²⁵

SOCIAL REFORM INFLUENCES

A number of Indian men reformers have shown keen social vision of women's needs, and have inspired women to take up social service. The Servants of India Society has pioneered in service for women; the Seva Sadan in Poona has furnished a model type of social work for all India. The Social Service Leagues in their six centers in India have included women's work in their programs.

The National Movement has undoubtedly been, since 1919, the dominant factor in awakening among men and women alike a feeling of personal and group responsibility to ameliorate social conditions.

The recent Civil Disobedience Movement has, however, caused a temporary deflection of interest in social service, especially in some places like Bombay where all effort has been concentrated in the politi-

²⁵ Dutt, G. S., *A Woman of India* (Hogarth Press, London, 1929).

cal crisis. When the situation becomes more normal, social service will doubtless again receive more attention, as nationalist leaders recognize India's tremendous need for social reconstruction after Swaraj.

SPECIAL NEEDS FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

In the multiplicity of needs for social effort in India today, the following demand special effort: Public education directed toward the abolition of purdah and the elevation of the status of widows, together with the demand for further legislation and the enforcement of existing social legislation; programs of rural welfare emphasizing the many-sided needs of village women; the recruitment of more social workers, both volunteer and professional; specialized training in social work; and social research in India's basic social problems and in methods of work adapted to India's needs.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE CHANGING SOCIAL SITUATION

GENERAL INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

In the foregoing discussion of the changing social situation in India, we have referred repeatedly to the important rôle of Christian missions. To claim that present social changes are the result of Christian missions alone would betray a lack of realization that social change is an intricate composite of many forces. But the relationship of Christian missions to the advance of Indian women is freely admitted by Indian leaders; as, for example, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi who repeatedly voices the feeling that "the women of India have been placed under a deep debt of gratitude to the several missionary agencies for their valuable contribution to the educational uplift of Indian women."²⁶

Lala Hans Raj, the great Arya Samaj leader, expresses a very general opinion in saying, "The best result of Christian missions is the social emancipation of women."

Christian missions, through many indirect influences, have undoubtedly affected the public attitude regarding child-marriage, promoted the welfare of the depressed Hindu widow, and contributed to reshaping the social thinking of India.

DIRECT INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS

The influence of Christian missions on the development of social service in India is exerted in two ways, by individual missionaries and by mission institutions. The example of individual missionaries in spreading the ideal of social service and inspiring non-Christian leaders to social work unquestionably has been very great. A proof of this is

²⁶ Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, M.B. & C.M., Presidential Address, All-India Women's Conference, Lahore, January, 1931, p. 10.

the fact that the phrase "missionary spirit" is often used by Indian leaders in making an appeal for the spirit of service.²⁷

Contribution of the Individual Missionary

The influence of the individual missionary of social vision has been effective in the Vigilance Associations already mentioned, and many other types of welfare committees; in personal contact with Indian women leaders; in various conferences; and in individual service projects carried on in the missionary's all-too-limited marginal time. If it were possible to sum up the entire impact of missionary personality in these lines of individual social service, the total contribution to the service ideal would be very great indeed.

Social Institutions for Women under Christian Missions

The contribution of missions along the line of institutional care for women and children has also been significant. Mission agencies have had fifty-eight homes for women in India, eleven of which are under the coöperating boards. Six are widows' homes. There are 129 mission orphanages, of which ten are under the coöperating boards. The coöperating boards also have thirty-one hostels for women out of a total of 174. These bare statistics, as impressive as they may be numerically speaking, give no impression of the fine quality of service that missions have devoted to this work.²⁸

Social Service Community Centres under Christian Missions

The social service contribution of Christian missions through definite social community programs, however, has not been outstanding. Distinct social service does not seem to have become a definite part of mission planning. In this connection, is there any significance in the fact that the *Christian Task in India* does not include a chapter on social service? Few missions have made special allocations of funds for social-service programs. There are, however, several examples of community service that merit special attention.

Nagpada Neighborhood House

The Nagpada Neighborhood House under Dr. Manshardt of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Bombay is the only outstanding example of a social settlement in India. Situated in a very congested district, it serves the varied types and ages in the neighborhood along medical, social and educational lines. The program includes work for women and girls, infant-welfare clinics and antenatal centre, sewing classes for mothers, and clubs and business classes for girls. A trained woman worker is needed for the full development

²⁷ Mrs. Naidu, Speech at St. Stephens College, Delhi, January, 1931.

²⁸ Data from *Directory of Christian Missions*, 1928-1929.

of the women's program. There is a distinct emphasis on character building in the whole program, but no religious teaching.

Friendship Centre in Satara

The Marathi Mission of the American Board also has a splendid community centre—Friendship Centre and Welcome Hall—on very modern lines in Satara. An excellent Indian staff with Miss Picken in charge, has developed a fully rounded community program of child welfare, adult education, recreation and general activities. In addition to the trained staff, the centre offers opportunities for voluntary service to women of education.

Ahmednagar Social Training Centre

A social centre in Ahmednagar, also under the American Board on very simple lines under a trained Indian leader, is meeting community needs. An infant-welfare clinic is the special feature for women, who also enjoy the frequent public lectures, especially because of the opportunity for normal social contact.

Vellore Social Centres

The Arcot Mission of the Reformed Church has two interesting social service centres on similar lines in Ranipet and Vellore. The Vellore Centre, with Mrs. Honegger in charge, in the heart of a high-caste Brahman section of the city, offers a varied program suited to the needs of girls and women who have had little educational opportunity. It has also a kindergarten and a zenana home-education program. The objective of the service centre is: "To give women and girls of Vellore a chance to live a four-square life." The home of the missionary serves as a hospitality centre for Brahman women of the neighborhood. There is a rare quality of intimacy of contact in this Vellore community work.

Christian Women's Association in Madura

In Madura, a social centre known as the Christian Women's Association or Women's Exchange, is carried on under a splendid Indian woman. The association somewhat resembles a Y. W. C. A. in type of organization and membership. The Association headquarters combine office room, lecture hall and a small hostel for young Christian women.

There are, as far as the writer knows, no other community service centres with special emphasis for women carried on by missions of the six coöoperating boards.

Possibility of Development of Day Schools as Social Service Centres

A large number of missionaries all over India, however, express the desire to develop the community approach. The possibility of using the Mission Day School for girls as a general social-service centre is under

discussion in a number of places. For example, in Madura, a large day school near the Temple offers a splendid opportunity for a community centre. In Madras, a building admirably suited for a social centre was purchased several years ago by the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; but the centre has not yet been developed as an ordinary day school owing to the lack of a trained worker. In Ludhiana, a very vital neighborhood-house program has been developed on a small scale by Miss Bergevin of the American Presbyterian Board, in connection with a city day school for girls. Further equipment and leadership are needed to capitalize the splendid opportunity already created.

Social Service in Schools

Aside from community programs in social service, many of the mission schools and colleges are carrying on student projects in social service. The Women's Christian College and St. Christopher's Training College in Madras, and Isabella Thoburn College in Lucknow, have excellent extra-curricular service programs. The Sherman High School in Chittoor under Miss Van Doren of the Reformed Church has carried on an interesting social survey of a neighboring village. Students and teachers from Capron Hall, Girls' School in Madura, under the American Board, conduct a night school for children of a neighboring mill area; Vellore high-school girls carry on Sunday-school classes for poor children. These school projects are typical of the growing attention paid to social service.

Y. W. C. A. Social Service Program

The Y. W. C. A. in different cities in India has a distinct social emphasis. Hostels and clubs, recreation facilities, and opportunities for social intercourse are phases of the many-sided program.

The National Y. W. C. A. is carrying on an interesting experiment in Bombay in the Naigaum Social and Industrial Service Centre, started in 1928. This is a demonstration of practical service for the women and children in a group of chawls of a congested mill area. The program, which covers health and general welfare, is carried on by two trained Indian workers and a group of volunteers. The committee includes foreigners and Indians, Christians and non-Christians.

The Y. W. C. A. recently held a Social Service Conference in Ootacamund, made up of trained social-welfare workers, foreign and Indian, of different religions. This was a significant gathering which showed the possibilities of effective coördination of Christian and non-Christian forces in social service.

Social Welfare in Villages

An interesting piece of village welfare of the social-service type has been developed under a grant from the Y. W. C. A., as an independ-

ent project, by Mrs. Bose (Miss Irene Mott) and Miss Gertrude Roy in a village near Nagpur.

Village welfare carried on by missions has been largely directed toward evangelism supplemented by education. A certain amount of village health work has been included, which will be discussed in the section on health. On the whole, the socializing of villages has not kept pace with the evangelistic program. The emphasis of social welfare has not been marked. Only seventy-one of the 173 villages included in a special study reported on social service; thirty defined the service as health teaching and medical relief; twelve others mentioned religious work; and the rest spoke of "advocating reforms concerning child-marriage and temperance and directing recreation." Village preachers and teachers carry on these lines of social service.

Training of Social Workers

In view of the increasing interest in social work, and of the tremendous need for social workers in all lines, the lack of training facilities is pathetic. The Social Service Training Centre for Women in Bombay is the nearest approach to a school of social work in India. This represents the coöperative effort of the Missionary Settlement of University Women, the Y. W. C. A., the Free Church of Scotland, and the American Marathi Mission. The course includes classes in theory and practical work in various welfare centres in Bombay. Aside from this professional training, it affords splendid training for volunteer social workers. A significant feature is the mixed committee of control.

The Nagpada Neighborhood House in Bombay has short training courses in social service, mostly for men as already mentioned, emphasizing the study of rural backgrounds of city workers and problems of modern industry. This Nagpada course will probably be combined with Wilson College in a joint training scheme.

A Social Service Training Centre under the Madras Representative Christian Council is being planned in Madras for Christian women welfare workers, especially for industrial work. So far as the writer could ascertain, these are the only schemes for training social workers in India. The training of health workers will be discussed later.

The training of social workers by Christian agencies presents not only a tremendous need but an unparalleled opportunity for contact with Indian women leaders, especially non-Christians, who keenly recognize their lack of preparedness to meet present social problems, and would welcome the help of Christian missions, if it were given in the spirit of social service.

The question of training for social work, if undertaken by Christian agencies, raises two issues: First, as to whether such training will be limited to Christian workers; and, second, as to whether, if non-Christian students are included, such social-service training should have a definite

religious emphasis. The opinion that religious emphasis should be safeguarded in all industrial and social welfare was expressed in the National Christian Council meeting in Nagpur, December, 1930.²⁹ Some Indian Christian workers, on the contrary, feel that social-service training must be on a more liberal basis, an expression of the Christian spirit, training non-Christians as well as Christians, and without any definite religious program.

MISSIONARY OPINION CONCERNING SOCIAL SERVICE AS A PART
OF THE MISSION PROGRAM

In regard to the promotion of social service as a definite part of the missionary program, there is a distinct difference of opinion. Some missionaries feel that missions should not engage in social service as such. In fact they fear a social program may be a dangerous deflection from the evangelistic objective of missions.

On the other hand, an increasing number of missionaries feel that the social gospel with all its implications must be included in the missionary message. They are, therefore, urging the promotion of social programs; the Forward Looking Programme of the Presbyterian Punjab Mission and the Marathi Mission Survey both emphasize the value of the social community programs. The Arcot Mission has increased the financial allotment for the social centre work. Other missions show this same trend.

Social service as an integral part of the program of Christian missions is distinctly in the pioneering stage, and is developing with some difficulty. Individual missionaries who are promoting it are handicapped by lack of time and money. Expansion along lines of social service is possible with present funds only through the curtailment of some other existing lines of work which no one is willing to sacrifice. Furthermore, as one socially-minded missionary pointed out, "When we consider emphasizing the social approach in mission planning, we are constantly faced with the question, 'What will the Home Board say? Does it endorse the inclusive Christian message?'"

In studying the social field of mission effort, the writer has been impressed with the paucity of trained social workers among missionaries in India, the lack of technical experience and accurate knowledge on social and industrial questions, and the striking contrast between social work of missions and other lines of missionary endeavor.

A question for serious consideration of Christian missions is their responsibility for the development of a keener social consciousness among Indian Christians. The writer has heard the criticism frequently that there is a greater response to the service ideal among non-Christians of the small educated minority than among Christian leaders. "It is far easier to enlist non-Christian than Christian volunteers for social serv-

²⁹ *The National Christian Council* (February, 1931), p. 73.

ice," is the comment of one trained foreign social worker. A missionary in the Madras area deplores the attitude of educated Indian Christian leaders who feel no responsibility for social reform as they say: "These reforms do not concern us. These are Hindu problems. Why should we concern ourselves with them?"

Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi bears out this same criticism of the aloofness of Indian Christians.

They do not sufficiently interest themselves in the social uplift of the Hindus. They form a separate caste and do not identify themselves with any of our movements for social reconstruction; on the other hand the European missionaries give their sympathy, coöperation and financial help to many of our reform associations.³⁰

Such a comment must deeply concern Christian missions. Without discrediting the splendid Christian leaders of social vision in the past or present, the question may well be asked whether Christian missions are exerting their full effort to inspire the Christian community with its social responsibility. The present moment in India affords to Christian missions and the Christian church a tremendous opportunity for social service. They have contributed richly to the social awakening of Indian women. What their contribution will be to the problems of social readjustment is one of the major questions for missions to decide.

II

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE LIFE OF WOMEN

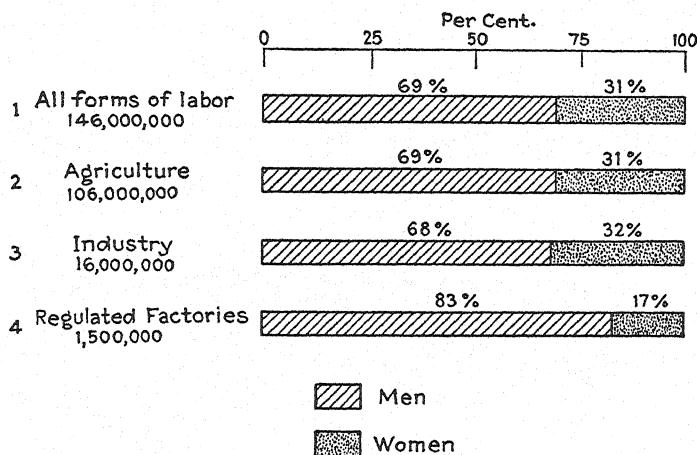
In studying the economic position of Indian women, the writer has been impressed with the fact that there is as a whole far less evidence of change in this field than in the field of social conditions. Social freedom in the East precedes economic independence, reversing the usual order. Economic necessity is only just beginning to play an important rôle in bringing women into economic life.

EXTENT OF ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN

The actual extent of women's economic contribution to the family and nation cannot be measured by the wage earning of women but by the extent of their employment.

Women constitute almost one-third or 31.3 per cent. of the total number of workers in India according to the 1921 Census. The same proportion holds true in reference to industrial and agricultural labor. A very much smaller proportion, roughly one-sixth, is engaged in the professions

³⁰ Personal Letter from Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi, Feb. 5, 1931.

PROPORTION OF MEN AND WOMEN
IN VARIOUS TYPES OF INDUSTRY

Statistical Abstract of British India from 1918-19 to 1927-28, pp. 36 & 686

and liberal arts. Since the work of women falls into the three main categories of industry, agriculture, and professional and general employment, it will be of value to discuss the economic conditions and problems affecting women along these main lines.

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY

The total number of women in industry of all types in India in 1927 was 5,000,000,¹ in comparison with 10,600,000 men. The number of women in industry in proportion to the total female population of India of 155,000,000 is negligible. Hence, industrial problems are not a major factor in the life of Indian women.² The number of women in regulated industries³ under the Factory Acts is less than one-fifth the number of men (250,000 women and 1,200,000 men).⁴

TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT

The employment of women is more or less limited to the unskilled industries. The largest number of skilled women workers are in textiles;

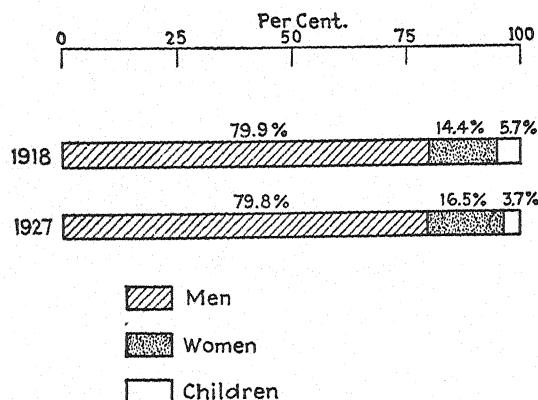
¹ "Industry" includes village industries, handicrafts, workshops and plantations.

² Statistical Abstract for British India, 1918-1919 to 1927-1928 (Central Publication Branch, Calcutta: Government of India, 1930), p. 36. Vera Anstey, *Economic Development of India* (Longmans, Green & Co., New York, 1929), p. 63.

³ "Regulated Industries" refers to factories using mechanical power and employing twenty or more persons.

⁴ Statistical Abstract for British India, p. 686.

**PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN EMPLOYED
IN REGULATED FACTORIES 1918-1927**



Statistical Abstract of British India, Census 1921,
from 1918-19 to 1927-28, p.686.

in which, however, they represent only 20 per cent. of the total number of workers.⁵ Women are found in varying proportions in many types of hard labor; such as in dock work, as coolies in building trades, in road building, in quarries and in mines, both above the surface and underground, as well as in jute factories and as seasonal workers in cotton ginning, wool picking and cleaning.

Very many women are engaged in different types of home industries, such as the spinning of cotton for the men to weave, the making of gold and silver braid and embroidery, basket-weaving, weaving tape for beds, bidi-making (cigarettes), lace-work, pottery, and various other types of work characteristic of different localities.

Women constitute a large proportion of the total number of persons employed in the mines. Their work is gruelling and accompanied by great danger. Until fairly recently, women have been allowed to take children underground. Public agitation has finally resulted in legislation which will eliminate women from underground mine labor within ten years.

EFFECT OF RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL CUSTOMS

Religious and social customs are a controlling feature in the life of Indian women in industry. The effect of early marriage and the universality of marriage are seen in the almost total absence of unmarried women. The unmarried girl over twelve years of age in a factory is very

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 680.

rare indeed. Purdah has undoubtedly been a deterrent against the entrance of women, especially Moslems, into factory employment. Except among the strictly orthodox upper classes, Hindu women in less degree have been effected by the idea of seclusion and the feeling deeply ingrained in Indian thought that a woman's place is in the home. In an agricultural country like India the comparative freedom of outdoor work is implicit. But the entrance of women into industry bears the stigma of shame; and it is only dire necessity that drives a woman out of her home. Exchanging their rural freedom for unfamiliar urban conditions one finds the traditional social attitude reflected in the segregation of women in factory work, except where they are with men of their own families.

The purdah system thus controls various details of factory organization. For example, the women and men leave the factory at different times to avoid indiscriminate contact. The writer was deeply impressed as she watched the throngs of Indian women, carrying their babies and their lunch cans, pouring through the gates of the Sholapur mill a quarter of an hour before the men were released. After the last woman had disappeared down the dusty road, hundreds of men workers burst forth *en masse* and surged homeward. This "staggering" of labor hours was not due to traffic needs, as might be true in a Western city, but was dictated by the demands of social custom.

MIGRATION OF LABOR

One of the distinctive characteristics of Indian industry is the constant movement of labor from rural areas to urban centers which presents moral problems that seriously affect both village and city life. This is especially common in some areas. Near Etah in the United Provinces the writer visited one Christian community in which there were only seven men, all elderly, and seventy women. The able-bodied men were in Calcutta or Cawnpore mills.

The Whitley Commission, in speaking of vice conditions due to the abnormal sex disparity in the population of Calcutta or Bombay, comments fully on the adverse effects of mobility of labor:

This inequality gives rise to a number of grave social problems. In the first place, it leads to an increase of prostitution and a subsequent spread of venereal disease, first in the city and later to the village, with the return of the migratory worker to his home. In the second place, the effect on home life is often disastrous, since a premium is put upon the formation of irregular unions. The very knowledge of this too often completes the vicious circle, many men hesitating to bring their wives into the industrial cities, where the atmosphere is so alien to that of the village with its code of moral restraints.⁶

⁶ Report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India, p. 246.

HOURS OF WOMEN'S LABOR

The same hours of labor, eleven a day and sixty a week, are prescribed for adult males and females, except that night work for women is prohibited. The hours of work in mines, since mines are not under regulation, are often fourteen to sixteen hours a day; and in unregulated factories are often determined merely by the limits of daylight. In addition, it should be remembered that every woman spends two hours morning and evening in household duties.

WAGES OF WOMEN'S LABOR

Women industrial workers everywhere receive lower pay than men. A study of wages in the Bombay Presidency shows:⁷

AVERAGE DAILY WAGE

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Bombay.....	Rs. 1—8—0	Rs. 0—11—11
Ahmedabad.....	1—6—8	0—12—6
Sholapur.....	1—0—5	0—6—8

The same difference in wages of men and women holds in other provinces.

FINANCIAL BASIS OF THE HOME OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Two studies of family budgets in the Bombay Presidency show that 82 per cent. of the total family income in Sholapur, and 85 per cent. in Ahmedabad, must be spent for food, clothing and home needs. This leaves a very small margin for other essentials, travel back to the worker's village, and the inevitable expense of festivals and ceremonies at births, deaths, and especially marriages. The latter often costs the equivalent of a year's wages, making it necessary to borrow the whole at an exorbitant rate—one anna to the rupee or the equivalent of one month's wages a year is a conservative estimate. The result is that two-thirds of all industrial workers, it is estimated, are usually in debt for three months' wages or more. Born into a family burdened with debt, the industrial worker lives and dies in debt, and leaves debt as a legacy to his children.⁸ The Whitley Commission recommends a compulsory limitation of this excessive expenditure on festivities and ceremonies, to end the slavery of debt and thus to increase the worker's possibilities of happiness and prosperity.

LIVING AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Living and working conditions of women in factories are far from conducive to health and well being. The great majority lives in unsanitary, fearfully crowded hovels, "little more than sheds which they often

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 207, 224, 226.

share with cattle," or in the great industrial centres, in one room with several other families.⁹ The 1921 Census report showed that 70 per cent. of the houses in Bombay City were one-roomed. An official investigation of 1921-22 showed that for 97 per cent. of the industrial workers, the number of persons living in a single room was from six to nine. In Madras, Calcutta and Cawnpore, nearly all the workers live in one-room tenements. Women and children suffer most under such conditions, for the men can and do sleep outside on the streets.

These conditions exact a heavy toll of children, and of women who are constantly under the strain of pregnancy and the burden of motherhood. Dr. Balfour's studies in maternity show that only 43 per cent. of the children of women of the industrial class survived, against 62 per cent. of the non-industrial class. Higher still-birth rates and lower birth-weight are further proofs of the deleterious effect of the living conditions of industrial workers.¹⁰

Conditions in the homes of industrial workers are paralleled by conditions in the factories. In regulated industries, certain basic requirements must be met as to light, space and ventilation; in unregulated industries, appalling conditions are possible. Lack of latrines suitable for women is common. In ginning plants, women work in an atmosphere choked with dust and cotton fluff and laden with germs. Often a movement in a gunny sack by the worker's side betrays the presence of the latest-born child doped with opium and hence sleeping all day—a typical case, as it is estimated that 98 per cent. of the children of industrial workers are constantly given opium.¹¹ Although there is an Exclusion Act to keep children out of ginneries, it is often impossible to enforce it without forcing the woman out of employment.

Women suffer not only from bad health conditions but also from the bribery and oppression of the naikins—the women foremen. Naikins are often child-widows who, employed at an early age, have gained influence in the mill and use their power for economic exploitation of the workers; younger women especially are exploited for immoral purposes as an additional source of income. Women factory inspectors and supervisors would eradicate this evil.¹²

WOMEN IN LABOR UNIONS

Industrial women as a whole are inarticulate and have taken little interest in labor unions. In Madras and Bombay, there are a few women members. The Ahmedabad Labor Union, however, has a large number of

⁹ Answer to questionnaire—National Council of Women—Ruth Robinson, Bangalore.

¹⁰ Margaret I. Balfour and Shakuntala K. Talpade, *The Maternity Conditions of Women Mill Workers in India*, p. 22.

¹¹ Vera Anstey, *Economic Development of India*, p. 90.

¹² Answers to questionnaire—National Council of Women—Mrs. Waugh, Bombay, and Miss Ruth Robinson, Bangalore City.

women members and, furthermore, is unique in having a woman directing it—Ansuya Ben Sarabhai, the sister of the leading mill owner in Ahmedabad. A follower of Mr. Gandhi, she has been guided by his policy in her direction of the Union activities which include a very extensive welfare program.

INDUSTRIAL WELFARE

Since there are no compulsory welfare regulations, industrial welfare is in its infancy. A questionnaire sent out by the labor committee of the National Council of Women brought back a number of replies that "nil" or "practically nothing" was being done in welfare. A certain number of the larger mills, however, are providing some type of welfare, usually beginning with medical care, especially crèches for children, that vary in character from a dark, barn-like warehouse with an ignorant *ayah* in charge to an attractive, well-lighted nursery school. Some mills have very fully developed welfare schemes including housing, medical care, especially maternity and child welfare, crèches, recreational and educational provisions. These various welfare programs have taken full cognizance of the needs of women. The women, however, have not fully availed themselves of these advantages, except where women doctors or women welfare workers are in charge.¹³

Aside from employers' welfare schemes, there are a number of municipality housing schemes that benefit industrial workers; and there are welfare programs of non-official organizations such as the Indian Red Cross, the Workingmen's Institute in Bombay, the Ahmedabad Labor Union, and voluntary agencies such as the Seva Sadan Crèche in one of the Sholapur mills.

WELFARE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE WHITLEY COMMISSION

The Whitley Commission has made a number of significant recommendations for industrial welfare. Some of these affect all workers, some apply specifically to women. The general recommendations include the reduction of the maximum working week for adults to fifty-four instead of sixty hours for all perennial industries, and the inclusion under the Factory Acts of hand-power establishments of fifty workers or over. The recommendations for women lay special stress on amenities for working mothers, recommending compulsory provision of crèches where 250 or more women are employed; and on increasing the women personnel in all lines touching industry, such as inspectors (at present the woman inspector in the Bombay Presidency is the only one in India), welfare supervisors, public health and factory medical staff, employment managers, and recruiters of women labor.

The welfare of industrial women in India calls for special attention

¹³ Cecile Matheson, *Indian Industry* (for detailed discussion of Progressive Movement and Industrial Welfare), Chapter viii.

because of the predominance of married women in industry. It may be an economic advantage for the country to have the contribution of married women in employment; but it is of doubtful social and moral benefit, because of the effect on home life and the next generation. The dangers of such a system must, therefore, be offset by increased consideration of women's needs, not merely on humanitarian grounds, but in the interests of national welfare.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN IN INDUSTRY

Special legislation for women includes the following provisions: The prohibition of night work and work with lead compounds and dangerous machinery; and the elimination of women from underground labor in mines after 1939.

Legislation for children covers the following regulations: The age limitation between twelve and fifteen years; allowance of half-timers in mines and full-timers after thirteen years; prohibition of night work, work in lead compounds and with dangerous machinery; and the restriction of labor to six hours a day.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF WHITLEY COMMISSION FOR LEGISLATION AFFECTING WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The Whitley Commission recommends the following additional legislation for women: An All-India Maternity Act similar to the Bombay or Central Provinces Maternity Acts, which are the only ones in India; and changes in the spread of hours for women's labor to make possible two eight-hour shifts for women, thus obviating the prejudicial effect of protective legislation. A minority recommendation covers reduction of women's hours in seasonal employment.

For children, the Whitley Commission would reduce the hours of labor to five; raise the age in mines to fourteen years; and prohibit the mortgaging of child-labor for debt. A minority recommendation raises the age of child-labor to thirteen and eventually fourteen, and makes educational provisions for children. These recommendations for welfare extension and additional legislation proposed by the Whitley Commission constitute a forward-looking program of great benefit to the women and children in industry.

INCREASING INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

The Whitley recommendations come at a timely moment, as there is a growing awareness of industrial problems. The All-India Women's Conference at Patna in 1929 devoted only ten minutes to an industrial recommendation crowded in at the end of a busy session. The Lahore Conference in 1931 gave a whole session to industrial problems, followed by a number of resolutions. This shows growth. Furthermore, the discussion at the Lahore Conference was based on the intelligent work of a sub-

committee on industry appointed by the National Council of Women to study the situation. This committee sent out a questionnaire to all provincial councils requesting information on essential problems affecting women in industry. The close co-operation of Miss Iris Winegate of the Y. W. C. A. with this committee is a significant illustration of the valuable contribution which Christian leaders can render in sharing their knowledge and technical experience and promoting sustained interest in social and industrial problems.

Industrial problems have also become a subject of interest for youth, as is shown by the active protest of the Youth League in Madras against the abuses of the women and children workers in cigarette factories. A thorough investigation was made, the results were widely circulated, and were forcefully presented by the Youth League to the Royal Commission of Labor.

Protective measures for women workers, especially maternity benefits, were included in the National Congress Resolutions at Karachi. The women leaders in the Congress, like Mrs. Naidu, are opposed to protection in principle but recognize it as a necessity to a certain degree.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS

Lack of Contact with Industrial Problems

Christian Missions have not been closely identified with industrial problems. There are practically no programs of industrial welfare under mission agencies although some missions, for example, the Methodist, are located in industrial areas. Lines of work that affect industrial workers are the Nagpada Neighborhood House and the Criminal Tribes Settlements under mission management in Sholapur (American Board), and Kavali (American Baptist). The Naigaum Social Service Centre in Bombay has already been mentioned. The Y. M. C. A. is connected with various projects of industrial welfare.¹⁴

Missionary effort has not been active in educating public opinion on industrial problems. Missionaries, as a whole, are not vitally interested in the industrial situation. This lack of contact of missionaries with the industrial field was mentioned by a member of the Whitley Commission, as a matter of surprise, since the Commission had expected to find the missionary body one of the main sources of information on general industrial conditions. The Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. were mentioned as "often working alone" on the industrial problem. Both of these institutions have varied contacts with industry.

Evidences of Increasing Interest in Industrial Problems

Although missionary effort has not been focussed definitely on the industrial situation, there are evidences of increasing interest, such as the

¹⁴ See Dr. Cressey's Report, this Volume, for discussion of the Industrial Program of Missions.

study *Indian Industry* made by Miss Cecile Matheson for the National Christian Council, 1928-29; three special industrial conferences—Poona, 1929; Nagpur, 1930; Madras, 1931—and the formation of a committee on industrial problems in five provincial Christian councils. Women have not figured prominently in either the conferences or council committees. There are, however, a few exceptions including several trained Indian women. These various phases of activity represent the beginning of collective missionary thought on Indian industry.

Special Needs for Mission Effort in Industrial Problems Affecting Women

The Royal Commission on Labour has made some very definite recommendations already referred to elsewhere in this section which are of direct interest to missions. The demand for more women workers in industry as inspectresses, employment managers, supervisors and welfare directors opens up an entirely new field for educated women. It lies within the power of missions to solve the problem of recruitment by directing Indian women students in the women's colleges along the line of industrial research and industrial welfare. Miss Power of the Whitley Commission made the following comment in a personal interview. "The Government cannot supply the unselfish, courageous leadership needed for high grade women workers in the supervision and administration of industrial welfare. It will need the help of Missions."

In regard to the need for economic research, the Commission emphasizes the importance of having economics courses required in universities, and suggests that religious bodies could make a valuable contribution through intensive types of research in their local fields of operation.

The increasing opportunities and demands for well-trained women social industrial workers present an urgent need for training facilities. The Madras Training Centre to be opened in the near future points the way to other training efforts. The field of social and industrial training offers an opportunity, in fact the necessity, for effort in co-operation with non-mission or Government schemes. The need for Christian missions and the Christian Church to include within their interpretation of the Christian task a more vital responsibility for promoting social and industrial progress needs no reaffirmation.

WOMEN IN RURAL LIFE

EXTENT OF WOMEN'S LABOR IN RURAL LIFE

The universality of labor by women in rural life is one of the salient impressions of the writer's present and previous study of Village India. Everywhere one finds the village woman at work in the fields, in the home, on the road laden with heavy burdens of straw or wood, or at the village well. There are about half as many women as there are men engaged in agriculture. Since 73 per cent. of the total population of India

is supported by agriculture,¹⁵ it is obvious what an important economic asset the illiterate, underprivileged, hard-working rural woman is in national life.

TYPES OF WOMEN'S LABOR IN RURAL LIFE

Women carry on all ordinary types of field work, such as planting and weeding rice, harvesting grain and carrying heavy loads as coolies. They also work on tea plantations, where they constitute a large proportion of the laborers. Aside from the agricultural work, many women in the cotton area enter cotton ginneries during the slack farm season. Many carry on cottage industries. All this is done in addition to the duties of the home.

Two of the endless occupations are grinding corn and making dung cakes. Piles of dung cakes for fuel, or walls plastered with dung cakes, and bearing the imprint of the hands of women or little girls, meet the eye in every village. Both of these forms of women's labor are uneconomic. The dung cakes are a waste of manure much needed for the soil. The grinding of grain, an additional drain on a woman's time, is work that could be done by animals or by the grain mills. Christian Village women, like others of the sweeper class, do the lowest work of the village. As midwives and scavengers they carry out the night soil. The village woman's life of endless toil leaves no time or thought for home-making, hence neglect of children is obvious.

FINANCIAL BASIS OF THE VILLAGE HOME

Village women are rarely paid individual wages, although they earn a considerable part of the family income. In a questionnaire sent out by Mr. Sipple, 70 of a total of 173 villages reported that women earn from one-fourth to one-third of the family income; forty-three villages reported 50 per cent. The extent of financial control of the family purse by village women varied from "equally with the men" or "entirely" to "some" or "very little." The great majority of village women are always close to the margin of bare subsistence. The average family income in Village India, including all castes, is estimated at Rs.250; and the average Christian family income annually is only Rs.162, according to the village questionnaire.¹⁶

The income of the great majority of village homes is mortgaged by debt incurred, as are the debts of industrial workers, largely for unproductive expense, marriages, and ceremonies. In a study of village families in the Calcutta area, of 1,076 families, 442 reported debts incurred for marriages in contrast to 133 for food, 111 for household expenses, and one for a sewing machine.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Statistical Abstract for British India*, p. 37.

¹⁶ See Dr. Hypes' Report, this Volume, for discussion of the Economic Status of Villages.

¹⁷ Calcutta Area Survey, Methodist Episcopal Church—Rural Home Section.

A recent survey of rural conditions in Gujarat gives some interesting comparisons of the costs of marriage of sons and of daughters:

COST OF MARRIAGE

		<i>Girl</i>	<i>Boy</i>
Low-Caste Hindu.....	Rs.	30—50	Rs. 50—75
High-Caste Hindu.....		200—300	800—1,000
Moslem.....		150—250	400—700
Parsi.....		2,000—3,000	1,500—2,500

This difference in marriage cost indicates the typical idea of the value of a girl and of a boy. Only in the Parsi community does the girl seem to rate higher.

Jewelry also constitutes a heavy drain on the family purse. Every village woman, however poor, must have her quota of anklets, necklaces and bracelets, not to mention ear-ornaments and toe-rings. The study of Christian village groups shows that the average annual expenditure per family is Rs.9 for jewels, compared with Rs.7-2-0 for a woman's clothes out of a total income of Rs.162. This illustrates the heavy liability of a woman's ornaments. These oftentimes, however, constitute the only savings bank of the family, as the woman has no rights of inheritance.

EFFECT OF SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS

The economic effect of these social and religious customs is painfully evident. There is little chance for thrift or remunerative saving as long as the villager spends unproductively a large part of his income. Purdah represents a sheer economic waste. Although it is not characteristic of village life, as it is of the city, purdah does exist in some villages and prevents women not only from engaging in open field work but even from taking lunches to the husbands in the fields, or from drawing water from the village well. Thus the village is deprived of half its economic income.

WOMEN IN VILLAGE COÖPERATIVES

The Coöperative Movement has not affected Indian women to any very marked extent. Only a small number of villages have Coöperatives, and still fewer have women members. In the village study, 255 out of 431 members were women. The Government development of Coöperatives for women in the Punjab under the supervision of an able Christian woman, Miss Mercy Ahmed Shah, illustrates a very sound type of village uplift. In the 129 Coöperative societies, over 1,600 village women are reached.

A special drive is made against the excessive expenditures for social ceremonies and jewelry. Through the thrift societies, which are like a savings bank, women are encouraged to save and be thrifty; and thus the

bondage of debt for many village homes is broken, for "village economy depends on the women."¹⁸

THE GURGAON EXPERIMENT

The pivotal importance of village women has been fully recognized in the Gurgaon experiment near Delhi—a village welfare program carried on by an English Commissioner. This program and a similar project in the Jhelum District, have stressed teaching the women of the village home-making and economic values. The Gurgaon experiment has served as a demonstration for other rural uplift projects.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE ECONOMIC SITUATION OF RURAL WOMEN

General Contact and Influence

Christian missions and missionaries have had a much more vital contact with village women than with women in industry. It would be impossible to measure in concrete terms of economic uplift the effect on rural women of the far-flung program of evangelism and education through the contact of women missionaries. Missionary opinion differs as to whether the economic outlook of the village Christian woman is any different from that of non-Christian women of the same level. These general economic effects of mission effort are, however, not in the purview of this report.¹⁹

Industrial Schools

A direct channel of mission influence on the economic position of village girls, has been the emphasis on handicrafts and industrial arts in mission schools. The *Directory of Christian Missions* lists for 1928-29 fifty-three institutions for girls and women that give more or less industrial training. Of these, seven are under American missions, and include widows' homes and girls' schools. Some of them are entirely vocational, others have merely industrial classes. The main lines taught are hand-work, lace-making and sewing. In most of the institutions with industrial training, the objective is training for subsidiary rather than full support. The full-time industrial schools like Lucy Perry Noble Institute (American Board) at Madura, and that of the Reformed Church at Palmaner, train girls to earn their livelihood.

The value of the mission industrial training for girls is twofold: to train for economic support and to develop a more practical idea of education. Hence, it has an economic value. Many girls in the usual mission schools go from the village, but after school life do not return to it. The industrial school attempts to turn more girls back to the village,

¹⁸ Interview with Miss Mercy Ahmed Shah, Coöperative Department, Lahore, January 18, 1931.

¹⁹ See Dr. Hypes' Report, this Volume.

and to give them practical training for village needs. Along with the industrial school with its training for wage earning, is the home-life type of school. Through these schools, the mission is exerting a definite influence on the economic level of village life.

AGRICULTURAL TRAINING FOR WOMEN

Christian missions have not included women in their programs of agricultural training. However, the futility, or at best the 50 per cent. effectiveness, of training men who will have ignorant wives is increasingly obvious. At the Agricultural Institute in Allahabad, Dr. Higginbottom hopes to develop courses of two types for women: A simple course for the wives of agricultural students, and a general course with an agricultural bias for teachers in girls' schools.²⁰

Further Rural Economic Needs for Mission Effort

The outstanding need in the field of rural economy is the development of rural reconstruction units that will regard the village as a whole and will give proper emphasis to women. The economic status of the village can be lifted only as the conditions of women are ameliorated. The release of the village woman from grinding toil, to give her some opportunity for the care of her family, is an urgent economic and social necessity for rural life as a whole.

WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS AND GENERAL EMPLOYMENT

INCREASING NUMBER IN PROFESSIONAL LIFE

The major profession that women of the educated class have entered is teaching. As in most countries, it represents the entering wedge into economic independence. A graduate study of five mission colleges shows 529 teachers out of 651 women graduates reporting professional careers, ninety-seven doctors and twenty-five in other professions. At present 5,126 women students are taking teachers' training.²¹ The 1921 Census gives, in India and Burma combined 35,845 women employed in different lines of instruction.²²

Women are entering the field of medicine and health in increasing numbers. There are 683 women medical students; and more than 400 women are now practising medicine. These professions will be discussed in the section on health and education.

A very high standard has been set in the legal profession by Miss Cornelia Sorabji, the pioneer woman lawyer in India. Very few women have taken up law. There are at present nine women law students in

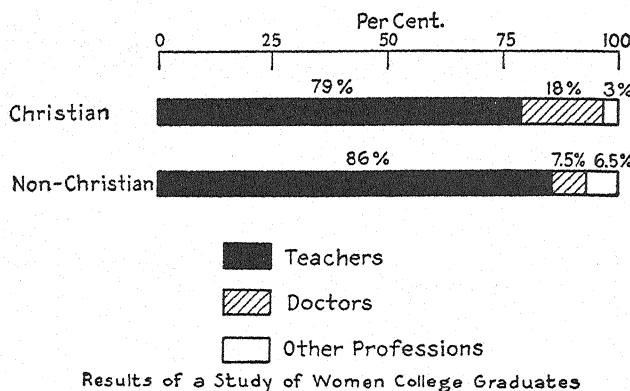
²⁰ Dr. Sam Higginbottom, memorandum on "Women's Agricultural Training."

²¹ *Progress of Education in India, 1922-1927* (Calcutta—Government in India—Central Publishing Branch, 1929), Vol. II, p. 212.

²² *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1927-28*, p. 40.

different colleges in India. The field of social service and industrial welfare is very new. Three industrial research workers connected with the Bombay Department of Industries, and several trained social workers in Bombay, are pioneers in the social field which offers increasing opportunities for well-trained Indian women.

**PROFESSIONS OF 651 WOMEN
FROM AMONG A TOTAL OF
813 WOMEN GRADUATES**



NEW LINES OF EMPLOYMENT FOR INDIAN WOMEN

Indian women have not yet entered the stenographic field. Women agents for a sewing machine to promote zenana sales, women engaged in promoting the *swadeshi* or home products movement by house-to-house canvassing, and women in shop organization, are new ventures. With the development of Indian film companies, and the entrance of several prominent Indian women into this field, a recognized profession for women is being opened by the cinema. Several isolated illustrations are of interest because they indicate the outward trend of women toward more independence of thought and action, and their growing urge for economic independence: a successful life insurance saleswoman, a young Hindu; a Sikh woman taxi-driver and two Parsi sisters in charge of the ladies' department of a Bombay bank.

SIGNIFICANT TRENDS

The increase in the number of non-Christian women in professional life is significant, as it means that the lead will no longer be held by the Indian Christians who have been the pioneers in all professions. There is a trend away from marriage toward careers among college graduates. This is significant in India because marriage has been regarded as the *raison d'être* of a woman's life. The large number of married women in

careers at present is an interesting reflection of Indian social customs that are now in process of change.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND THE ECONOMIC EMERGENCE OF WOMEN

The contribution of Christian missions to the general economic development of women is incalculable. Professional life for Indian women first opened through mission education. Mission schools and institutions have not only furnished the training but the opportunities for professional life for the stream of graduates pouring out of these institutions. Mission employment has established these professions and given the public a demonstration of the need and the value of Indian women in professional life. A distinct trend is now discernible away from mission employment into a broader field as a result of the rapid westernization and the economic emancipation of women.

Some missionaries welcome this fact because mission training will thus exert a wider influence. They see, however, that they must meet this situation by increased attention to the moral character training so that their students may not break under the strain of greater freedom. Other missionaries, fearful of the moral hazards in the outside professional world, feel that Christian leaders must be kept in mission employment. This problem is discussed more fully elsewhere in this report.

Mention has already been made of the Social Service Training Centre for Women in Bombay, a joint missionary effort with the only course of its kind in India preparing women for a career in social service.

In the field of business and other vocations outside the professional field, mission agencies have made no significant contribution. The Y. W. C. A., however, has rendered service in the economic development of women in city life; for example, through business courses, adult education, employment bureaus, hostels for business and professional women in all city centres, and clubs for special groups, such as the Nurses' Club in Madras and the Teachers' Association in Calcutta.

FURTHER NEEDS FOR MISSION EFFORT IN GENERAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Among the special needs for further mission effort in the field of professional training, the following may be cited: More emphasis on special lines of vocational training and vocational guidance which so far have received no special consideration; emphasis on character training, so that women may safely enter an enlarged field of professional life; co-operation of missions with other agencies promoting women's exchanges and business opportunities for women; more provision of hostels and recreation clubs for business and professional women; and research in economic problems affecting women.

The attitude toward women in professions and general employment is steadily changing. The National Movement has helped to sweep away the prejudice against women in public service and has opened up new

lines of employment. The present period is replete with opportunities, and likewise fraught with moral dangers, as the Indian woman passes from the shelter of a home into the world of economic independence. Mission schools and colleges are preparing this new generation of business and professional women and have, therefore, the responsibility of establishing character standards that will bear the strain of a difficult period of economic and social transition.

III

HEALTH CONDITIONS AFFECTING THE LIFE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

THE GENERAL HEALTH SITUATION

The initial and final impression of India is the terrible wastage of the lives of women and children. The heavy toll of death and disease is counted by millions, not thousands. The enormity of the problem is comparable to that in no other country, not merely because of the size of India, a subcontinent of teeming millions, but because ignorance common to the masses in other countries has here an invincible ally in social customs that load the dice heavily against women and children.

INFANT AND MATERNAL MORTALITY

It is estimated that a fifth of the children in India die before the age of one year. Almost half the children born die before they are five years of age.¹

Statistics of maternal mortality are more difficult to secure; but Dr. Balfour of the Heffkine Institute of Bombay estimates that approximately 100,000 women die annually in maternity.²

EFFECT OF SOCIAL CUSTOMS ON THE HEALTH OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

The reasons assigned for the high mortality rate are early marriage and consequent childbirth before the mother is physically mature, plus primitive unsanitary midwifery and ignorance of child care.

India pays a heavy price in terms of the lives of women and children for certain social and religious customs—early marriage and purdah. The far-reaching effects of these two social evils cannot be concretely evaluated because Indian society has been undershot with their influence. A study of maternal mortality in four districts, Madras, Madura, Trichinopoly, and Coimbatore, showed that among the 7,324 confinement cases studied, the maternal mortality rate was eighteen per thousand.³

¹ Report of Public Health Commissioner for the Government of India for 1928.

² Margaret I. Balfour, C.B.E., M.B., Heffkine Institute, Bombay, "Maternity and Child Welfare," reprint from *Antiseptic*, April, 1929.

³ Report of the Director of Public Health with the Government of India for 1928.

The relationship between purdah and diseases causing maternal and infant mortality is clearly recognized by medical authorities. In a research study based on medical practice in Kashmir, the population of which is predominantly Moslem, Dr. Kathleen O. Vaughan draws this conclusion:

It is necessary to point out to those in authority that the present working of the purdah system by depriving the girls and women of sunlight is directly responsible for the production of osteomalacia, gross pelvic deformity and the death of thousands of mothers and children in childbirth annually.⁴

The effect of child-marriage and purdah is shown by the fact that infant-mortality rates are higher among Moslems and Hindus than among Christians.⁵

These social customs are the cause, not only of infant and maternal mortality, but also of general debility and lowered resistance to disease. According to Dr. Suhrawardy, a Moslem specialist in child welfare in Calcutta, "tuberculosis has claimed more victims from among Moslem women than those of any other Indian community. The causes are lowered vitality with no power of resistance against infection due to living under purdah conditions in small, dark, ill-ventilated houses and marriage and childbirth in immature years."⁶

OTHER FACTORS IN THE HEALTH SITUATION

The scales are also heavily weighted against an Indian woman's life by ignorance and superstition. She falls an easy prey to all the ordinary ills. Tuberculosis and smallpox are usually much higher among women than among men. We have mentioned the unsanitary living conditions of industrial workers in urban centres. The same conditions prevail in cities for the vast majority of women, who suffer the deleterious effects of crowded living quarters, lack of sanitation and lack of food.

THE HEALTH SITUATION IN VILLAGE INDIA

In village India, as has already been shown, there is even more disease and suffering. Lack of sanitation, open pools in which mosquitoes breed, dust, dirt, and innumerable flies affect the village as a whole, but especially the women and children.

A brief summary of the health conditions of the villages graphically reveals that of 173 villages, only fourteen had latrines; in 105 villages, there were 7,200 deaths in one year, or an average of 68.6 per village;

⁴ Dr. Kathleen Olga Vaughan, M.B. (London), *The Purdah System and Its Effect on Motherhood*, p. 38.

⁵ Dr. Margaret I. Balfour, *Diseases of Pregnancy and Labour in India with Special Reference to Community* (Thacker's Press & Directories, Ltd.).

⁶ Hassan Suhrawardy, *Mother and Infant Welfare for India* (printed by K. M. Hilal, Calcutta), p. 21.

in 84 villages, there were only seventeen trained midwives in comparison with 1,137 untrained.

The babies are sketchily clad as to clothes but always wear anklets and charms against the evil eye, are always neglected, unwashed; many have sore eyes. Each one of them passes its days sitting in the dirt of the compound, or astride the hip of an older brother or sister who has full responsibility for its care. Always more babies follow in inevitable succession at not more than eighteen months' intervals. Sometimes the mother attempts to prolong the interval between pregnancies by nursing the latest-born two or three years or even longer.

This ever-present condition of pregnancy is an accepted fact of existence. The event of childbirth is regarded as a period of contamination. If possible, a place removed from the rest of the family is chosen, the worst room, if there is any choice. A village *dai* or midwife, a woman of the lowest class, ignorant, old, often blind, always filthy, officiates as the arbiter of life and death. After only a few days, the woman again resumes her daily round of grinding, cooking the food, carrying water, working in the field and endlessly making dung cakes.

If you have seen the setting of a village woman's life, everywhere the same, whether in a thatched-roof hut in Madras or a mud-walled village of the United Provinces, statistics on infant and maternal mortality become human realities. You cease to wonder at the high rate of death, but marvel at the miracle of life, which makes human survival in such conditions a possibility.

The health problem of the women of India, when looked at *en masse*, would seem to be "hopeless." Certain facts, however, indicate that the forces at work combating the human wastage do show evidences of at least a modicum of success. These efforts challenge the attention of anyone interested in the relationship of Christian missions to the health problems of women.

FACILITIES FOR MEDICAL CARE OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

HOSPITALS

Hospitals with medical care for women in India are steadily increasing. The 1929 *Indian Year Book* shows an increase of hospitals of all kinds from 3,956 in 1925 to 4,189 in 1926. Millions of Indian women in purdah who could not receive medical treatment from male doctors have been reached only through zenana hospitals.

There were 183 zenana hospitals staffed by women in 1927.⁷ Following the example of the mission agencies that have steadily promoted zenana hospitals, various provincial governments have shown increased interest in hospital care as, for example, the Punjab Government which

⁷ Margaret I. Balfour and Ruth Young, *Work of Medical Women in India* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1929), p. 182.

includes within its program for the next decade five new hospitals for women.

HEALTH WELFARE AGENCIES

Three main agencies, the Countess of Dufferin Fund, the Victoria Memorial Scholarship Fund, and the Lady Chelmsford League for Maternity and Child Welfare, working in close harmony with the Indian Red Cross, are placing definite emphasis on the care of women and children. Progress is noticeable throughout India.

HEALTH PROPAGANDA AND HEALTH EDUCATION

The last decade has brought an extension of the program of health propaganda consisting of the organization of Baby Weeks and health weeks with widespread distribution of pamphlets and posters in English and the vernaculars. Since the first Baby Week seven years ago, which was attended by perhaps 7,000 Indian purdah women, the idea has grown into a national movement, and has become a potent social force for leveling caste and undermining purdah.

The problem for all who are interested in the uplift of Village India is to reach the village woman, for it is she who is the key to rural progress. The increase in the number of busses is bringing the village nearer the town; and the exhibits at village fairs or melas bring health education to the village woman.

Health education in schools and medical inspection are growing but are still rather irregularly promoted in different parts of India. The problem of social hygiene has not yet been introduced in schools, except perhaps in some rare cases. National legislation for the extension of health education in schools is being discussed; but the utter paucity of bedrock educational necessities precludes any idea of such a development. A certain amount of village health education is carried on by the teachers, with perhaps an untrained midwife or a Government medical officer. The amount varies from weekly lectures to lectures once or twice a year. Village conditions show very little effect from this rather haphazard village health education.

Recreation and Physical Exercise

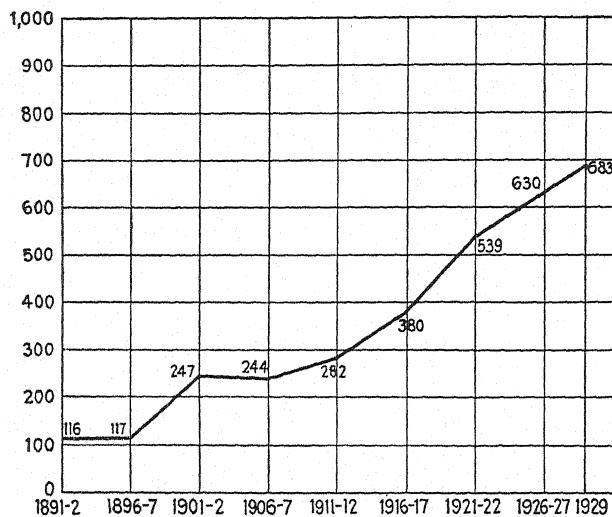
A very wholesome influence is being exerted on the general health of Indian women through the growing emphasis on physical exercise and recreation. The Girl Guides movement, the Y. W. C. A. with its sports tournaments, and teacher-training classes, and the physical education programs in the schools, are reaching women and girls in all communities. Purdah clubs, with their new outlets for social enjoyment, are also exerting an important influence and have a real value from the health and social standpoint. The afternoon at the purdah club is now a weekly event much anticipated. Badminton, tennis, and cards are the main at-

tractions. Many just sit and enjoy the social contact, a very new experience for the large majority. Formerly, festivities after a birth, marriage ceremonies, or gatherings after funerals were the only high lights of an otherwise very dull routine.

Training of Doctors

In the promotion of the health program for women, a very important factor is the increasing number of Indian women entering the field of

GROWTH IN NUMBER
OF WOMEN MEDICAL STUDENTS
1891-2 - 1929
(INCLUDING BURMA)



Progress of Education in India, 1922-27, p. 212
Annual Report for Countess of Dufferin's Fund including
the Women's Medical Service 1929.

medicine and general health. This means the beginning of the process of replacement of foreign women doctors with Indians. The opportunities for medical training at present include four women's medical schools (two mission and two Government) and one Woman's Medical College under Government, the Lady Hardinge College in Delhi, and thirteen coeducational medical schools and colleges. The number of women medical students in schools and colleges in 1928-29 was 683 compared with 630 in 1927, an increase indicative of the steady upward curve since women began to enter the profession.

Women medical students constitute about 7 per cent. of the total number of medical students (683 women and 8,938 men students).

Two significant trends are the extent of coeducation and the proportion of Christians to non-Christians. The fact that a third of the women medical students are in coeducational institutions illustrates changing social attitudes.

Training of Nurses

The training of nurses is carried on in very large measure in mission hospitals. Government hospitals for the most part do not train nurses. The woman nurse of the higher type is very much needed to lift nursing to its proper status as a profession. It has hitherto been regarded, not as a career but merely as a low menial service of doubtful moral tone. The public attitude is changing, however, as the number of trained nurses has increased and definite professional standards have been established.

Training of Health Visitors

Seven health schools under the Lady Chelmsford League or the Red Cross are furnishing well-trained health visitors who, though few in number, are exerting a widespread influence on health conditions in Indian homes.

The promotion of the career of health-visitor is attended with certain difficulties of recruitment. The work, in which it is necessary to mix with all kinds of people and to visit in strange homes, is contrary to the prevailing Indian custom; consequently it is difficult to find suitable people for the health schools in spite of the adequate salaries. With all the increased emphasis on medical care of women, one naturally asks the question, what is the response of the masses for whom these efforts are exerted and what are the tangible evidences of improvement in health conditions?

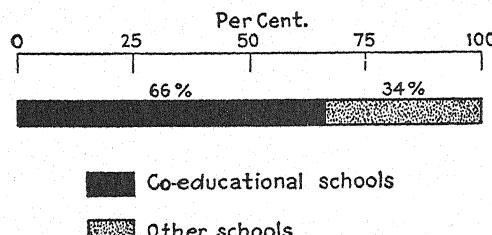
EVIDENCES OF IMPROVEMENT

Pioneer medical missionaries have abundant illustrations of the changing attitude of Indian women toward medical care. In the early days a purdah woman would rather die than bear the disgrace of seeing a male doctor; and the only way a man doctor could operate for cataract, for instance, was through a hole in the sheet. Today such extreme conservatism would be exceedingly rare, although the persistence of purdah, especially in North India, will doubtless demand women doctors for years to come.

The breaking down of the fear of hospitals is a matter of frequent comment. To quote from Dr. Benjamin, of the American Baptist Woman's Hospital of Nellore:

The first year of the hospital, there were only three confinement cases, all abnormal; in 1930 there were 250 maternity cases

**PROPORTION OF WOMEN STUDENTS IN CO-EDUCATIONAL
MEDICAL COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS TO TOTAL
NUMBER OF WOMEN STUDENTS IN MEDICAL
COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS**



From Annual Report for Countess of Dufferin's Fund, including the Women's Medical Service, 1929.

of which 200 were normal. The increase in the number of high caste patients is very marked. They make no objection now to being cared for in the ward with outcastes.

Dr. Edith Brown of Ludhiana gives the following significant figures showing the increased response of women to hospital facilities. In the Punjab, from 1922 to 1927, the number of women treated at general hospitals more than doubled. The number of women treated in women's hospitals increased from 240,019 to 326,547.

The question whether increased attention to the health problem of Indian women has produced any evident amelioration of conditions will be answered with any degree of certainty only after a longer period of time. Nevertheless, municipal health centres show a distinctly upward curve and a lower infant-mortality rate in supervised health centre districts than in other city areas. A very definite sign of progress is "the interest and enthusiasm for child welfare of the more enlightened public which offers most hope for the future." Indian women leaders of all the different communities are assuming an increasing responsibility for health welfare, not only through privately promoted schemes but through co-operative effort, such as the Provincial Council of the National Council of Women.

**RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO THE HEALTH CONDITIONS
OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN**

CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONS

"The account given of the beginnings of women's medical work in India shows what a debt the women of India owe to medical missions. The subsequent history of that work displays in almost as striking a de-

gree the part which mission doctors have played in every fresh development."⁸

Quotations like the above could be multiplied from many other sources, official and private, English and Indian, Christian and non-Christian, in recognition of the achievement of medical missions. No other subject related to Christian missions calls forth more complete unanimity of opinion.

Mission Hospitals for Women

Since the opening of the first woman's hospital in India at Bareilly by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1875, the development of mission hospitals for women has been continuous until today a chain of women's hospitals stretches from the northwest frontier to Ceylon and from Bombay to Calcutta. There is no way of evaluating in terms of human lives the ministry of healing of the women doctors and surgeons to the millions of Indian women who have been in these mission hospitals, or of estimating their effect in breaking down superstition and conservatism. Their influence has radiated widely and penetrated deeply into the most secluded zenana.

The relationship of mission medical work for women, compared with the general medical service for women, is shown by the fact that of approximately 400 women doctors in hospitals in India, 150 are women missionaries;⁹ of 183 zenana hospitals in 1927, ninety-three were mission hospitals.¹⁰ The number given in the Simon report for women mission doctors is lower than the actual number for 1930 referred to elsewhere in this report.

Extent of Mission Women's Medical Service

The proportion of mission emphasis on medical work for women and for men is interesting in comparison with Government development. The latter has moved along the lines of general medical service; the mission has taken women's medical service as its major task. The proportion of ninety-eight hospitals for women, seventy-eight for men, and seventeen unclassified shows this fact.¹¹ In 1930 foreign workers in the mission personnel included 210 women and 133 men doctors. However, mere statistics do not measure fully the value of the mission contribution to the development and support of the women's medical service.¹²

⁸ Margaret I. Balfour and Ruth Young, *The Work of Medical Women in India* (Oxford University Press, New York, 1929), p. 75.

⁹ Simon Commission report, Vol. I, paragraph 69.

¹⁰ Dr. Margaret I. Balfour and Dr. Ruth Young, *The Work of Medical Women in India*, p. 82.

¹¹ Christian Medical Assn. *Prayer Cycle*, August, 1930. See also Dr. Wampler's Report, this Volume.

¹² *Directory of Christian Missions*, 1927-28.

Mission Dispensaries

The medical relief given to women and children by mission dispensaries all over India merits more than the passing attention possible in this report. Such dispensaries as the Elliott Dispensary in Pathankot under the United Presbyterian, the mission dispensary at Etah, and the Allahabad mission dispensary under the American Presbyterian, also the roadside dispensaries of the Vellore Hospital under the Reformed Church, are only some of many illustrations of the extra hospital work that is benefiting thousands of Indian women.

MISSION HEALTH PROGRAM

An outstanding example of the missions' share in training midwives and dais is the work of Miss Rachel Piggott, in Hyderabad, Sind, of the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. The coöperation of women's hospitals with child-welfare programs, such as the joint program of the Hay Memorial Mission Hospital and the Red Cross at Sialkot under the United Presbyterian, should be mentioned. The non-medical missionary with a medicine kit also covers a great need.

The relationship between health and evangelism in village work is being definitely emphasized by some women district evangelists. One Indian school principal says: "Our evangelistic work would be more effective if each evangelist could have a well-trained nurse. Our girls from villages are in awful physical condition—no wonder, since the villages are cut off from any medical aid."

In the Arcot district the double approach of village health and teaching is attempted through promotion of the idea of the marriage of a village catechist to a nurse who is then paid by the mission for village health work.

In the line of general health centres, missions have done comparatively little. "Missionaries individually have coöperated in health welfare, but the missions have not assumed health welfare and preventive medicine as a definite part of the mission program," as one English woman doctor in Government service states. Another, in the same vein, says: "Missions on the whole have shown a singular lack of appreciation of the value of preventive measures. Whatever work has been done out of the hospital on the general field has not been a carefully thought-out program."

A number of reasons are given for the almost exclusive mission emphasis on hospitals and the paucity of health programs: First, "the sense of overwhelming need for relief of human suffering which demands curative work"; second, "the tendency to overemphasize surgery due to the endless opportunity for practice and keen professional interest of surgeons"; third, "the lack of personal satisfaction in immediate results in ordinary health programs"; fourth, "the lack of evangelistic opportu-

nity in health work compared with the concentrated opportunities in hospitals"; and finally, "the lack of promotion and support of a health program from the Home Board, since a health program does not make the money-raising spectacular appeal of relieving human suffering that is made by hospitals."

Two general health programs should be mentioned as types for further development: The medical department in connection with the traveling agricultural school of Dr. John Goheen in Sangli, American Presbyterian, and the work of the United Free Church Mission under Miss Sutherland, a Village Unit Welfare Scheme combining health education, a pre-nursery school, child-welfare and women's institute.

Health of Christian and Non-Christian Women and Children

One of the interesting evidences of the effect of Christian missions is the difference in health of Christian and non-Christian women and children judged by two sensitive indices of health. The infant mortality-rates in Madras and Bombay reflect this difference.

INFANT MORTALITY RATE *

	Madras	Bombay
Indian Christian.....	186.8%	288.1%
Hindu †.....	261.8	311.8
Moslem.....	275.3	312.1

* Annual Report for the Corporation of Madras, 1929. Report of the Municipal Commissioner for Bombay, 1929-30. See Dr. Wampler's Report, this Volume.

† Not including outcastes.

Similarly a comparison of statistics on all India on diseases causing maternal mortality shows the higher standard among Christians.

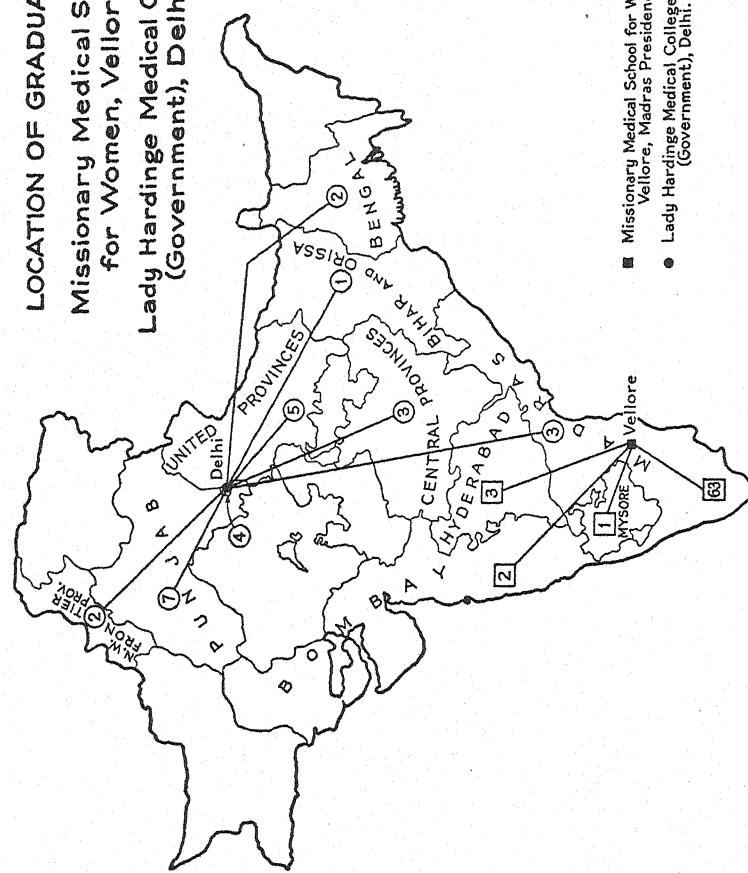
MATERNAL MORTALITY RATE *

Community	RATIO PER 1,000		
	Osteomalacia	Eclampsia	Anæmia
Hindu.....	30.9	15.2	28.0
Moslem.....	62.0	24.3	36.1
Other (mainly Christian).....	5.2	6.9	13.0

* Dr. Margaret Balfour, *Diseases of Pregnancy and Labour in India with Special Reference to Community*, reprinted from Vol. I. "Transactions of the Far Eastern Association of Tropical Medicine," Seventh Congress in India, 1927.

The conclusion of this study sums up the reasons for the difference: "Christian women free from purdah leading more active lives, with a later marriage age, more literacy and knowledge of hygiene, have the smallest disease and still-birth rate." These better health conditions are, of course, the effect not merely of medical work but of the sum total of mission effort.

LOCATION OF GRADUATES
Missionary Medical School
for Women, Vellore
Lady Hardinge Medical College
(Government), Delhi



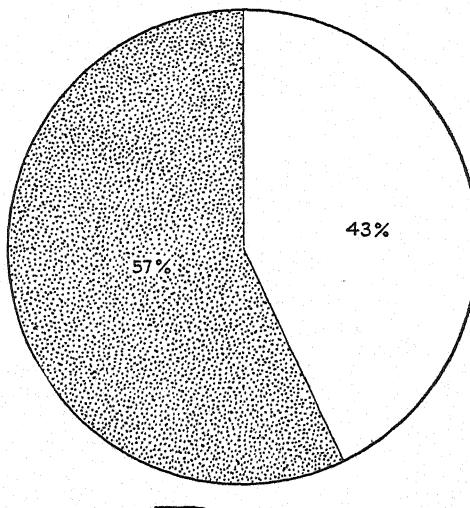
Training of Medical and Health Workers by Missions

The success of medical missions has depended in no small measure on their building a medical profession for Indian women, a signal achievement, and perhaps an even greater contribution than the healing of the millions of women and children who have benefitted from the mission hospitals for women. Dr. Brown of Ludhiana, the pioneer mission medical school, sums up the results of thirty-four years.

Of the graduates, sixty-four are in the Punjab, fifty-one elsewhere all over India, serving one million women and children in hospitals and three million women and children in clinics. The graduates are practically all Christians including only fourteen non-Christians and two Moslems out of approximately 115. The present number of non-Christians is, however, growing as the present student body includes five Moslems and twenty-two Hindus and Sikhs.¹³

The radiation of influence of the graduates of the only other mission medical school in India, the Missionary Medical School at Vellore, is

PROPORTION OF
WOMEN IN MISSION MEDICAL SCHOOLS TO
WOMEN IN ALL MEDICAL SCHOOLS



Report of Countess of Dufferin's Fund including
Womens' Medical Service, 1929-30

¹³ Interview, Dr. Edith Brown, Ludhiana, March, 1928.

shown on the accompanying map together with the location of graduates from Lady Hardinge Medical College (Government).

The number of Indian women doctors and nurses studying in mission medical schools is steadily increasing. Of the total number of women medical students in medical schools in 1928-29, 43 per cent. were in mission institutions (179 in mission schools and 234 in non-mission schools).¹⁴

Training of Nurses by Missions

The extent of mission training for nurses is more striking than the training of medical students, since the mission hospitals are furnishing the major part of the nursing service in India. According to a recent Directory of Hospitals, there are 1,070 Indian women out of a total of 1,455 in hospital service in India.¹⁵ It is estimated that from 85 to 90 per cent. of all the nurses in India are Christian, practically all of whom were trained in mission hospitals.

The Madras Government has recognized the high standard of the mission nursing by asking the Christian Medical Association to undertake the examinations in the vernacular. The Government has adopted the standard of the North India Board of Examiners for Mission Nurses for all nurses' training in the North.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO PROFESSIONS OF MEDICINE AND NURSING

In connection with the question of Indian women in the profession of medicine and nursing, certain problems emerge: The increase of non-Christian nurses and doctors, and the large proportion of non-Christians being trained in non-mission institutions. Although the training of non-Christians has not been considered a primary object of Christian missions, some people feel that this should receive attention in order to give the Christian group the benefit of this wider contact and also to expand Christian influence more widely through the medical profession.

Need for Christian College for Women

A special problem concerning women's medical education for the higher degree arises from the fact that there is no Christian mission college. A certain number of Christians attend either Lady Hardinge College or the coeducation institutions; but if a Christian student prefers the training of a mission institution and attends either Ludhiana or Vellore, she receives a lower degree and is professionally handicapped. The Vellore and Ludhiana medical schools, are both working to raise the course to a

¹⁴ Countess of Dufferin's Fund, 1929-30.

¹⁵ *Handbook of the Trained Nurses' Association of India*, edited by Mrs. E. A. Watts, S.R.N. (pub. by Trained Nurses' Assn. of India, 1931), pp. 84-105.

college standard. The Vellore school may have already accomplished this. Opinions differ as to the advisability or necessity of this step.

The need of having Christian women medical students receive higher training, whether in mission or Government institutions, is apparent. They must be able to meet competition on equal professional terms. Furthermore, the process of devolution of mission medical institutions will be hindered unless there are Indian doctors with degrees which the Government will recognize as adequate preparation for heads of institutions.

Problem of General Nursing for Indian Women

One of the main problems of the nursing profession is the advisability of encouraging general nursing. Mission opinion as a whole strongly favors women nursing only women, and regards general nursing by them as a moral menace. General nursing has been successfully tried in a few mission hospitals under very careful supervision, as in the Methodist Hospital in Brindaban and the Presbyterian Hospital in Miraj. The comment from Miraj is favorable. "The plan seems to be working very well . . . both patients and nurses seem satisfied . . . the men patients show our nurses every courtesy. At night we have an ayah accompany the nurse on her rounds."

According to general non-mission medical opinion, nurses' training limited to women patients is a distinct professional handicap. Pressure may be brought to bear by the Provincial Government to require experience in a general hospital for the registration of nurses. This will place the nurse trained in a woman's hospital at a serious disadvantage.

Moral Hazard of Medicine and Nursing

The whole problem of moral hazards inherent in the professions of medicine and nursing is a subject of serious consideration for missions, owing to the increase in professional openings outside of mission service where there have been a certain number of moral casualties. Some Indian Christians feel, therefore, that Indian Christians should be deterred from entering nursing. Most missions feel that the nurses and doctors should be strongly discouraged from entering Government or private service. But some think that the mission hospitals must emphasize more fully the building of character to withstand temptation. The necessity for moral safeguards required by social customs for the Indian Christian nurse is the more usual view. "The moral conditions in certain Government hospitals are appalling as far as nurses are concerned. The trouble is not so much with the nurses as the doctors."

"Moral conditions make private practice inadvisable," as one nurse says. "Occasionally we permit a nurse to go to a private home near the hospital but someone always accompanies her."

A different opinion is expressed in the statement of Miss Thompson, Superintendent of Nurses, Medical College in Calcutta: "Indian Christians brought up in mission compounds have been over-protected and, therefore, are in more danger morally . . . and have no idea of the use of liberty."

The general opinion of unbiased observers is that Christians show no marked difference from non-Christians in moral resistance; that in fact they are even less stable morally because the great majority are of the lower class. Another opinion is that the whole question depends entirely upon the individual. But many people feel that mission institutions must prepare the Christian or non-Christian students to meet emergencies; they cannot, however, assume responsibility for them.

A Catholic superintendent of nursing of long experience makes this comment:

It is not a matter of Christian or non-Christian, but of social standing (or caste), training, education and character; also the home or school they come from. I do not feel that we can expect any girl from the depressed classes, brought up in a mission school with everything done for her, to be suitable for responsibility.

Such a statement is certainly food for thought. Recruiting persons of a higher type would reduce the hazards of general nursing. The profession has not been presented as a career but as a last resort for girls too stupid to become teachers.

The moral problems of Indian Christian women nurses and doctors in cities have not yet been given concentrated attention but require a constructive program. The Y. W. C. A., as already mentioned, has nurses' clubs in Madras and Bombay which are much appreciated.

The question of mission hospitals competing in the employment of nurses with Government hospitals is becoming more of an issue. The greater protection of the mission hospital has, up to the present, been the deciding factor in the preference shown for mission employment, in spite of the low salary. The urge for more freedom, and the greater opportunities, responsibilities and financial inducements of Government service, have an undoubted appeal for Christian nurses and doctors. The trend is certainly discernible toward service outside the missions.

Teaching of Social Hygiene

Another problem, the teaching of social hygiene, is beginning to receive some attention; and is emphasized as a necessity and an obligation devolving on missions. Furthermore, it is felt that the mission medical service has a responsibility for coöperation in schools and in the general education of the Christian community. More than half of the replies to each of the questions as to whether hospitals coöperate in

social-hygiene education in schools, health education for teachers, and health lectures by hospital staffs in church groups, were in the negative.

An outstanding example of remarkably effective school health-education work by a trained nurse, is the work of Miss Fernstrom of the Methodist Mission in Baroda; also the Health Institute for Teachers and Nurses in Bareilly. A number of individual missionaries are making valuable contributions to general health education and social hygiene through the writing of pamphlets and various kinds of health literature such as Dr. Oliver's *Handbook on Sex Hygiene for Teachers*. A sub-committee of the National Christian Council is actively promoting the necessity for more emphasis on this subject.

Related to this problem is the question of birth control. General public interest in this subject is evidenced by the amount of literature and advertising. A number of active leaders in child welfare have taken a definite stand on the subject. Returns from the questionnaire on women's interests and activities emphasized the necessity for birth control. The medical committee of the Mid-India Representative Christian Council has strongly recommended that this subject should be given due consideration. "We should not wait until it is a common subject of conversation in every Christian home before attempting to make up our minds as to what is the true Christian attitude."¹⁶

FUTURE NEEDS IN MEDICAL WORK FOR WOMEN

In the future planning of medical mission work affecting women, certain needs have been repeatedly called to the writer's attention: mission coöperation with other agencies and with Government in training dais and promoting a general health program; hostels for women students in Government colleges, also for doctors and nurses in private practice to meet the moral strain of independent professional life; and research into maternity and child care which mission hospitals are peculiarly fitted to do.

But the major need presented by the health situation in India is concentrated attention to the health problem of village India with special emphasis on maternity and child health. "This demands, not more hospitals and dispensaries, but more health workers and health propaganda. Without health education, constant treatment of diseases is like pouring sand through a sieve." Missions cannot hope to cure the ills of India; but missions can help to eradicate disease by aggressive efforts of health teaching. Some missionaries have caught the vision of such a mission health program which plants trained workers in towns and villages, needs "no costly building—only a tree and an audience," and sees the inclusive Christian message in the unity of physical and spiritual health.

¹⁶ "Social Hygiene,"—Reprint from the *National Christian Council Review*, November and December, 1928, p. 19.

IV

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS OF GIRLS AND WOMEN IN INDIA

In a consideration of the interests and activities of Indian women today in relation to the missionary movement, no subject is of more crucial importance than the education of Indian girls and women. Social freedom and economic independence, an appreciation of the values of health, and a desire to live on a higher level of physical well-being, all are conditioned by educational advance.

GENERAL SITUATION IN GIRLS' EDUCATION

LITERACY OF WOMEN

The present situation viewed without perspective presents a depressing picture of the educational status of women. The 1921 Census gave general literacy at 6 per cent. in India—male literacy 10.7 per cent.; female literacy 1.45 per cent.—which indicates that not two women in a hundred can read and write.¹

EXTENT OF GIRLS' EDUCATION

This tremendous amount of female illiteracy is easily understood when one sees the ratio of girls to boys under instruction. In British India, only one girl of every ten of school age attends school; and two-thirds of all the girls in schools go only one year, and hence have no chance of literacy, for permanent literacy is not possible under four years' primary education.² In the primary classes of recognized schools the ratio of boys to girls is 7.5 to 1; in middle schools, 11 to 1; in high schools, 16 to 1; and in colleges, 57 to 1. In all colleges of India, there are only 1,900 women students, exclusive of those in professional training.³

GROWING DISPARITY IN EDUCATION FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

The educational lag of women is increasing. The following table illustrates the growing disparity in the education of boys and girls.

To solve the increasing disparity between girls' and boys' education is a tremendous task. Primary education for girls has not yet spread

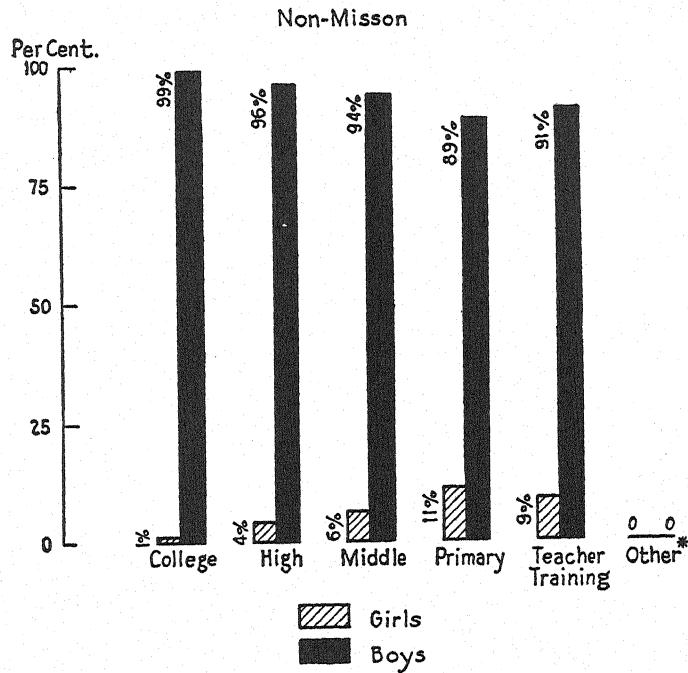
¹ *Review of the Growth of Education in British India by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission* (Hartog Report), p. 145. The statistical information on Girls' Education is taken largely from this source; also from R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, chap. 7 (1922-1927).

² Hartog Report. Also R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 157.

³ Hartog Report, p. 148.

GROWING DISPARITY OF BOYS' AND GIRLS' EDUCATION

	1921-32	1926-27	Percentage Increase for the Quinquennium
Percentage of total female population under instruction in recognized schools	Girls 1.1	1.5	.4
Percentage of total male population under instruction in recognized schools	Boys 5.0	6.9	1.9

PROPORTION OF GIRLS' ENROLLMENT TO BOYS'
IN NON-MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS
1926-27

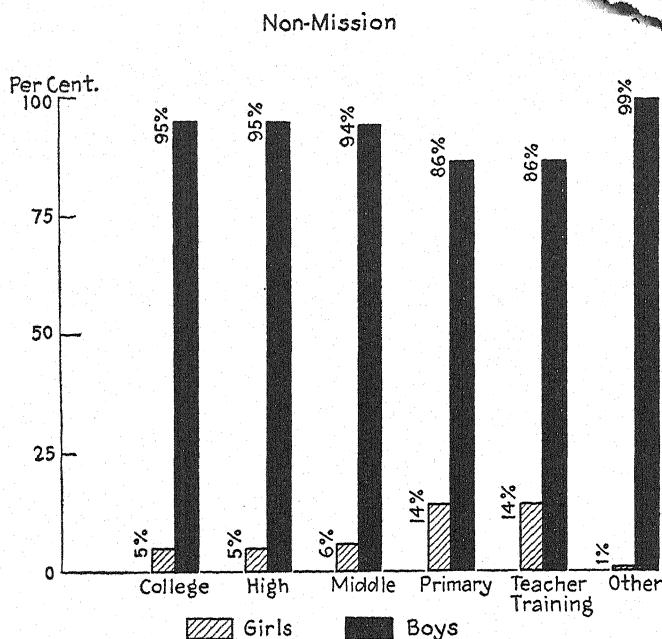
* No Other Non-Mission Schools.
Data from "Progress in Education" 1922-27, Vol. II.

outside the towns. In the 500,000 villages of India, including Burma, there is only one girls' school in every nineteen towns or villages, compared with one boys' school in every three towns or villages. Ten per cent. of the girls, compared with 49 per cent. of the boys, are attending recognized schools and there is but one girls' primary school for each

INDIA

632 girls of school age compared with a boys' primary school for each 109 boys of the same age, or one village girl in every 600, compared with one boy in every 100.⁴

**PROPORTION OF GIRLS' NON-MISSION
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS
TO BOYS' NON-MISSION RECOGNIZED
SCHOOLS, 1926-27**



Data from "Progress of Education in India" 1927-27, Vol. II

DIFFICULTIES OF COMPULSORY EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

With such a dearth of schools, compulsory education for girls is impossible. In all India, compulsion for girls has been tried only to a limited extent in Bombay, Madras, and two municipalities in South India where it does not apply to Mohammedan girls. Without compulsory attendance at school, girls' education cannot hope to overtake boys' education.

NECESSITY FOR COEDUCATION

Coeducation would help to solve the problem. In Madras, where co-education is most widespread, education is most advanced, the percentage of girls in boys' schools is 55.1; in the Punjab, where purdah makes co-

⁴ Hartog Report. Also R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 156.

education impossible, the percentage being only 8.1, girls' education is most retarded. Coeducation is regarded as an ultimate necessity; but opinions differ as to the possibility of rapid promotion. For example, Mr. Brayne has vigorously promoted coeducation in his district in the Punjab, a very purdah-bound province, and has increased the number of girls in mixed schools from 200 to 1,200 within two years. He feels that the Punjab education department is unnecessarily conservative.

LACK OF WOMEN TEACHERS AND INSPECTORS

The lack of women teachers is a serious obstacle to girls' education. There is only one trained woman teacher for every 113 girls under instruction in India if Burma is omitted. Most schools have only one teacher, always a man. The striking incongruity of having men, very often old men, teaching little girls is apparent. The lack of women inspectors is another obvious handicap, as women officials promote girls' education more aggressively than do men. In 1926-27 one hundred women inspectors for 28,000 schools covered over a million square miles, an average of 280 institutions and 10,000 square miles for each inspectress.⁵

SIGNS OF PROGRESS

Growth in Girls' Education

The retarded development of girls' education presents indeed a depressing picture; but there are signs of progress. The growth in girls' schools

GIRLS UNDER INSTRUCTION IN DIFFERENT CLASSES OF INSTITUTIONS BY PERIODS*

	1891-92	1896-97	1901-02	1906-07	1911-12	1916-17	1921-22	1926-27
Primary Schools .	270,802	317,561	345,397	513,248	785,503	1,036,125	1,198,550	1,549,281
Secondary Schools .	35,242	40,023	44,695	61,237	63,411	101,979	129,164	185,147
Teacher Training Schools.....	821	1,170	1,423	1,456	1,613	2,813	4,458	5,054
Universities.....	45	87	177	160	279	842	1,263	1,933

* R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II, p. 212. (Including Burma.)

GROWTH IN GIRLS' SCHOOLS AND IN ENROLLMENT OF GIRLS' SCHOOLS IN BRITISH INDIA, 1922-1927* (INCLUDING BURMA)

	NO. OF INSTITUTIONS			NO. OF PUPILS		
	1922	1927	Per Cent. of Increase	1922	1927	Per Cent. of Increase
Primary Schools † . .	22,635	26,682	17	767,014	966,214	25
Middle Schools † . .	626	722	15	65,384	88,649	35
High Schools.....	208	243	16	35,652	49,757	39
Colleges.....	14	19	35	961	1,933	101
Teacher Training...	67	132	97	4,391	4,922	12

* Data from Hartog Report, chapter vii.

† In addition to the girls attending girls' primary schools, many girls attend boys' primary schools.

‡ The figures on middle schools include a large number of girls reading in primary department of these schools.

§ R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, pp. 157-158.

and in the enrollment of girls, even though less rapid than the progress of boys' education, is none the less significant, as is shown by the accompanying tables, the first of which gives a steady advance since 1891, while the second shows the growth between 1922 and 1927.

The increase in higher education is striking; twenty years ago there were fewer than 300 post-matriculates in India; today there are nearly 3,000. In the Punjab, the first B.A. degree was granted to a woman a decade ago; since then over a hundred women have received the degree.

Changing Public Attitude

Statistics, however, are not the only signs of progress. A talk with any missionary will draw forth illustrations of the awakened desire for girls' education. A few years ago this desire for education, however keen, would have had little hope of fulfillment, because education for girls was regarded by the orthodox as a shame and disgrace, and by the less conservative as a waste of time and money. But today, the attitude of orthodox parents towards girls' education is rapidly changing. Education has now been added to knowledge of household work, docility, and beauty as a requisite for a good match. Educated non-Christian men are now seeking wives with their own intellectual advantages and, as we have shown, are marrying, in North India, Christian educated girls. An advertisement like: "Wanted: an educated girl for a B.A. London returned Hindu. No caste restriction. Large personal income," is significant. Public opinion also is changing. It is no longer hostile, or apathetic, or critical, but is fully aware of the necessity for girls' education as a cardinal need of national advance.

Effect of the Women's Movement

In this change, public opinion is being powerfully affected by the women's movement. The adventitious association in Swadeshi campaigns of women of the intelligentsia with uneducated women is also providing its stimulus. The All-India Women's Conference repeatedly mentioned in this report is the most potent factor in India today promoting women's education. It has mobilized educated women all over India to individual and collective action. Those who have broken purdah and other social restrictions have become powerful apostles of freedom, and have found in the women's movement the force of collective action.

Their goals are social reform and educational progress, each dependent on the other. The Sarda Act, although imperfectly enforced, is prolonging the school life of Indian girls, who no longer automatically leave school at nine or ten years of age. The loosening of purdah means also an inevitable increase in the number of girls in school. As these social handicaps are overcome, education inevitably will advance.

GENERAL DIRECTION OF GIRLS' EDUCATION

Aims

The renaissance in education is beginning to affect not only the extent, but also the character of girls' education. Hitherto, there has been very little special motivation of education for girls. The result has been mainly a formalistic type of education, with academic training equal to that of boys, but with no relationship to the life-situation of girls. Girls who can finish college, the small minority, find themselves adequately prepared for equal competition with men in professional careers; but preparation for marriage, the primary career for the great majority in India, receives little attention. Education for girls should serve the double purpose of giving to a small minority specialized training for professional careers, and to the great majority training for home-life with a general cultural background.

Differentiation of Curriculum

The curriculum of girls' schools has provided very little differentiation. In the straight-jacket of the examination system, home-making subjects, sewing, cooking, hygiene and physical education have only been optional and have not been popular with parents or students. But the need for more emphasis on these subjects is recognized. Progress is accordingly being made toward differentiation in girls' education. The special contribution of missions along this line will be discussed later. There are evidences of new emphases in Government curricula as, for example, physical education for teachers in Madras, Calcutta and Bombay; and industrial training in the Government Zenana Industrial School in Lahore.⁶ Of the non-Government schools that have devoted special attention to girls' needs, the Indian Women's University at Poona is noteworthy. Other schools of modern progressive type are the Gokhale Memorial School for Girls; and Brahma Somaj Girls' High School, Calcutta; Tagore's School, Santiniketan; the Moslem girls' schools in Aligarh and Lucknow; the Dhaka Rural School near Delhi; the Vidyodaya Residential Girls' School in Madras, and the Theosophical College for Girls in Benares.

All of these schools under private individuals or groups have a distinctive character and are making a real contribution to girls' education.

A most significant development is the proposed Home Science College to be established at Delhi under the All-India Women's Education Fund of the All-India Conference, which represents the first attempt to meet the need for specialized training in home science subjects. A research institute will be established in connection with the institution.

⁶ R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, p. 163.

Pre-School Education

In the important pre-school field of education, virtually nothing has been attempted. There are a few kindergartens that are mere crèches rather than schools, "parking" places for small children, with no educational program; and there is a large number of orphanages that have furnished homes but for the most part have paid little attention to the education of the younger children. This is exclusive of mission efforts as already explained. But several of the schools already mentioned, and also the Women's Indian Association in Madras, have developed the Montessori system. These schools are all pioneers in establishing modern kindergartens.

Adult Education

The adult-education field, though practically unexplored, has had a certain amount of development. The Seva Sadan Societies in Bombay, Poona, and Madras, the Saroj Nalini Dutt Institute in Calcutta and rural centers in Bengal, and the Gurgaon Experiment near Delhi, all offer educational opportunities to women past the school-age. Women's coöperatives and thrift societies, the demonstration trains of the North Western Railway, agricultural and health exhibits at village fairs, and the radio are also bringing a measure of education to village women.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS AND WOMEN

CONTRIBUTION OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO GIRLS' EDUCATION

The study of progress in the education of girls and women in India is virtually a study of the educational efforts of missions, for the mission program constitutes such a large part of girls' education in India, and the present renaissance in education has in no small measure been motivated by missionary enterprise.

Education for girls bears witness to the pioneering achievement of Christian missions. This achievement cannot be entirely measured statistically, but there are certain definite indices as the following tables show.

Educational Status of Christian Women

The educational status of Christian women is significant.

COMPARISON OF GENERAL LITERACY OF MEN AND WOMEN WITH THE LITERACY OF CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN*

	PER CENT. LITERACY		PER CENT. LITERACY IN ENGLISH	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Total population.....	10.7	1.5	1.4	.15
Christian population.....	30.0	17.2	11.0	.08

* Data from the 1921 Census. Burma omitted.

COMPARISON OF THE LITERACY OF CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN WOMEN*

	<i>Percentage Literacy to the Whole Female Population</i>	<i>Percentage Literacy in English to the Whole Population</i>
Christian.....	17.2	5.77
Hindu.....	1.4	.06
Mohammedan.....	.7	.03

* Data from the 1921 Census. Burma omitted.

Extent of Mission Education

The proportion of education for girls carried on by mission agencies needs no comment, as the following table fully demonstrates.

PROPORTION OF MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS TO THE TOTAL EDUCATION FOR GIRLS*

	<i>Percentage of Mission Schools to Total Schools</i>	<i>Percentage of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment</i>
Primary.....	4	9
Middle.....	33	31
High.....	46	45
Colleges.....	50	56
Teachers' Training..	49	54

* Data from R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. II.

Missions have rendered signal service also in establishing the teaching profession for women in India. Almost half the number of teachers' training institutes for women are under missions. Educational authorities consulted in different parts of India have stated without hesitation that the great majority of women teachers are Christians. In the Madras Presidency, Christians constitute 65 per cent. of the total teaching staff of women; in the Punjab, at least 80 per cent. of the total number of teachers are Christians. Missions are also preparing a large staff of trained non-Christians as well as Christian teachers.

The importance of mission contribution to the teaching profession is obvious, since the lack of women teachers has constituted the main drag on educational advance. In referring to the crucial need for women teachers, Mr. Littlehailes, Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, says:

Women's education cannot advance because there are few women teachers; few women teachers because there are few women's colleges; and few women's colleges because the women to staff them are not available. By spending largely upon higher educational facilities for women, the vicious circle is broken and a supply of educated women will ultimately become available—one of India's greatest needs at the present time.⁷

⁷ R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 169.

Pre-School-Age Care under Missions

Christian missions have given two splendid examples of the care of the pre-school-age child. There are numerous good mission orphanages, but the Warne Baby Fold in Bareilly and the Birds' Nest in Madura are most unusual in their all-round program of child care. The Warne Baby Fold is more modern in its building and equipment. Both merit the Educational Inspector's comment, "First-rate teaching and a high grade of efficiency."

The kindergarten training schools at Sholapur (American Board), and Nellore (American Baptist) are two of the best kindergarten training institutions in India. This is a field of mission education as yet very little developed.

Adult Education

Many phases of mission work with older women have a distinct educational value, although usually evangelistic in motivation. In a number of places, Madras, Mainpuri, and Nellore, the work of Bible women is being developed on a definite educational plan. The village mela is recognized by missionaries in village work as a splendid opportunity for rural education in improved methods of agriculture, health, and sanitation, which will benefit the village woman.

The Young Women's Christian Association has a very diversified program of adult education, various phases of which have already been mentioned in this report.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS IN MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

In the study of the mission program of girls' education, a number of problems of importance to the field of education and also to the wider field of mission work for women demand careful consideration. It will be possible within the limits of this report merely to call attention to these problems as requiring special study.

Comparison of Mission Education for Boys and Girls

The disparity of mission education for boys and for girls, mentioned in the discussion of social conditions, is recognized as a basic problem in the development of the Christian community. There are many reasons for this difference. Mission girls' schools represent the concentrated devoted service of women missionaries, often of one individual missionary over a long period. Boys' schools rarely have the undivided attention of the missionary, because he carries, not only the school supervision, but the responsibility for a whole district and is often shifted from one station to another. The women are usually teachers by profession; the men are usually ministers and evangelists. Women live in the school, making it a home and an expression of creative personality. The boys' schools are very often neglected, untidy and barrack-like, devoid of the

home touch because of the married missionary's detached attitude toward the school. The buildings of the girls' schools are often better; but the essential difference is in the atmosphere and character-forming influence. The comment of an Indian educator is easily proved: "Many mission boys' schools are a disgrace."

Another essential difference is the larger proportion of Christian students and Christian teachers in girls' schools, shown by the following table and accompanying chart.

COMPARISON OF MISSION SCHOOLS FOR BOYS AND GIRLS

Schools	Total Number Teachers	Total Number Students	Number Christian Teachers	Number Christian Students	Per Cent. Christian Teachers	Per Cent. Christian Students
Boys'.....	486	8,512	305	2,912	63	34
Girls'.....	381	5,756	333	3,978	87	69

The predominance of Christian students and teachers in girls' schools makes possible a more intensive kind of training for Christian leadership than in boys' schools. In a study of the Madras Presidency, which is of special interest because of its large percentage of Christians, girls' schools outrank boys' schools on several other criteria of evaluation. They have a higher percentage of trained Christian teachers, a higher ratio of women students passing examinations, a lower number of pupils per teacher, and a higher expenditure per pupil.

Many missionaries feel that one way to lessen this difference in the quality of boys' and of girls' schools is in the use of women teachers in boys' schools, as has already been done successfully in Sholapur, Ludhiana and Moradabad.

Problem of the Mission Day School

The writer found the question of the day school for girls discussed in all coöperating boards. Practically every mission has one or more day schools, usually in the heart of the city, with a large majority of non-Christian girls. Christians are for the most part in boarding schools. Many of these day schools were originally the only schools for girls in a given city, and the only means of contact with the high-caste zenanas. Today Government schools are increasing in number. The mission day school is often competing with the Government school, sometimes even adversely. The zenanas are much more open than formerly. Hence, some missionaries counsel closing these schools, and using some of them as social-service centers. This has been discussed in the section on social conditions. Others feel that the discontinuance of these schools means sacrificing a valuable entrée into high-caste zenana homes and losing an opportunity of evangelism.

Certain questions are pertinent: First, should educational work be based on educational needs and be judged by educational standards, or

should it be justified merely as an evangelistic opportunity? Second, are these day schools successful evangelistic agencies, and is the opportunity for contact that they afford being capitalized? There is no question of the social and religious value of day schools like the Duff School in Calcutta developed on a splendid educational standard and in full community relationship; but other day schools, poorly housed, inadequately supervised and without a missionary staff to develop contact with the neighborhood, are of questionable effectiveness. Furthermore, the problem as to whether schools below the educational standards should be maintained is fundamental since "A Christian school cannot afford to be a bad example of Christianity." This whole problem needs careful analysis.

Tendency toward Westernization

One of the most serious issues in mission boarding schools for girls is the problem of Westernization. The charge is often made that the mission schools tend too strongly toward Westernization in living conditions and general atmosphere, with the result that a girl brought up in a mission school from the primary grade through college becomes almost alienated from India. The Westernizing process is evident in foreign standards of living, in foreign frocks instead of saris, in foreign types of games and entertainments, in foreign forms of worship, in foreign music and art, in more emphasis on foreign literature than on Indian; in short, in the transfer of Western customs and patterns of thought and the total neglect of Indian customs and culture.

Attempts of Indianization

This danger of Westernization is recognized by many missionaries; consequently there is a distinct trend toward more of an Indian atmosphere in some schools. Indian girls are encouraged to wear the sari. Some boarding schools are adopting a simpler type of living, more Indian in atmosphere, to offset the artificial effect of highly institutionalized Western dormitory living. The change in living is accomplished by the division of students into groups, either in separate cottages—the ideal plan as at Chittoor, Sangla Hill and Ushagram—or in families as at Sialkot and Ahmednagar. Existing buildings and the greater expense of construction of cottages prevent general adoption of the cottage system; but the family idea is a splendid step in the right direction.

Although the large majority of school entertainments and chapel services follow Western models, a number of schools are developing along Indian lines. Indian plays are acted, and festivities held in Indian style. The atmosphere of Indian worship has been conserved in schools in South India much more than in North India, as in the Vellore Medical School and the Women's Christian College.

Problem of Too Great Segregation of Girls

The tendency to Westernize the mission boarding school is related to the whole problem of segregating girls in a mission compound in an equivalent of purdah, cut off from the world and protected in an artificial atmosphere like hothouse plants. Such over-protection, already mentioned in the discussion of professional women, does not build up moral resistance. It is a grave question whether missions are adequately preparing girls to meet the exigencies of a shifting social system. Often the non-Christian girl, having lived in her own home during the years of her secondary education, is better prepared for later independent living and earning than is the Christian girl who has been immured in a boarding school. The difficulties of providing outside contact are fully perceived. Furthermore, the handicap of a low-caste background is realized. But the fact that some women Government officials prefer to employ non-Christians, because the moral hazards are less than with Christians, calls for serious reflection by mission leaders.

The increase in extra-curricular activities in boarding schools is helping to offset the segregation of the mission compound. These activities cover a wide range and tend toward character development and community contact.

The strongly maternalistic tendency of boarding schools is a subject of much concern to a number of missionaries. To counteract this, various forms of student control have been adopted, such as student government, family control or the village council plan which is well illustrated in rural schools like Ongole and Shahdara. These are in striking contrast to the formalistic police type of discipline that still persists in some schools and creates an atmosphere of strain and unrest. It is interesting to note that in one such school, no girl in the senior class in discussing her future had any desire to enter mission service.

Proportion of Christian and Non-Christian Students

The proportion of Christian and non-Christian students desirable for a school is a question to which a number of missions are giving serious consideration. As in the Madras Presidency, the large majority of Christian teachers and students in girls' schools has been pointed out as one of the reasons of their superiority. Mission boarding schools for girls have for the most part taken for granted a certain proportion of non-Christians, but have interpreted the primary function of the schools as education for Christians.

The increase of non-mission schools will probably cause a decrease of non-Christian students in mission schools as non-mission schools may be preferred by a certain number of non-Christian parents. Some mission educators consider that this decrease in non-Christian students will be a distinct loss. The Christian students need the contact with non-Christians because the education of Christians as an entirely separate group

intensifies the natural segregation of a religious minority. Young Christian leaders feel very keenly this need for intermingling with non-Christians, and for this reason emphasize the value of having some non-Christian teachers in the Christian schools.⁸ Furthermore, some missionaries feel that it would be a loss to the general development of women's progressive movements in India if all the non-Christian leaders of the future who constitute a major part of such movements are educated outside the range of mission influence. Many of the leaders of today are graduates of mission schools.

The prevailing opinion seems to be that a certain number of non-Christian students are desired in Christian schools, but that the Christian students should constitute the majority. This problem involves a definition of mission policy as to whether non-Christian students are an asset in mission schools or whether their entrance is regarded merely as an accident; and further whether a definite proportion of Christian students should be maintained.

Need for Vocational Guidance and Practical Emphasis in Girls' Education

There is a growing realization of need for vocational guidance and for an increased emphasis on industrial training, general practical subjects, and home-making. Mission educators feel that it is a mistake to push all girls through high school. Every middle school should have a careful selective process. Furthermore, the selection of teaching or nursing as a career should be based on more careful consideration of aptitude and taste, not merely on having all the bright girls automatically take up teaching and the others follow nursing or have no training at all. A definite study of the vocational field for women is badly needed in India, as the writer found in trying to make this inquiry. Teaching and nursing have been the only professions in the past, but the present offers new opportunities. By a careful study of the whole field, missions could make a distinctive contribution to the economic life of women.

The question of industrial education by missions has already been mentioned in other parts of this report. There are a few outstanding examples of mission industrial schools, such as the Wesleyan Mission Vocational School at Ikkadu, the Lucy Perry Noble Institute for Women at Madura (American Board), the Industrial School at Palmaner (Reformed Church), the Elementary and Training School for Girls at Anklesvar Gujarat, Bombay (Church of the Brethren Mission), and the middle school at Clarkabad. These and a few other schools of similar type are attempting to coördinate girls' education more closely with the needs of practical life.

Mission industrial schools are often criticized because they teach principally Western types of embroidery, the sale of which depends on the

⁸ Group of Isabella Thoburn teachers.

foreign community. There is very little cultivation of Indian art. This tendency is not only bad from an economic, but also from a cultural, point of view. The mission industrial schools might help to stimulate cottage industries by introducing Indian arts and crafts instead of transplanting Western types of work.

Certain theoretical courses in home science are included in all schools; but practical courses in domestic science are rare. Three exceptions are the Sarah Tucker College, Palamcottah, the Sherman High School at Chittoor, and Avalon High School at Pathankot. St. Christopher's Training School has an excellent course in domestic science for teachers. Missionary educators emphasize the need for a careful study of the whole problem of practical education for girls.

Need for Increased Emphasis on Village Education

In an agricultural country largely composed of villages, it is a grave question as to whether missions are contributing materially to rural education, which offers one of the basic problems of India. No problem is more crucial for missions, because the advance of the Christian community is so greatly handicapped by the retarded state of village women. The general trend of mission education has been away from the village. The chief result of mission boarding schools, situated for the most part in towns, has been the production of leaders for town life. By far the greater number of the students do not return to the village because it has nothing to offer to the educated girl. The service impulse of village uplift has not motivated a desire for rural life. Furthermore, the prevailing conception is that social conditions in the village preclude the independent service of young trained teachers and nurses, for only the married middle-aged women are morally safe. Nevertheless, several young Indian women leaders hold that, "it all depends on the individual—if one really wants to serve the village, it is not impossible. The lack of moral safety in the village is for most of us merely an alibi because we prefer to live in towns."

The question of the steady depletion of the village of its potential leaders is the crux of the problem of village uplift. People all over India agree that village education for girls and women must be promoted. Without trained leaders this is impossible. A certain amount of teaching has been carried on by the women evangelists and Bible women, but without careful organization or system. Work like that of the Arcot Mission in attempting to organize and supervise a village school system is rare. A few mission schools such as one finds at Shahdara near Delhi (American Presbyterian), at Asansol (Methodist Episcopal), at Ongole (American Baptist), the Cambridge Mission Village School at Jungpura, and the school at Sangli (American Presbyterian), are distinctly directed toward village life.

Four solutions have emerged from the writer's interviews and observa-

tions on this problem: the provision for trained village teachers to live as a group in a central village and work out from that center; the location in rural areas of mission schools for village girls and training schools for village teachers such as the Moga school (in this connection, a plan has been suggested to move the Ambala Training School for Women to Moga and combine with the Moga school for men); the promotion of coeducation, especially for villages; and the inclusion of a study of rural problems in women's colleges with the presentation of the village as a field for specialized service for educated Christian women leaders.

Missions obviously cannot undertake the education of Village India. They can, however, help to lift the village out of the "slough of despond" by giving a few intensive demonstrations of possible solutions of the village problem, the importance of which cannot be overestimated.

Promotion of Coeducation

The expansion of coeducation in mission schools is regarded by some mission educators as the most necessary advance in mission policy. Missions are already leading the Government in this field; and American missions, true to the genius of American education, are leading other mission agencies as is shown in the following table on the Madras Presidency.

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS IN BOYS' SCHOOLS IN MADRAS PRESIDENCY *

	Govern- ment	Mission	Others	American Mission	British and Continental	Roman Catholic	Union
1924.....	1.4	2.3	1.1	6.7	1.5	0.7	0.0
1928.....	1.8	2.3	1.6	5.0	2.6	3.5	3.8

* See *Supplementary Study of the Relative Status and Efficiency of Mission Schools in the Madras Presidency*

Government education officials would welcome an aggressive promotion of coeducation under missions, because of the careful moral supervision and general character training the missions give, as is shown in the successful mixed boarding schools in the Madura district (American Board). Mixed hostels are unusual. To insure the benefits of coeducation for girls, the idea of adequate hostels for Christian students is urged by some missionaries. Coeducation cannot replace the need for existing girls' boarding schools, but should be considered in future planning.

Missions are constructively promoting coeducation in colleges, as in Forman Christian College (Presbyterian), the Scottish colleges in Calcutta (United Free Church Mission), and Wilson College in Bombay (also U. F. C. M.). Coeducation in Government colleges is a sad excuse for coeducation, as it means merely the admission of women to men's colleges without any real advantages of student life. Missions have an opportunity to demonstrate coeducation on the right basis of normal

social intercourse and adequate hostel provision for women, as illustrated by the Scottish Colleges' Hostel with Y. W. C. A. coöperation, and the Missionary Settlement for University Women in Bombay.

Need for Closer Coöordination of Colleges with Indian Life

College problems have not come within the purview of this study, since higher education is the subject of the Lindsay Commission. Nevertheless, certain general questions bearing on the larger field of leadership training have been brought to the writer's attention.

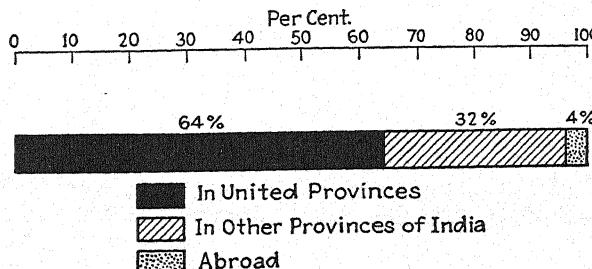
The criticism is frequently made that mission colleges are too academic and too foreign; also that the living standard is too artificial. A further charge is that there is little coöordination with life. Some college authorities, fully aware of the problem, are seeking outside contacts with other institutions through debating, literary or religious interests, and through extra-curricular social-service emphasis. In spite of these efforts, college remains for many students an unrelated academic interlude.

Demands for higher types of leadership in industrial and rural welfare present the colleges with an opportunity for gearing academic courses into life problems through economic and social research. Development along this line would mark a most important advance in future college planning.

Problems of social change directly affect the women's college, because the student is the advance guard of emancipated women. The need for more opportunities of normal social intercourse has been repeatedly emphasized by college graduates.

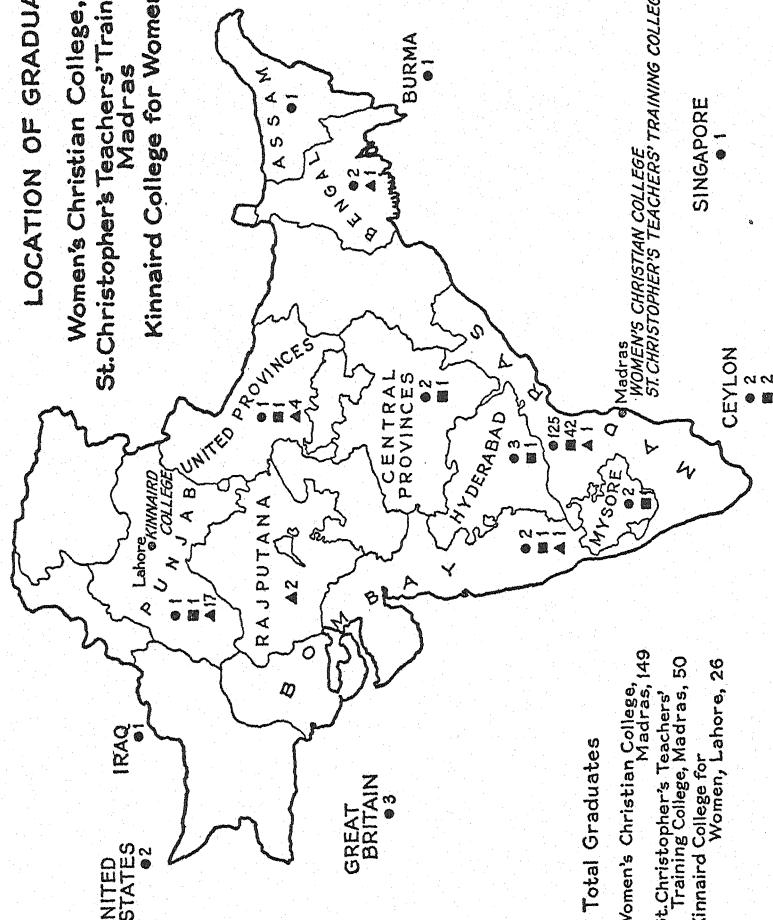
The trend of college graduates away from marriage, owing to their changing ideals and their experience of economic independence, presents difficult problems. The whole question of economic standard is in flux. An artificial disparity between men's and women's salaries produces an unusual situation. Women graduates receive uniformly higher salaries than men in North India, and the same as men or slightly less in the South. This has accentuated the trend away from marriage. In the returns from the study of five colleges, 274 students out of 403 were

LOCATION OF GRADUATES
ISABELLA THOBURN COLLEGE (MISSION), LUCKNOW, U.P.



LOCATION OF GRADUATES

Women's Christian College, Madras
 St. Christopher's Teachers' Training College,
 Madras
 Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore



Total Graduates

- Women's Christian College, Madras, 149
- St. Christopher's Teachers' Training College, Madras, 50
- ▲ Kinnaird College for Women, Lahore, 26
- Ceylon, 2
- Singapore, 1

unmarried; a significant number for Indian women as this represents the first generation of married women in any numbers.

This study has repeatedly emphasized the importance of the mission colleges for women as the reservoir of leadership in all lines. The influence of these colleges is nation-wide. Problems and trends affecting college life have their repercussion through all India.

The accompanying maps illustrate the radiation of influence of graduates of six women's colleges, five of which are missions.

Trend toward Government Service

A few years ago entrance into mission service was practically automatic. Today there is a growing trend among college graduates toward Government positions, because of increasing opportunities and the changing attitude of the Indian graduate toward the choice of a position. Formerly an Indian girl "felt a traitor to the mission if she entered Government service. Christian service and mission service were synonymous and exclusively so." Today the tremendous opportunities for individual Christian service in outside fields are beginning to be appreciated. Under the increasing economic pressure of modern India the Indian graduate has a more independent attitude toward the mission and toward her career. The main attractions of Government service, as given by Indian teachers, are "larger salaries, more independence and freedom from sense of dependence and inferiority, and more chance for advancement." The advantages of mission service are greater moral protection, freedom from competition, more permanence, a closer personal relationship, a genuine appreciation of mission ideals, and desire for that type of service.

Many missionaries feel that girls should be discouraged from leaving the mission; others welcome the growing spirit of independence among Indian Christians, and feel that Christian service should be interpreted in wider terms than merely employment in a mission institution.

Relationship of Mission to Government Schools

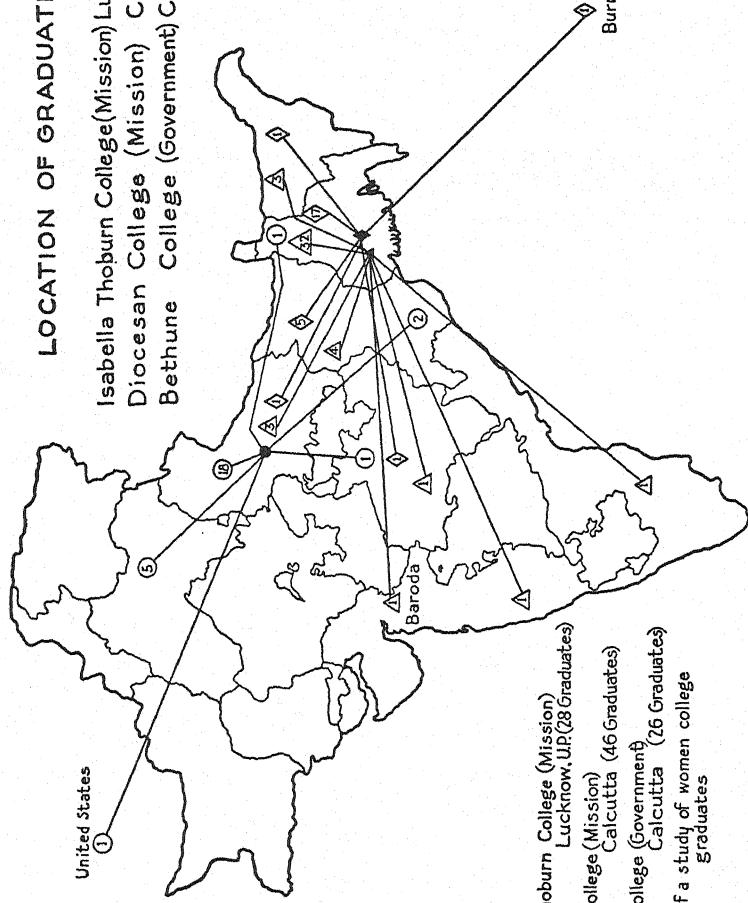
"Mission schools formerly led Government schools. Today they follow," is a comment made by a missionary educator,⁹ which invites the serious consideration of all mission schools. It involves the fundamental question as to whether mission education is making a quantitative or a qualitative contribution. It is safe to say that the above statement is not altogether true of mission girls' schools. Most of them are undoubtedly superior. Day schools may be on a level of competition in many places; but boarding schools, middle schools, high schools and colleges are distinctive.

General supervision of the schools, organization, discipline, emphasis on social service, character building, religious training, close contact of teachers and pupils and more contact of the school with the home,

⁹ *Educational Survey of the American Marathi Mission 1930*, p. 15.

LOCATION OF GRADUATES

Isabella Thoburn College (Mission) Lucknow, UP
Diocesan College (Mission) Calcutta
Bethune College (Government) Calcutta



- Isabella Thoburn College (Mission)
Lucknow, UP (28 Graduates)
- ▲ Diocesan College (Mission)
Calcutta (46 Graduates)
- ◆ Bethune College (Government)
Calcutta (76 Graduates)
- Results of a study of women college
graduates

general home care, more student life in colleges, the follow-up interest in students—all of these especially differentiate the mission school for girls from the Government school. Nevertheless it is true that many are overburdened by the examination system and lack originality. Home hygiene and domestic science, now required by Government schools, sometimes become mere book subjects; physical exercise becomes merely formal drill; religious training too often is not linked up with life-situations; follow-up work is crowded out by the daily routine. Where this is the case, the mission schools are dominated by Government regulations, and become mere machines preparing for examinations.¹⁰

Some schools prove admirably that Government restrictions do not necessarily curtail imagination and experimentation. A number of examples are outstanding along different lines: Community influence and contact with non-Christian students in the Duff School (United Free Church Mission) in Calcutta; emphasis on preparation for village life in Ushagram, Asansol; project work in the Sialkot School (United Presbyterian); self-government in Sherman High School in Chittoor (Reformed Church); vital and effective religious education in the Presbyterian Day School in Ludhiana; a modern kindergarten in Nellore and Fatehgarh; a splendid industrial arts program at Dehra Dun; careful future planning of a school program in Ahmednagar; and coeducation boarding schools in Tirumangalam near Madura.

Aside from mission influence exerted through definite schools, mission educators have made a distinctive contribution to Government educational policy. For example, St. Christopher's College in Madras helped to introduce domestic science in the Licentiate Teachers' course, and physical education. In Calcutta, missionary educators have helped to shape the policies of the Bengal Educational League and they directly effect changes in Government policies.

Education for girls opens up a rich field for experiment which the missions are peculiarly fitted to carry on. Government authorities welcome such experimentation, as it is impossible under a Government system. There is a growing feeling that girls' education must be developed on qualitative not quantitative lines. If this policy is followed, mission schools will lead, not follow, Government education.

FUTURE PLANNING FOR MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS AND WOMEN

The inquiry, which has been made in frequent interviews, as to whether mission education was needed and desired, called forth surprise from various women educational officers that anyone should question such an obvious need. Miss Stratford, Deputy Directress of Public Instruction in the Punjab, gives the following unqualified affirmative answer:

¹⁰ *The Christian College in India; Report of the Commission on Christian Higher Education in India* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1931).

Mission schools have given a valuable contribution to the education of the girls of this Province . . . for the reason that they can try out new systems of educational work (as at Moga) with more freedom than Government schools that have to work strictly on a code. The need for trained teachers from mission schools who can exercise a good religious moral influence and put high ideals before their girls is more than ever felt.

This expression of appreciation of mission education for girls is typical of the general feeling of Government officials, and also represents the prevailing Indian attitude toward mission education for girls.

In the multiplicity of educational needs which missions face in their future planning for girls' education, the following major demands call for careful consideration: Increased attention to the relationship of mission education to Indian life through an appreciation of Indian culture and thought; coördination of education to the life of the Indian girl with more emphasis on industrial arts and vocational guidance; a new rural focus in education taking full cognizance of the needs of the village woman; coördination in the development of research on educational and social problems; and experimentation recognized as the definite function of mission education for girls.

The great pioneering period of mission effort in girls' education is passing. The cumulative influence of a steady emphasis on equality of opportunity for girls has been a potent factor in effecting a reorientation of the Indian attitude toward the education of girls and women. The time has passed, therefore, when mission schools can be the only schools for girls. The same evolution took place in boys' education and, as Government schools for girls increase, with a raising of standards and increased supervision, mission girls' schools will become involved in a similar competition. Moreover, the future attitude of a Nationalist Government on the question of grants to Christian schools is an eventuality that must be considered seriously.¹¹ But the future holds no less need and opportunity for mission education for girls to demonstrate its distinctive Christian values.

V

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS OF WOMEN IN INDIA

The far-reaching changes in the life of Indian women producing social freedom, economic independence, physical well-being, and educational opportunity are all vitally affected by the more fundamental process of change in religious thought and expression in India today. The all-pervasive effect of new spiritual forces is being felt in the changing life of women as in no other field. At the heart of this process of

¹¹ *The Christian College in India* (New York; Oxford University Press, 1931).

religious change is the Christian missionary enterprise. An analysis of present religious trends influencing Indian women is of vital interest to Christian missions, since they cannot fail to be affected by the very changes which they themselves have helped to produce; but it is obviously far beyond the scope of this discussion to portray more than the high lights of these dominant trends.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS AFFECTING NON-CHRISTIAN WOMEN

DOMINANCE OF RELIGION IN THE LIFE OF THE OLDER GENERATION

Anyone who has traveled even casually in India perceives that religion is the dominant reality, especially in the life of a non-Christian Indian woman. Every detail of living from the cradle to the grave bears the impress of religious sanction: bathing, cooking, eating, dressing, social contact, married life as a wife, a mother, a widow. Religion may deprive her of social privileges but not of religious responsibilities. "The man prefers that the woman take care of the religion of the family as in many homes in America." On her devolves the responsibility of teaching the children, of keeping up the daily worship of the household gods and of observing the religious customs of the home.

For a Hindu woman, her religious life does not end in the home, as anyone will know who has seen the Hindu women bearing their offerings of fruit and flowers to the temple in Madura or making the temple rounds in Benares. For the Moslem woman, public participation in religious worship is rare, although the heart's desire of every orthodox Moslem woman is the Mecca pilgrimage. "Hinduism would have a hard time to keep its hold on the people if it were not for the religious loyalty of women. Men are sometimes lax in their religious observances and customs in the outside world but not in their own homes," is the comment of a missionary for years in a Hindu city. The same might be said of the orthodox Moslem woman. Fear of the orthodox older woman is the reason given by many an educated man in explaining the rigid conservatism of his home.

CHANGING RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

The religious attitudes of the orthodox Hindu or Moslem are not changing and will not change. Religious restrictions are jealously guarded; social freedom condemned. But the tides of social change are sweeping the younger generation of women out of the moorings of the old faith. For the most part, they accept the change eagerly, with little questioning as to whether this means the refutation of the old religious teaching.

It is interesting to note that, in spite of modernism and its secular tendencies, modern Indian young women do not lose their strong sense of being Hindu or Moslem as readily as do the men. New elements come without seeming to break the old adherence.

RESPONSES TO NATIONALISM AND EFFECT OF GANDHI

Religious feeling and nationalism are at the moment strangely intermingled. The national movement has evoked a passion of sacrifice which is, in its essence, religious devotion.

Curiously enough, in this fervid nationalism, men and women in India have come into a poignant appreciation of the meaning of Christ. In referring to Mr. Gandhi and his passive resistance movement, one non-Christian leader said, "Gandhi has popularized Christ and has done more to make Him known to India than all the missions have done working for a hundred years combined."

One hears frequently an expression of unreserved admiration for Christ from non-Christian women leaders, and recognition of His life of sacrifice as the ideal. "I am willing to sacrifice my son as Christ sacrificed Himself. My son is my life," the mother of Bhagat Singh, the youthful revolutionist, said when her son was condemned to death.

Nationalism, which has called forth a willingness to sacrifice, has become the inspiration for service. "My own dynamic for social service I regard as religious," said a prominent Hindu leader, "but for the majority, Nationalism furnishes the urge. Our religion, however, holds the ideal of social service even though it does not actually furnish the inspiration."

This quest for the new ideal in the old religion is characteristic of the present reaction of Indian women and men to social reform. Many thoughtful non-Christians recognize a driving force in the Christian religion which non-Christian religions do not have. It is not without significance that one often hears non-Christian leaders appeal for service to be carried on in the "missionary spirit."

The appreciation of Christian ideals and inspiration has not meant an acceptance of Christianity, but merely the inclusion of Christian principles in the fold of Hinduism. To repudiate Hinduism is in many minds to repudiate Eastern values.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS AFFECTING CHRISTIAN WOMEN

ATTITUDE OF THE YOUNGER GENERATION

These religious trends affecting non-Christian women are paralleled by a similar process of change in the religious thinking of Indian Christian women, especially the younger generation. Older Indian Christian women, safely within the protection of the Christian church and the Christian mission, remain untouched by tides of change. But with the younger generation, there is a distinct trend away from the exclusive mission and church-centric religious attitude of their parents.

Effect of Nationalism

Many of the younger generation feel keenly the prevailing criticism

of non-Christians, that "Christianity in India is a Western religion and that the Indian Christian has been denationalized through religion. . . . Non-Christians despise Christian Indians because of this stigma. This makes Christians who are not Christians at heart ashamed to be so called." Loyalty to the name Christian is in conflict with the desire for a fuller participation in the national movement because mission employment means adherence to the mission policy of neutrality.

Liberal Attitude Toward Hinduism

The desire to have a place in India as Indians—Christian Indians rather than Indian Christians—has brought to Indian Christians a new orientation toward Hinduism as the basis of Indian culture. There is an attempt to understand and to appreciate Hindu art and literature, a liberal attitude toward the Hindu religion. This feeling is very different from the exclusive aloofness of the older generation of Christians who repudiated Hinduism as of no value. Some of the younger generation tend to swing far in their Hindu appreciation, ready to call themselves Hindu Christians, perplexed with the questions, "Must one be absolutely Christian? Does it matter which religion, if Christ is supreme?" Others, not hesitant in their Christian conviction, draw near to Hindu leaders believing that there are common spiritual values which Christians and non-Christians must share. As one of them says, "We have let ourselves be separated by narrow fanatical bigotry. Our religion should bring us nearer to God and so nearer to each other; at this tragic hour we must ignore lesser distinctions and cultivate more toleration for honest religious differences."¹

Desire for Inter-religious Fellowship and Trend Away from the Church

This urge for broader contact and spiritual fellowship has led some of the younger leaders away from the church. To this group the church affords little spiritual satisfaction. It represents an exclusive unit made up largely of the mission and mission servants. "I long to see Indian Christians living and working out of mission compounds. They ought not to be a group by themselves but should share their lives with all around them," is a typical expression of this craving for more scope.

Undoubtedly the great factor in this change of religious attitude of the Indian Christian as of the non-Christian also, is Mahatma Gandhi. The Indian Christian and non-Christian alike have been deeply impressed with the spirituality of Gandhi. "Why is Mahatma Gandhi so loved and respected, nay worshiped by millions in India today?" an Indian woman asked. "It is not because he is a politician—there are others of equal ability—but because he is a man of God in whose face

¹ Sircar, Miss Kamalim, lecture, "The Teaching of Jesus and Social Service," Social Service Conference, Anandagiri, Ootacamund, April 8-21, 1931.

and life people will see the love of Jesus reflected." Indian Christians recognize that through Gandhi they have gained a new vision of their own Christ, different from the conception they have found expressed in the Christian church and in the mission institutions. They respond to what they feel is a deeper spiritual appeal, are drawn nearer to non-Christians who "seem to be more deeply spiritual" and feel the absence of deep spiritual life among students and professors in mission schools. "As far as I know, there are very few teachers, missionary or national, who are really sincerely religious; this is a very grave impediment to the spirit of Christ among the students," is the serious reflection of a Christian graduate.

Christ, the Center of Religious Thinking

Christ is the center of the religious thinking of the younger generation of Indian Christians. They want a Christianity free from sectarianism with only Christ as a goal. "We Christians have narrowed Christ until we have made Him unattractive to non-Christians." Their thinking is very positive; they are not worried over the question, "Can we win India for Christ?" They are sure that the spirit of Christ is penetrating India and that the Kingdom of God is coming, but not in the conventional way as one Christian leader says:

It is not limited to, and identical with, churches in India today. It is difficult to imagine Mahatma Gandhi or Rabindranath Tagore sitting in one of the pews of the most progressive church in India (Indian in outlook and spiritual expression) and feeling at home. I do not believe that India will one day become Christian in the sense of being baptized and a member of some church. I firmly believe that the Kingdom of God is a fellowship of the followers of Jesus who seek to live and share the religious life of one another.

Desire for an All-Inclusive Christian Message

This quotation from a personal letter shows clearly the present religious thinking opposed to proselytism, alienated from the church by sectarian divisions and a conventional religion but craving a deeply spiritual expression. With this genuine desire for more spirituality in religion is the feeling that Christianity must be all-inclusive. Youth eagerly responds to the social gospel and regards it as a natural expression of Christ's dominating principle of love. Christian social service, they feel, must be undiluted by any ulterior motive such as proselytizing. To quote again from the same Indian leader, "The sweetest acts of love and service lose half their significance if motivated by something else than love. We must love and serve only because the love of Jesus Christ constraineth us. That for me is an adequate motive for all missionary enterprise."

Attitude toward Christian Missions

One naturally asks what is the attitude of thoughtful, spiritually-minded Indian women leaders toward Christian missions. The attitude of those who have no inhibiting complexes of economic dependence, no immediate personal grievances nor resentment of foreign domination, is an interesting composite of gratitude, appreciation and affection together with a critical unemotional judgment of the future of missions. There is little question that missions and missionaries are wanted and needed; but identification with India's needs in a life of love and service is the acid test. As one Indian woman said, "The only future that I have visualized for missions or the Indian Christian community in India is one of complete absorption; of losing themselves in the life of the people they set themselves to serve." To meet this condition, these leaders point out that "missions must have a spirit of more unreserved and whole-hearted coöperation with all efforts to bring nearer the Kingdom of God, without fear of losing their distinctive Christian character. Whatever the program, the keynote of the missionary enterprise must be courageous adventure as we heard at the Jerusalem Conference."

These young Indian women leaders whose religious thinking has been so deeply affected by changing conditions, though a very small minority, are of pivotal value to the development of the Christian church and the Christian movement. Missionaries, recognizing the need of having these individual leaders linked up with the church, regard this as a major task for the future.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS AFFECTING OLDER GENERATION OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN

As to the great majority of Indian Christian women who are less affected, if at all, by modern thought currents, their religious life and expression is centered in the Christian church. Their place in the church and contribution to it is an interesting study in the development of missions.

WOMEN'S PLACE IN THE CHURCH

GENERAL RECOGNITION OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

It is hard to visualize the difference between church life in India and in America. Considering the general constituency of the Christian church in India, and the prevailing status of Indian women in relation to men, the writer was surprised to find evidences of some recognition of the importance of Indian Christian women in church life. From a study of a number of churches representing different missions of the six coöperating boards from Madura to Rawalpindi, the majority reported equal voting rights, and revealed women holding many important church positions. In the provincial Christian councils and National Christian Council women have not figured prominently, although they are not debarred

from representation. This is a significant achievement of missions, for these women have developed into articulate church life through the mission schools or the influence of women evangelists.

Women also participate in large numbers in the life of the church through various church societies and activities. All but five of the twenty-six churches answering the questionnaire reported women's societies of the usual Western type.

CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN IN CHURCH LIFE

Girls and women contribute in many ways to church life; singing in the choir, serving as organists, and planning social events and participating in special services. Much of the usual valuable behind-the-scenes "Martha" type of work, such as cleaning and decorating the church, is done by women. A number of pastors commented on the money-raising ability of women in the church. In social service connected with the church, women also play an important part. Indian Christian women do not seem to be making any aggressive demands for more voice in church administration. They are content to remain quietly in the background, and are recognized as the "props" of many congregations.

In some places significant attempts have been made to extend the scope of the church societies of Christian women into the community; one of these is the "Women's Friendship Guild," in Ongole, the purpose of which is "to bring Christian and non-Christian women together, to promote the spirit of sisterhood and genuine Christian principles for the betterment of India."

NATIONAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY

The National Missionary Society, an entirely independent indigenous organization, has attracted many Indian Christian women. The centers at Puram, Madras Presidency, and at Okara in the Punjab are staffed by highly effective and devoted Indian women, who are carrying on an exceptionally fine type of concentrated rural work, religious in inspiration but social in outreach. This field of social and religious service in rural areas is as yet practically unexplored.

SPECIAL EFFORTS TO DEVELOP CHURCH LEADERSHIP

The development of women in the church is a subject to which missionaries and Indian Christian leaders are giving much careful thought. The Women's Christian Association in Madura is a fine piece of community religious service, initiated by missionaries but carried on by Indian Christians, which illustrates the development of Indian leadership in connection with the church. The Moga Women's Society in the Punjab shows how a church society may be planned on constructive educational lines that will especially interest the more educated church-

members. The Mothers' Union in the Anglican church is a definite means of giving church women training in Christian service.

CHURCH LEADERSHIP CONNECTED WITH MISSION EMPLOYMENT

Attention is called to the fact that the women church leaders are largely drawn from mission institutions and mission employees. Women in professional life do not take an active part in church life, and married women in the home are too absorbed in family cares. Perhaps one reason why Indian Christian women in Government service have not actively identified themselves with the church is the feeling that the church and the mission are practically an identical and closed corporation. They feel that since they have entered Government instead of mission service, they are regarded as traitors to the mission cause. "Christian leaders in Government posts are often very lonely," as one Indian inspectress confided to the writer. "We feel outside the Christian group which seems almost like a secret society."

Although the younger generation, not immediately connected with mission institutions, takes little part in church life, one finds a few outstanding exceptions of progressive Indian Christian leaders identified with the church. The strength of the church depends upon itself and its allied activities being increasingly independent of foreign supervision and support. Missionaries recognize the truth of the criticism already mentioned, and are aware of the need for more non-mission women leaders.

A number of non-mission employees have gone outside the range of the average church in their religious thinking. One finds all over India, however, outstanding exceptions of Indian Christian leadership of the most modern type actively identified with the Christian church.

EVANGELISTIC PROGRAM FOR VILLAGE WOMEN

PREVAILING LACK OF EMPHASIS ON VILLAGE WOMEN

Village women of the Christian community have little or no independent share in the religious life of the group, and are merely hearers of the Word. Great masses are only Christian in name, having contact with a church or even a religious service, only at long intervals. A Methodist missionary sums up the situation of village Christians in the United Provinces: "A local church can scarcely be said to exist."

"Planning specifically for the spiritual needs of village women has been very meagre. . . . Women have proved the most helpless part of our village evangelism. . . . We're simply playing at the business of reaching the village. . . . Until we reach the women we cannot change the village," are recurrent answers to an inquiry into the program for the religious development of village women.

Although the Indian woman is recognized as the key to any village uplift, missions have not adopted an aggressive policy of work for village

women; and they can be reached in no other way. The district missionary and the pastor, covering a fairly wide area, reach mostly men. The wife of the pastor, untrained and poorly paid, can only cover a small area, even if actively interested. The woman missionary evangelist and her Bible woman come at long intervals. As one sits on a *charpai*, or cot, in an Indian village and watches a group of village Christian women with a larger group of non-Christian high-caste bystanders crowded around on the outskirts, all listening to the Bible woman and the missionary telling the Gospel story and giving the Gospel invitation, one wonders how vital this contact can be which lasts at most an hour and will not be repeated for perhaps a year, or another three years.

The magnitude of the task of a woman evangelist with a few Bible women attempting to reach 2,000 villages is staggering. Such an evangelistic task is attempted in some areas as, for example, in the Methodist and Presbyterian areas in the United Provinces.

ATTEMPTS AT INTENSIVE WORK FOR VILLAGE WOMEN

In some missions, however, the evangelistic staff includes provision for two women workers, as in the Kasur district of the American Presbyterian, and in the United Presbyterian area in the Punjab. In the Madura district the American Board has a very extensive program of Bible women working alone, since social conditions in the South make it possible for Indian women to work more independently.

In some missions, the method of village evangelism is of a more intensive type; for example, the mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Dornakal area. The missionary evangelist, with her staff of local workers, camps outside a central village for a month at a time and then moves on to another village. Throughout the area, groups of village leaders in the Mothers' Unions are trained for special service in their village. This type of program meets the more inclusive needs of general village uplift more adequately than the infrequent purely evangelistic visitation.

There is a growing trend toward a combined program of evangelism, health and education. In Madanapalli in the Arcot Mission, as also in the Methodist Episcopal work around Bareilly, the nurse has worked successfully with the Bible woman. Bible women in most areas have combined a certain amount of education, however elementary, with evangelism. A systematized effort at education is being made with the contract school idea in the United Presbyterian territory, which pays the worker on the scale of results.

The problem of supervision of village programs is so difficult that few missions have been able to cope with it. Nevertheless, in the Arcot area, a missionary and a local worker of an unusually high type, are constantly touring and supervising the work of the village pastor and his wife. The major difficulty in village evangelism, as in all other lines of

village uplift, is the utter dearth of trained Indian women workers. This problem, referred to in every section of this report, presents a vicious circle. Social conditions preclude the idea of young unmarried workers in the village; older women are untrained and inadequate. Until the services of the higher-trained Indian graduate are claimed, the missionary is faced with a seemingly hopeless task. Unless the village women's outlook is changed, a general program of village evangelism, however well executed, will leave the village home unchanged, and the term "Christian village" will have no meaning.

WORK OF BIBLE WOMEN

The problem of a lack of trained women for religious work is not limited to the village, but is the major question in all work for women. It seems strange that the training for religious work has lagged far behind the training of teachers, nurses and doctors, although the central object of the Christian task is evangelism, no matter how narrowly or inclusively interpreted.

RECOGNITION OF THE CONTRIBUTION OF BIBLE WOMEN

Bible women hold the field of religious work; and they can scarcely be considered in the professional class. Nevertheless, their work must be given full recognition. Through the pioneering period, every mission station has depended on its group of Bible women for contact with thousands of zenana women who could not have been reached in any other way. Bible women have formed a valuable link between the missionary and the Indian community. In mission hospitals, they have supplemented the ministry of healing. In village work, Bible women have made an invaluable contribution, however incomplete the village program may be. Today, Bible women, rendering these same types of service, are entrusted with much of the mission responsibility of the evangelistic program among Indian women.

INADEQUACY OF THE PROGRAM OF BIBLE WOMEN

Without discrediting the service of the Bible women in the past, or undervaluing it at the present time, one cannot fail to recognize the need for fundamental improvement in this phase of missionary endeavor. In every mission station visited by the writer, the inadequacy of the Bible women's program has been stressed. In Madras a senior woman missionary, whose primary concern is evangelism, counseled discontinuing all Bible women in the mission, except perhaps one or two, and making a fresh start. This point of view is not unusual. The weaknesses of the Bible women's work, as well as its potentialities, are clearly evident. The writer has made the rounds of zenanas with a Bible woman in almost every mission station in India, and has talked with missionaries carrying on the training of Bible women.

GENERAL TYPE AND STATUS OF BIBLE WOMEN

Throughout India there is a remarkable uniformity in the general situation. The great majority of Bible women now employed are elderly, untrained, often with little more than an elementary education, and sometimes scarcely literate. This is especially true of rural areas. In general, they are typical of the older Indian Christians brought up by the mission, thoroughly conventional in religious viewpoint, and lacking in originality of thought and action.

The post of Bible woman is often like a pension for an indigent mission dependent. In many cases the work is done by the pastor's wife, who receives an additional payment above the wife's increment to her husband's salary, such as four rupees, for example, in the Methodist mission.

The salary of most Bible women is not over twenty rupees a month in some places, twenty to thirty-five rupees as in Jhelum and Lucknow, and even higher in some places.

The prevailing low economic level is explained by the lack of education. Young women are not attracted to the work, and the older women, if of the newer type, may have had at best a short training course. The problem of recruiting more educated girls depends primarily on whether Bible women are given a professional status. "At present," according to one of the Indian teachers in the Muttra Training School, "the work of Bible women is not presented as a career to girls in the mission schools. Students have little idea of the character or possibilities of this field of work." Girls would be attracted to work in a village if they were taught more about the village. Furthermore, work in the village is not an impossibility for the young unmarried woman of higher class. A statement frequently made is, "A graduate with training can work independently, if she is careful."

The future outlook for the work of Bible women is summed up very clearly by a missionary in Madura:

The present system will never be more than 50 per cent. effective until both the Indians and the missionaries are able to view it as an important line of advance in Christian activities, which is not the case at present. There has been too much vagueness in objective; too many hit-or-miss methods have been used. The type of Bible women must be raised; their work given a recognized place; its aims set forth in a clear, convincing fashion.

NEED FOR SUPERVISION OF BIBLE WOMEN

The question of supervision is very important. "In order to be kept up to standard, the work must be carefully supervised, but not so often as to cramp individuality," is the opinion of Miss Vanderspeck of the American Board, Madura. The newer type of worker with more education and more training will want plenty of scope for her ideas.

TRAINING OF BIBLE WOMEN

The training schools have been handicapped by the low intellectual calibre of students available for training.

The schools for Bible women constitute a very important part of the mission programs, since their success or failure will decide the future effectiveness of Bible women. There are training schools under the co-operating boards at the Lucy Perry Noble Institute in Madura (American Board); the Bible Training School for Women in Nellore (American Baptist); the Mahila Dharmavidya Mandil in Ahmednagar (American Board); and the Blackstone Missionary Institute in Muttra (Methodist Episcopal), the only Bible women's training school in North India and the highest training school in India with special courses for graduate students. Another very important line of training is offered to the wives of students in the theological schools in Madura, Ongole, Bareilly, Poona, Saharanpur and Mainpuri. This coördination of the educational advance of men and their wives is of prime importance, as the uneducated wives of village pastors are a terrific drag on Christian progress.

Aside from these definite institutions, a number of short-term courses and institutes are given each year in different areas, such as the Chittoor Bible women's course, the re-training class for pastors, teachers and Bible women at Ahmednagar, and short annual institutes (United Presbyterian and American Presbyterian). Some churches require special Bible readers' courses like correspondence courses, as in the Methodist Episcopal four-year course emphasizing memory work.

These various lines of teaching differ widely. Some of the courses follow old conventional methods; others introduce modern emphases on psychology, child-study, story-telling, the project method, and health and social welfare. But, on the whole, according to a number of missionaries, the training for religious work is the least modern of any part of the mission program. Many missions feel that the name "Bible woman" should be changed to "zenana worker" or "home evangelist." This would probably be approved by the young Indian Christian leaders who resent the "holier than thou" implication of the term "Bible woman."

EXAMPLES OF EFFECTIVE WORK

Although the Bible woman's situation as a whole demands much improvement, there are a number of centres in which very effective work is being done. The writer was especially impressed with the splendid programs in Madura, Nellore, Mainpuri, Bombay and Fatehgarh; the fine individual work of two Anglo-Indian Bible women in Lucknow; and the exceptional quality of the leading Bible woman of the United Presbyterian Mission. The work of several non-American missions should also be mentioned. An example is the Church of Scotland Bible Woman's

program in Madras and Calcutta. Some of these excellent programs show how effective the work of Bible women may become.

FUTURE NEEDS IN BIBLE WOMEN'S PROGRAM

The main lines of improvement suggested in the Bible woman's program are: establishment of the work on a professional basis, not as a mission subsidy; recruitment of a higher type of younger worker; emphasis of adult-education methods, combining also religious and social work; and coördination of training as a Union Bible School in North India.

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION PROGRAM

INADEQUACY OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

There is no emphasis on modern character training. The merely formal Bible teaching is expected to produce results in life attitudes and actions, and surprise is expressed if it fails to do so. Some mission schools, however, are developing very vital religious education related to life's situation. In the Girls' Day School in Ludhiana, the experiment was tried of eliminating the Bible from teaching for a time, allowing the girls freedom to discuss the questions uppermost in their minds, with the result that the Bible constantly came into the discussion.

THE QUESTION OF COMPULSORY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

A small number of missionaries question whether compulsory Bible teaching is effective. In the general education questionnaire, sent to girls' middle and high schools, asking whether Bible teaching was compulsory or not, practically all of the answers were in the affirmative. It is interesting to note in this connection that Roman Catholic schools do not require Bible teaching for non-Christian girls. The effect of the general atmosphere in a Catholic institution has, however, a very definite effect.

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS WORK FOR WOMEN

PROPORTION OF MISSIONARY PERSONNEL ASSIGNED TO RELIGIOUS WORK

There can be little doubt that religious work has constituted a very vital part of the mission program for women's work when one studies the allocation of women personnel in the different fields of education, medicine and evangelism. In 1927, of a total of 1,730 women missionaries, 1,035 were listed as evangelists. Of a total of 16,158 indigenous workers, 5,821 were engaged in evangelism. There were doubtless many others, both foreign and Indian, in the list of unclassified. The number of women workers in evangelism is indeed impressive. The achievement of this body of religious workers would be greatly enhanced if the emphasis on religious education along modern lines in every phase of the work could be increased.

PRESENT OPPORTUNITY IN INDIA FOR COÖPERATIVE RELIGIOUS EFFORTS

India presents at present a remarkable opportunity for religious education. Whatever cross-currents may be stirred by Nationalism, which may seem to block the flow of religious influence from the West to the East, there is present in India a deep and widespread realization of the intimate relationship between education and religion. Secularistic tendencies have not made headway in India as in some other countries of the East. Religion is not officially debarred from the school and from life. Non-Christian and Christian leaders alike recognize a fundamental relationship between religion and education.

Indian women are very conscious of the desirability of a religious basis for the training and education of children. The All-Asian Conference gives religious education a place of primary importance in a resolution which reads as follows:

This conference, realizing the important part that religion plays in the moulding of individual and national character, is of the opinion that in order to promote a spirit of religious tolerance, love and harmony among communities, the lives and teachings of great religious leaders should be taught in schools, and a comparative study of the great religions of the world should find a place in the college curriculum.²

This sense of a common need, binding together women of the East and women of the West of different religions, gives a basis for vital coöperation. In some places definite coöperative efforts in religious thinking have been begun, as in Bengal, where a group of Indian Christian and non-Christian women and several missionaries are working together on a book of worship for schools in which all religions can share. Such coöperation opens up a new and unexplored opportunity for a different type of contact with non-Christian leaders. Fully to capitalize this opportunity may require a spirit of courageous adventure into new fields of effort. Missionaries are in a position to give and to share richly in this quest for a common spiritual basis. It may, however, demand from the missionary the willingness to lose herself in the larger group. As one of the younger Indian Christian leaders writes: "Is it only when the seed becomes one with the soil that it can live and grow, especially during these days when the nation is on the march of progress?"

VI

SUMMARY

In each section of this report, the specific needs affecting women have been singled out for further mission planning. They may be summed

² *All-Asia Women's Conference, Summary 19-25, 1931, Second Resolution.*

up briefly as follows: A more definite expression of the social message of Christianity and a training of leaders in social work; a keener realization of the responsibility of Christian missions and the Christian church to provide industrial welfare, and promote the education of public opinion on industrial problems; an expansion of the health service of missions along lines of health welfare rather than mere remedial service; emphasis on a practical coördination of education for girls with the life-situation; emphasis on training of leadership in all lines and the development of the experimental, qualitative character of education; progressive religious education and more specialized training of religious leaders through the whole mission program; definite emphasis on village uplift focussing on the needs of village women; and finally, continuous research along lines of mission endeavor and coöperative effort in meeting common needs.

FUTURE PIONEERING

Throughout this study of the missionary problem as it affects women in India, it has become increasingly obvious that missions cannot rest on the achievements of the past, however noteworthy. The need for readjustment is no reflection on the work of missions. On the contrary, if no change were needed, that fact would be a serious criticism, since it would deny the idea of growth.

In this critical period of change, there is a need for a clearer understanding of the movement among Indian women, that is sweeping them out of the sheltered bays of contentment in their secluded home life into the uncharted currents of modern progress. There is no question of the need for the Western woman in India in the future. She has a different contribution to give, but one no less important than her contribution in the past has been. There is need for a courageous willingness to make the necessary readjustments. The days of Christian mission pioneering that affects the life of women are not of the past but of the future; and future pioneering may be fraught with more difficulties, though certainly with no less satisfaction.

BURMA

BURMA AND THE CHRISTIAN ENTERPRISE

by

DANIEL J. FLEMING

INTRODUCTION

THE Burmese are thankful for their long seaboard of about a thousand miles, their archipelago of about a thousand islands at its southern end, their great rivers, their forest-clad hills, and their rich rice fields. Three-fifths of the total area of the province consists of forests of teak and other valuable trees of which 17,000 square miles are still wholly un-administered. The timber, the oil, the silver, tin, lead and zinc of Burma are known throughout the markets of the world. Rubies, sapphires, and other precious stones, amber and jade are found within its borders; and their late Governor, Sir Harcourt Butler, suggests that the resources of Burma are still to a large extent unexplored.¹

The density of population per square mile is only 57, against the average of 226 for British India including Burma (1921), 649 for England and Wales, and 41 for the United States.

The people of Burma are happy, merry, companionable, fond of jewelry and gaiety, tolerant and religious. The life of the Burman is free from the deadening effects of India's caste; there are few class distinctions, and the people have a natural gift for friendship. There are no landed aristocrats or hereditary superiors. The population in 1931 was 14,652,272.

The sociability of the Burman is one of his most attractive characteristics. The Burmans delight in fine clothes, bright colors, pwes (semi-religious theatricals), boat and pony races, and pagoda festivals. They are a particularly cheerful and amusement-loving people with pronounced artistic talents and love of beautiful things.

As a rule the Burman is vigorous, healthy and active. This is probably due to the fact that his diet is varied and that, even in the poorest household, salt fish forms an integral part of the food ration. In addition, a very large amount of country vegetables and roots are consumed. That the Burman is on the whole better fed than the other races of India may be inferred from figures for the expectation of life worked out for the 1911 Census; these inquiries gave an expectation of life for a Burman as thirty-two years. In other provinces the figure is as low as twenty-one.

¹ Introduction to V. C. Scott O'Connor's *The Silken East* (London, Hutchinson, 1928), p. 8.

On the other hand, the Burman has been almost too contented, socially and religiously. He stresses the individual, strives for himself, and heretofore has had little thought for the nation. The Burmese individualistic conception and practice of life is in contrast to the instinct for co-operation among the Karens. There are few commercial companies where Burmese are associated and working harmoniously. The climate and the fertility of the soil abet indolence, though when absolutely necessary the Burman can work hard enough. One reason why Indians play such a large part in the economic life of Burma is because the Burman is not equally willing to face hard monotonous work for small pay. The Burmans have undoubted ability but lack perseverance; and thrift is not one of their marked characteristics. They are more leisurely than the Westerner, not being so far removed from the bullock cart.

The present inhabitants of Burma are descendants of various Mongolian tribes that migrated at a remote period from western China and Tibet. Legend and fable, in which innumerable tribal chiefs figured as mighty kings, gave way to authentic history only when King Pyinbya founded the city of Pagan in 847 A.D. which remained the capital until the dynasty ended in 1298. It was King Anawrahta, of this dynasty, who introduced Buddhism into Upper Burma, after defeating the Pegu king. Anawrahta and his ten successors were the first real rulers of Burma. For centuries Mons and Burmans fought with each other until finally the two peoples came to be united. There were invasions by Kublai Khan and the Tartars as well as by the Chinese. Other races, notably the Shans and the Karens, poured down upon the country and occupied areas here and there. Finally in order to protect India, Great Britain annexed Lower Burma in 1825, and Upper Burma in 1886.

In the political sphere, until comparatively recently, the only peoples whom the Burmese have known have been the Mons, Arakanese, Siamese and neighboring tribes whom they overthrew. In the religious sphere, Buddhism has been the only religion which they have taken seriously; and their kings were the supreme patrons of that religion. No wonder that they looked down with contempt on all foreigners, black and white. Their idea was, not that Burma was isolated from the rest of the world, but that the rest of the world was isolated from Burma.

A thousand years of these racial and political struggles has left its imprint on the master people. It has given them pride of race and not a few feel that it is a humiliation that there is no longer a Burmese Buddhist king. The people are sudden in quarrel, hold life cheaply, and the use of knives is deplorably common. Murders and crimes of violence, dacoity, robbery, and cattle theft are prevalent; and dacoits and robbers often treat their victims with revolting barbarity. The standard of veracity and of commercial morality is not so high as could be wished. In the past, Burmans have been flighty and unstable, impatient of discipline and restraint; hence they have not been good soldiers or even good

policemen. From childhood in the home and onward through life there is lack of self-control and discipline. Christianity can make a significant contribution by spreading the principle of the worth and the responsibility of the individual.

The non-Burmese 15 per cent. of the population differ widely from the dominant race. They are ready to bring to the Burma of the future many virile and fine characteristics. The Karens are singularly devoid of humor, are stolid and cautious, and lack the gaiety of the Burmese—possibly effects of days when they were being gradually annihilated by the Burmese, or at least reduced to the least hospitable portions of the country. The Shans come next with a population of nearly a million. They are typically traders rather than agriculturists.

The Chins to the number of 300,000 hold the broken and difficult country bordering on Assam, Manipur and Bengal. A barbarous, drunken, turbulent people, divided into many tribes and clans, their main occupation in former days was raiding villages in the plains. Their subjugation, rendered necessary by their predatory habits, was a laborious work. Even in the last few years troops had to suppress a serious rising.

Far north are the Kachins, a race of mountaineers, hardy, brave, and intelligent, whose pressure on the plains was checked only by British occupation. Still other tribes bring their problems and their talents to the common store for Burma.

Burma has a marked complexity of tribe and race for a country of its size. The Census of 1921 distinguished 211 groups sufficiently differentiated to justify separate tabulation.² The Burmese form the largest group (70 per cent.), with the Karens a distant second (9 per cent.). About 7.5 per cent. are Indians and 1 per cent. Chinese. The hill tribes form a horseshoe surrounding the central Burmese core.

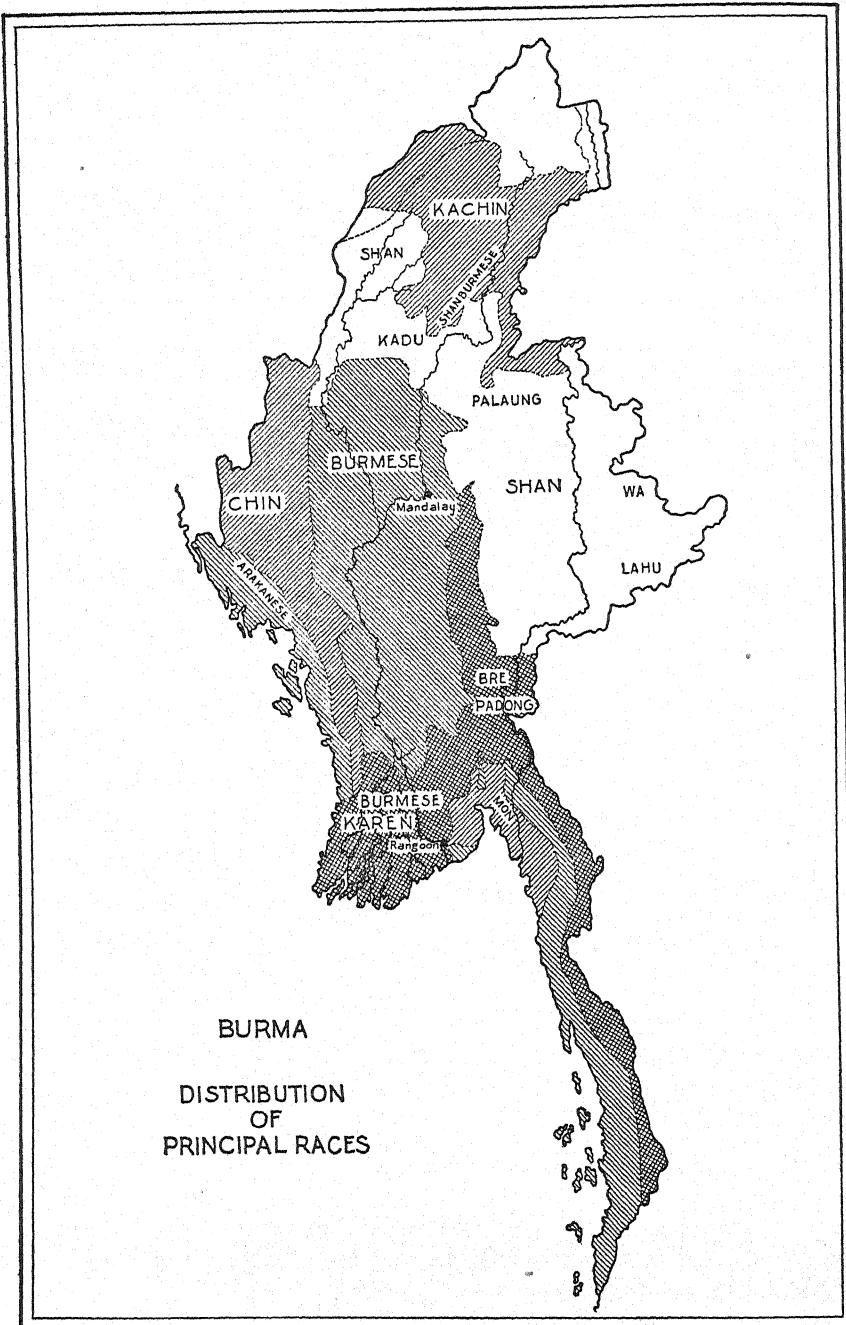
Burma is still more divided by language. The complexity is suggested by the classification by families into Tibeto-Chinese, Austro-Asiatic, and Malaya-Polynesian. The Census (1921) reports 128 indigenous languages spoken in addition to those used by foreign races.³ Although many of these are used by only a small number of people, nevertheless language remains a serious divisive factor.

To the diversities in race and language is added a wide range of climate, owing to the large size of the country and to the variety in physical features—delta and mountains, coastal region and upper plateaus. Wide differences in elevation and in rainfall produce regions differing in occupations and interests.

These three diversities complicate the problems of statecraft and of Christian work. At this stage they encourage communalism and make the problem of producing a unified Burma difficult. Riots between Bur-

² *The Census of India, 1921*, Vol. X, Part I, p. 209.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.



mese and Indians and between Burmese and Chinese are not uncommon. One is struck with the tense feeling that exists among the various communal groups.

I

BACKGROUND

ECONOMIC

Burma is one of the richest provinces in all India, though it is not so highly developed as some others. Extremes, whether of wealth or of poverty, are far less marked than in any other province, and the average standard of living is decidedly higher in Burma than in India.¹

Burmans are highly versatile and are not restricted by caste distinctions; a person may choose his occupation. Abundant rainfall practically places Lower Burma out of reach of any real famine. In the southern half of Upper Burma the monsoon is often fickle and untrustworthy; but even here famine, in the Indian acceptation of the term, is practically unknown.²

The sea-borne trade of its ports has enormously increased in recent years (from 400 to 1,100 millions of rupees since 1901),³ and Burma seems to stand on the threshold of a much greater development.

But these facts do not tell the whole story. Notwithstanding favorable conditions, there is widespread evidence that Burma is feeling economic pressure as never before. The prosperity of the country has depended on the rice crop. But the rice trade of Burma has begun to suffer from the increasingly keen competition of other rice-producing countries such as Egypt, Italy, Spain and Siam, which by increasing the acreage under rice have changed from importing into exporting countries.⁴ The depression in the rice market has reacted on the trade of the province generally. Moreover, the Burmese people are feeling more and more the increasing competition of India and the West.

AGRICULTURE

Burma is essentially an agricultural country. Only 15 per cent. of the people were classed as urban in 1921. While there are 35,048 villages, there are only 79 towns.

Along the old frontier the holdings average only about five acres,

¹ Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. I, p. 79.

² The Imperial Gazetteer, Vol. III, p. 95.

³ Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Inquiry Committee, 1929-30, Vol. I, p. 31.

⁴ Report on the Administration of Burma for the year 1928-29 (Rangoon, Government Printing Press, 1931), p. vii.

while in the Rangoon district from sixteen to twenty acres is the ordinary size.⁵ Quite large farms of 200 to 250 acres are found in Hanthawaddy, Pegu and Thaton districts worked by tenants on a yearly lease. On these large farms specialization of function has been carried as far as it is possible in agriculture, so that ploughing, the pulling of seedlings from the nursery, the transplanting of those seedlings, the reaping of the crop, carting to the threshing floor, the threshing, and the digging to repair the petty embankments of the fields are all carried out by different agencies. Lower Burma seems to differ from every other part of India in the degree to which its agriculture has been not only commercialized but industrialized.

Since rice is the principal crop, nine-tenths of all the cultivated area of Lower Burma is under paddy. The other important crops are fruits, vegetables, rubber, tobacco, beans and maize. Up until forty years ago the main resources of Upper Burma were precarious crops of rice, sesamum, a short-stapled cotton, millet and the raising of cattle. Irrigation has since made the rice crop secure in wide areas; ground-nut was introduced in 1905, and more varieties of beans are now grown. Altogether, Upper Burma is free from the reliance on a single crop.

Burma has several agricultural assets. Land is plentiful and fertile. Rainfall is abundant. Custom does not insist on the subdivision of holdings among the members of a family on the decease of the owner, so that fragmentation of holdings in the Indian sense constitutes at present no problem whatever in Burma. There is room for agricultural expansion, official returns classifying 60,000,000 acres as cultivable waste, as against 20,000,000 acres of unoccupied land.

Why then is Burma poor, and why is it that the income of the farming people does not average over five cents⁶ a day per person? One reason is that backward methods and instruments cause low production. Enemies in the form of beetles, caterpillars, crickets, grasshoppers, weevils, thieving crows and parrots abound, and there is the Buddhist prejudice against taking life. A third reason lies in lack of health. Poverty brings disease, disease brings inefficiency, and inefficiency brings poverty; and so the vicious circle goes.

Again, while peasant proprietorship is the rule in Upper Burma, in Lower Burma absentee landlordism with its attendant evils is a conspicuous feature of the paddy tracts. Here, as much as 38 per cent. of the land is worked on yearly tenancies. The larger landowners live in the towns and hire out their land yearly to the highest bidder. This instability of tenure acts as a severe handicap to progressive agricultural improvement, for the cultivator can never be sure at the beginning of a sea-

⁵ *The Indian Year Book* (1930), p. 537.

⁶ Statement by Brayton C. Case, Pyinmana School of Agriculture.

son whether he will get the same land back again, or, indeed, whether he will get any land at all.⁷

As in India, one of the prime causes of poverty is indebtedness. The Burman is notoriously generous and when funds are available money is spent freely either on religious objects or on giving entertainments for the amusement of his fellow villagers. When the money is gone, resort is had to the money lender or landlord for the means of financing the next year's crop. On account of his light-hearted attitude toward the accumulation of wealth, chronic indebtedness is almost universal amongst the cultivating classes, and the greater the credit the greater usually is the debt which is incurred.⁸

Thus farmers, on an alarming scale, are losing their land to money lenders. In the past fifteen years 1,300,000 acres have passed out of the hands of agriculturists.⁹ The money lenders buy the cultivator's crops a year ahead, lend money on his land, and encourage him to squander it in giving free plays to the neighborhood, in boat races, and in other unproductive ways. There is further the unduly large expenditure in supporting ponyis (monks) on a scale of comfort above that of most of their adherents, the wastefulness on trifles, ostentation, imprudence, and failure to provide for depreciation of cattle and implements.

The loss of land is found even among the Karen community of Bassein, which is predominantly Christian. Here and elsewhere thousands of Christian farmers have lost their farms, and thousands more are struggling under the insufferable burden of trying to pay the money lenders from 18 to 40 per cent. compounded interest.¹⁰

Government has endeavored to protect the Burman against himself by encouraging the coöperative credit system; but thus far little impression has been made. It is estimated that only 5 per cent. of all the people who might be coöperators have as yet joined the movement.¹¹ Missions have done little to promote coöperative credit in Burma; there is not one coöperative credit society reported from any mission. Yet the reduction of the rate of interest is regarded as the foremost need of agricultural industry and trade in Burma.¹²

Other remedies lie in the use of improved cattle, manures, improved strains of seed, better methods, and the introduction of new crops in areas now restricted to one crop. But such technical improvements will not be

⁷ Cf. *The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, Introduction to Vol. XII (Calcutta, 1928), p. 17.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹ *Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, Vol. I (Rangoon, 1930), p. 24.

¹⁰ Report of eight outstanding Christian leaders, *Proceedings of the Burma Baptist Missionary Conference* (1930), p. 51.

¹¹ *The Royal Commission on Agriculture in India*, Introduction to Vol. XII (Calcutta, Government of India Press, 1928), p. 35.

¹² *Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee*, 1929-30, Vol. I (Rangoon, 1930), p. 343.

sufficient. Experts point out the fourfold nature of the problem in its aspects of health, education, finance, and technique.¹³

The Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, finds that a religious book that costs more than fifteen cents will not sell. A religious paper that costs more than fifty cents a year is too expensive for many pastors and Christian leaders. It is found to be difficult to get educated preachers and qualified teachers for villages, because villages can pay only one-fifth to one-tenth what Christian leaders in the towns are getting.¹⁴

INDUSTRIES

Burma has not yet reached the industrial stage. Thus far the Burman has been content to leave large-scale commerce and industry almost entirely in foreign hands. Of the total employees, five-eighths are Indians and only a little over a quarter are of races indigenous to Burma. In Rangoon, which in the volume of its exports and imports, ranks only below Calcutta and Bombay, two-thirds of the male inhabitants are Indians. Its wealthy inhabitants are Europeans, Indians, and Chinese. Of other cities, only Mandalay had in 1921 a population exceeding 100,000. Mandalay is predominantly a Burmese city, but its industries are all of them on a village scale. Thus the industrial element forms only a small proportion of the population of Burma.

Rice mills and sawmills comprise the largest number of establishments, while the petroleum industries engage the largest number of employees. These three factory industries account for two-thirds of the persons employed in factories in Burma. India is very largely dependent on Burma for her supplies of kerosene, benzine and petrol which rank second to rice in order of importance. In fact, Burma produces more than four-fifths of the output that enables the Indian Empire to rank eleventh in the list of oil-producing countries.

Imported and factory-made articles are rapidly displacing the home-made and indigenous; but silk weaving, wood carving, silver work, and lacquer maintain a place among the smaller industries.

The total number of persons employed in all industries as given for 1927 is 101,350. Of these 10,500 were women and 1,090 children (a decrease of 250 over the previous year reported).¹⁵ The average number of employees per registered factory is less than one hundred, showing that Burma is still in the stage of small-scale industry.

Burman teak forests, Burman oil, and Burman argentiferous galena and copper mines have made huge sums of money; but it is not the Burmese enterprise that has developed them. Unfortunately for Burma it is

¹³ Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30, Vol. I, p. 349.

¹⁴ Case, Brayton C., *Crops and Christians* (New York, American Baptist Missionary Society), p. 18.

¹⁵ India in 1928-29, p. 356.

foreign initiative that organizes and controls practically all banks, railways, trams, steamer lines, large mercantile establishments, oil industries and refineries, mining projects, and most rice and timber mills.

What is the opportunity of the church as it faces the industry of Burma? While the stage of big industry has not been reached, yet since 1901 there has been an average annual increase of factories amounting to thirty-three, and an average annual increase of employees of 2,800.

The question arises whether the Christian forces in Burma are prepared to meet the problems of industrialization that are bound one day to arise; and whether, in preparation for that day, they should not begin now to develop the requisite conscience and experience by dealing with the smaller but none the less real problems of economic maladjustment peculiar to the present stage.

There are conditions that need immediate attention. Only about three-fourths of the factories registered are inspected. Many fatal accidents remain uninvestigated. Shortage of inspectors prevents extending the Factory Act to institutions employing between ten and twenty persons. There is a tendency to build small rice mills that employ fewer than ten persons, and these are inadequately protected.¹⁶ The housing of the industrial staff is difficult. Employers are especially reluctant to provide for casual and seasonal labor. In various parts of Rangoon, because of the low wages and high house rent, twenty-five to thirty coolies may be found sleeping in one small, poorly ventilated, highly insanitary room. Living under such conditions, and eating the plainest and cheapest of food with seldom or never any variety, these people are subject to all manner of diseases. Burma can undoubtedly learn much from the industrial trials and tribulations through which the West has passed in the last hundred years.

GOVERNMENT SERVICES

As already pointed out in the introductory report to India, Burma comes under the Central Government of India, and so under the Secretary of State for India in London. Since 1923, when Burma was constituted a governor's province under the Government of India Act, local self-government, medical administration, public health, education, public works, agriculture and forests have been "transferred subjects" under the Governor in council through ministers who are normally from the people of Burma.

The present Government makes certain varied and important constructive contributions. These can be summarized. There is the administration of the land with its surveys, settlements, land records and collection of revenue. There is its protective work with its legislation, police, criminal and civil justice, its registration of factories and joint companies, and its municipal administration. Government aims to help production

¹⁶ *The Report of Administration in Burma, 1928-29*, pp. 60-64.

and distribution with its departments of agriculture, weather, coöperation, forests, mines, irrigation and public works. There has been a progressive expansion of expenditure on education, medical relief, public health, agriculture and industries. There is a Medical Department with its corps of officers and institutions—a Public Health Institute, a Malaria Bureau, three mental hospitals and a Pasteur Institute. Pamphlets have been prepared on such subjects as the Care of Children, Tonsils and Adenoids, and Health Education for Schools. Altogether well over a million copies of the Bureau's publications were distributed to the public throughout the country and 2,346,000 health pamphlets suitable for children have been supplied to the Director of Public Instruction for use in schools in the province.

SOCIAL

IMMIGRATION

A marked feature of the labor situation in Burma is the large immigrant population. As soon as British control, trade development, and political stability made Burma safe for foreigners, inhabitants of the crowded countries of India and China, lying on either side, began to realize that Burma could offer some relief. Here was a land whose relatively low population density, abundant resources, and trade advantages offered opportunities to peoples often visited with famines and struggling on an exceedingly narrow and precarious margin for existence.

Hence we find Chinese and Indian labor, driven by economic pressure from their home lands, coming to supplement the sparse population of Burma. Over 350,000 Indian laborers come over every year to reap the rice crops (since it takes eight men to reap what five men have sown), to help in the development of the country, and to perform other services which the Burman is unable or unwilling to perform for himself. The arrivals at Rangoon were 2,600,000 during 1911-21, as compared with 1,700,000 during 1901-11, and nearly the whole of this increase consists of Indian laborers. The immigrant population consists of nearly a million Indians and about 150,000 Chinese.¹⁷

Many of these immigrants have lived under economic pressure that has caused privation and consequently diminished their power to resist disease. They generally live laboriously and in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions. Many live penitulously and are ill-nourished because they are endeavoring to save the greater part of their wages, either to remit to their families in India, or to take back to India themselves, after a short stay in Burma. Among the Indians, males outnumber the females three to one. Serious racial conflicts took place in 1930 and 1931. Continuance of the present conditions involves not merely hardship for many immigrants but peril to the healthy development of Burma.

This immigration situation manifestly produces a problem of social

¹⁷ *The Indian Census, 1921, Vol. X, p. 32.*

maladjustment. The Baptist mission, and to a greater extent the Methodist mission, have sensed this problem.

INADEQUATE COMMUNICATIONS

Burma has still much to do in the way of developing means of communication. Many testified to the social problems that face village communities when the rains practically shut people in unless they literally wade through mud; for many of the roads are mere mule tracks, and a large portion are practically impassable during the height of the rainy season.

Missionaries in Upper Burma told of Christian workers who could not be reached by post and who, because of the lack of mailing facilities, do not take any paper or magazine. Others told of itinerating where they had to follow a cow trail or make their way as best they could through the jungle. Moreover, good communications are a most important factor in developing trade. In these, as well as in other ways, one was impressed with the religious as well as the economic loss from inadequate communications.

When the British first occupied Burma, there were practically no roads in the accepted sense of the term, but only jungle tracks. The development of roads is still one of the most urgent problems facing Burma. There are at present only 2,500 miles of metallized roads. There are only 1,908 miles of railway,¹⁸ being one mile to 122 square miles of territory, or one mile to 6,900 inhabitants. Much of this mileage is of meter gauge and hence is restricted as to speed.

One postoffice in Burma in 1927-28 had to serve 452 square miles. There is only one letter-box for sixty-three square miles in Burma to twenty-one in India. These differences are not wholly accounted for by the sparseness of population in large areas away from the main river valleys, for investigation shows that the number of postal articles per head of literate population in Burma is 16.9, while the corresponding figure for India as a whole is 60.7. It appears that while Burma is decidedly more literate than India, those who are literate use only one-fourth as many postal articles per head as the literates of India.

Fifty-five newspapers and 163 periodicals are published (1927-28). The circulation increased from 5,300 in 1891, to 14,592 in 1921. These publications find their way into most of the villages near the main roads and railways; and contain the happenings in the outer world, the prices of cotton and paddy in the main towns, and all the miscellaneous items of news that go to make up a vernacular newspaper. The more enlightened villager often reads his newspaper aloud for the information of his less advanced brethren.

There has been a decline in the publication of books since 1925;

¹⁸ *Statistical Abstract for British India, 1918-19 to 1927-28* (Calcutta, Government of India Central Publishing Branch, 1930), p. 429.

ninety-two having been published in 1928. Of these, 38 were religious works chiefly on Buddhism, 13 were on language, 10 on science, 3 each on law and poetry, 2 each on hygiene and medicine, 1 each on fiction, history, travel, literature and astrology. Thirty-seven of the books were written in Burmese, 28 in Burmese Pali, 14 in Pali, and 10 in English.

Railway development thus far accomplished, has helped the crime gangs; and some fear the spread of epidemics from increased means of communication. But these are simply harmful aspects of a development in all kinds of communication that is normal in the growth of the people and the nation.

ADJUSTMENT TO RAPID CULTURAL CHANGE

An observer cannot fail to be impressed by the transformation that has come over Burma during the past few years. Among the educated and semi-educated classes, probably there has been more change in the last thirty years than in the preceding ten centuries. Burma had been cut off from India and the rest of the world by an effective barrier of mountain and ocean, and did not come into real and effective touch with the West till after the last Burmese war, in 1885. Since then a more impartial administration of justice, improved communications by rail, river and road, the great development in trade, increasing competition with India and the West, the humanizing effects of education, medical relief, and the labors of Christian missions, both Roman and Protestant, have produced a change in the outlook and life of the Burmese people.

Fifty years ago most of the Delta, whose paddy crops are essential to the chief export trade of the country, was covered with jungle; while Upper Burma still had a very primitive legal and economic structure. Karens have been leaving their mountain homes where marriages were seriously undertaken and where concubinage was seldom practised. Old controls have been breaking down with migrations under economic pressure.

HEALTH

Of the various provinces in the Indian Empire, Burma records the lowest death-rate (21.28),¹⁹ barring the Northwestern Frontier Provinces (19.31).²⁰ Burma's health need becomes more obvious, however, when its death-rate is compared with that of the United States (11.7 average for 1921-5)²¹ and that of England and Wales (10.9 for 1921-5).²²

¹⁹ The data here given differ slightly from those in Dr. Wampler's Report being for different years.

²⁰ The figures for this section, where not otherwise stated, come from the *Report of the Public Health Administration of Burma* (1928).

²¹ The data here given differ slightly from those in Dr. Wampler's Report, being for different years.

²² *Ibid.*

There is only one medical institution for every 794 square miles of country and for every 45,000 of the population. This provision hardly touches the needs of the rural population as the hospitals are, in the main, located in the towns.

Infant mortality is a still more sensitive index of health conditions, especially as regards general sanitation under which the people live. Burma's infant death-rate (209.50) is very high, being exceeded only by that of the Central Provinces. It is particularly noteworthy that more than 80 per cent. of the total infant deaths occur under six months. Maternal deaths from childbirth were 11.60 per thousand births, which when compared with the rate of 4.11 in England (1927) brings home the great need of maternity work in Burma. Since Burma records the lowest birth-rate (25.86) of the various provinces, and since the birth-rate is decreasing in this under-populated land (in the Censuses of 1901, 1911 and 1921 the rates for the preceding decades have been 20, 15 and 9 per cent. respectively), the problem of whether missions should teach birth control does not arise.

By far the dominating disease is fever in one form or another. Malaria undoubtedly reduces the working efficiency of a large part of the rural population. Bubonic plague is now more or less established in the province. Cholera outbreaks are frequent and there is a considerable amount of smallpox. Hookworm disease is also unfortunately present, though so far it has not proved serious.

The Burman of the better class is by habit scrupulously clean and the houses are as a rule also kept in a tidy and orderly manner. There is, however, a tendency to carelessness in the village surroundings and the general custom of keeping cattle in villages at night as a protection against cattle theft does not tend to improve matters. Wells and drinking tanks are likely to be neglected; and ideas of rural hygiene may be said to be of the most primitive. At present the most noticeable feature in municipalities throughout the country is local inertia coupled with resentment toward all attempts at central control.

There has been progress, however, for the number of hospitals and dispensaries has increased since 1901 from 119 to 303, and the number of patients from 0.9 to 2.4 millions.²³ There has been an undoubted saving of over 160,000 deaths a year from smallpox by means of vaccination at a cost of just over a cent per head of the population.²⁴

Health is now a provincial and transferred subject and is therefore in the hands of the Burman public. Burma's power and will to deal with the major epidemic diseases to which she is subject are matters of importance

²³ Report of the Burma Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee, 1929-30, Vol. I (Rangoon, 1929-30), p. 31.

²⁴ Annual Report of the Public Health Commissioner with Government of India, for 1922, p. 79.

to the whole world and are obligations for any country aspiring to enter the community of nations.

EDUCATION

One of the remarkable facts regarding Burma is the high percentage of literacy (27.6 per cent.). It has long been the most literate province in the Indian Empire.

It is admitted by the Government that in spite of the recent improvement in vernacular schools, the methods in Government schools are generally old-fashioned and dilatory, and that their present vernacular training institutions will not do much to improve them. One-fifth (1,400) of the recognized schools, and nearly all of the unrecognized vernacular schools, are controlled by monks.²⁵ Even in the villages, however, the authority of the monk and the influence of the monastic school is waning. The boys are no longer sent there for their lessons as a matter of course. The villager is beginning to see, what his compatriot of the town has long known, that the education given in the monastic school is inadequate to meet the demands of modern competition, since the monks are generally averse to adopting Western methods of education.

In England about three-fourths of the elementary teachers are women, but in Burma less than one-third. The difference is largely due to social conditions, since it is difficult for a girl in Burma to work away from her home. In the coeducational system prevailing here the growth of girls' education depends on an increased employment of women teachers in the village schools.

The wastage in the Anglo-vernacular schools is comparatively unimportant; but that in vernacular schools is alarming. Eighty-two per cent. of the pupils in the primary standards are in the lower primary. Unfortunately, economic reasons drive the great majority of parents to remove their children from school at an early age to tend their younger brothers and sisters and the family cattle. Since the great bulk of the pupils go very little farther than the second standard, the introduction of the needed agricultural teaching into the ordinary schools of Burma seems very remote. Only 18 per cent. of the girls of school-going age are in recognized schools; and the great majority of these are removed at an early age. Since children get little permanent benefit from one or two years at school, the Government recognizes that the present expenditure on vernacular lower primary education is largely wasted.

In spite of increased salaries and better and more regular teaching the holding power of our vernacular schools has hardly increased and they are still valued more as crèches than places of instruction.²⁶

²⁵ *Report on the Administration of Burma for the Year 1928-29* (Rangoon, Government Printing Press, 1931), p. 92.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

DRINK

The revenue from excise for 1929-30 was Rs.13,090,000, being 12 per cent. of the total;²⁷ an increase of 32 per cent. in the last nine years. The average total excise revenue per head of population was Rs.1.14, which is 41 per cent. greater than the average for the Indian provinces. Statistics show a constant rise in imports of liquor; and, while foreign drinks are practically unknown in the villages, yet there are many toddy shops which purvey native liquors. The poverty-stricken, hungry, and toiling sections are the greatest sufferers from drink which, under the system of Government administration, can easily be secured.

Interviews indicated that Buddhist Burma's sincere desire is for the complete eradication of the drink evil, which is against the fifth explicit command of Buddha. Help in meeting the drink problem was specifically mentioned as one of the ways in which help was most wanted from America, to which they look as a land making a marked attempt to grapple with the problem.

Many were the testimonies to the outspoken stand taken against the use of alcoholic liquor by American missions and missionaries in contrast with S. P. G. and Roman Catholic missionaries. Most American schools have temperance societies and the members help to distribute literature and information.²⁸ The annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has a standing committee on temperance. They have stimulated Tamil temperance sermons every three months for the Indian community, temperance instruction and contests in temperance speaking, essays and posters in the schools.

There is a Burman Women's Christian Temperance Union, whose work thus far has been mainly educational and agitational. There is also a Burman organization, called "The Burman Youth's Temperance League."

The Burma Christian Council in 1927 was so impressed with the evil results of intemperance in Burma, as shown by the repeated opinions of judges and magistrates, that it called upon all Christian people to unite in opposing this evil.

CRIME

Serious crime is alarmingly prevalent in Burma. Its increase has caused the Government the gravest concern. Ever since the outbreak of the Great War Burma has had the reputation of being the most criminal province of the Indian Empire. The jail population continues to increase faster than the total population. The percentage of convictions for theft is three-and-a-half times that of the rest of India. The number of murders was 825 in 1927. The report of the Police Department attributes most of these murders to an excessive lack of self-control.

²⁷ *India Year Book* (1930), p. 147.

²⁸ Mrs. W. H. Smith, Cor. Secretary of the Burma Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

Burma with its immense and often trackless areas, and other physical difficulties, presents special problems to the police administration. Dacoitage, robberies, murders and arson are common. The typical day-to-day problems confronting the Burman police are those arising out of the inducements to crime against persons and property in rural areas, by the urge of primitive and unbridled passions, such as revenge and lust, and by the still undeveloped sense of civic responsibility.

Increased literary and technical knowledge has caused such crimes as bogus company promoting, note and coin forging, confidence tricks and the like to take on an increasing popularity, whilst the growth of commercial houses, banks and other business has brought in its train all manner of embezzlements, forgeries and swindles. The regular development of communications has enabled criminals to work over larger areas. Part of the difficulty is to be found in the increased economic pressure following the World War. Another reason is the absence of an educated public opinion, upon which the Burmese press frequently comments.

A British missionary writes from long experience in Burma, having been a missionary there since 1909:

It seems quite clear that this deficiency in a sense of social obligation on the part of the Burmese people must in large measure be laid to the charge of their religion. Buddhism, with all its high standard of ethics for the individual, is deficient on the side of corporate morality.

Moreover, such moral sanctions as were supplied by Buddhism in the past have been rudely shaken by the new conditions that have arisen during the period of transition. Institutional Buddhism is breaking down at its strongest point in the face of Western science and civilization.²⁹

We will be slow, however, to attribute Burma's crime too exclusively to Buddhism, when we remember that the United States leads all nations in the amount of serious crime.

RELIGIOUS

NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS

From the limited standpoint of figures, the religious need of Burma may be grasped from the following census table (1921):

	Number	Per Cent.
Buddhist	11,172,984	84.8
Animist	592,822	4.5
Moslem	500,592	3.8
Hindu	490,857	3.7
Christian	257,106	2.0
Chinese	146,430	1.1
Minor religions	8,308	.1

²⁹ *The International Review of Missions*, Vol. XVII, p. 656.

The outstanding fact here is that Burma is predominantly a Buddhist land. With a Buddhist population of 85 per cent., it may almost be considered a country with one religion. Buddhists are more than five-and-a-half times as numerous as all the non-Buddhists put together; and are nearly nineteen times as numerous as the Animists, who are the next largest class. Other faiths, respectively, do not exceed 5 per cent. of the population. Buddhism and Animism are strongest in rural areas; while Hinduism, Islam and Christianity are strongest in urban areas. The immigrant Hindus and Moslems each form about one-quarter of the non-Buddhists; while Christians number an eighth of those not Buddhists.

One should be cautioned against interpreting all these religious labels in too academic a manner. Often they indicate a certain type of culture or orientation of life rather than a strict adherence to the classic essentials of some creed.

Animistic belief in good and bad spirits, or *nats*, is almost universal in Burma. The propitiation of these spirits of the air, forest, stream, village or house is the sole religion of the hill Kachins and of those Karens who have not become Christian or Buddhist; but even in Buddhist homes there is no attempt to hide the double and conflicting recognition of Buddha at one household shrine and of the *nats* at another. At the outskirts of almost every village can be found a *nat* shrine plentifully supplied with offerings. These *nats* are the survival of ancient geniolatry spirits, and Buddhism even after twenty-one centuries of sway in Burma has left these superstitions strongly intrenched. The Burman fears the *nats*, which are easily influenced by petitions and promises, and governs his life by what the spirits will do if not propitiated. Whether the people actually worship the *nats* is hard to say; they at least offer gifts in a propitiatory way.

BUDDHISM

There are things in the religions of Burma which should be unhesitatingly criticized; nor can any informed Christian rest content with the idea that these religions are good enough for Burma. But the major religions are certainly better than no religion at all and a distinct advance over the superstitious belief in the ancient nature spirits which preceded them. In fact Burma owes its literature and its civilization to Buddhism. The faiths of Burma have each their vital forces and, therefore, however deficient one may deem them to be, they must have a place in the summary of the spiritual assets available for Burma's need.

Since Buddhism is decidedly the dominant faith in Burma, discussion will be confined to it. While not so active as in Japan, Buddhism in Burma is far more vital than in China, filling a large place in the life of the masses, providing after the dethronement of the Burmese king the most unifying national influence, and caring for the education of the youth. However, Buddhism is experiencing the disrupting effect of West-

ern thought and institutions in the growing dissatisfaction over its monastic schools and in the lowered power and prestige of its monks.

While there is little conscious organization of religious education in Burman Buddhism, nevertheless there are effective ways by which Gautama's way of life is instilled into both old and young. A brief summary of these methods will enable us to see how Buddhism gets its hold upon the people.

From earliest years children accompany family groups in frequent visits to the pagodas where, more through imitation than by formal instruction, they catch the reverence and learn the outward ceremonial of prayer and worship that are to go with them throughout life.

The monastic school is a second powerful factor. Up to within a few years, almost every Buddhist boy went to a monastery just outside the village. Although the rapid growth of modern education has greatly lessened the influence of the monastic school, it is probable that the vast bulk of instruction in Buddhism is still given within the monastery. Rich and poor are welcome. First the alphabet is learned and then the Buddhist beatitudes, the Nine Excellences of the Buddha, the Six Excellences of the Law, and the Nine Excellences of the Assembly. The atmosphere of the monastery, the early morning prayers, the reverence paid the monks, and the quiet, even life about them leave an indelible impression upon the youth.

Another considerable religious influence on the young child comes from the paintings, carvings and images with which Burma abounds. The whole atmosphere is thus laden with the religion of Gautama. The calm majestic benevolent figures of the Buddha and the frescoes representing his mythical incarnations have their strong appeal to the imagination and hero-worship of children.

Except for the few influenced by modernism, every Buddhist lad, when about twelve years of age, undergoes the *shin-byu* ceremony, which may be likened to baptism in other religions. For a time varying from a few days to several months youths enter the monastery. In the Henzada High School out of a class of twenty-one boys nineteen had participated in this ceremony with an average duration of nine and a half days. The importance given to the ceremony in the life of the village, and the observance and teaching connected with it, make the *shin-byu* one of the great periods in a man's life.

Story-telling is another form of religious education. Often in the villages one will see groups of folks sitting around after the evening meal listening way into the night to stories which center about the life of Gautama. Many of the great truths of their religion are thus received in story form.

Pwes, or dramatic representations, play an extraordinary part in the life of a Burman. Whole families pack up and go to these performances. Many of these dramas are founded upon the tales that Gautama told of

his previous existences. These pwes constitute an important part of adult religious education not unlike the miracle plays of medieval Europe. Pwes are of two kinds. The religious type, or *paya-pwe*, is supposed to be subject to Buddhist standards, and attendance is considered a meritorious act. Without the pwes Burman social life and religious instruction would be incomplete. Manifestly these dramatic performances reach the audience through the eye and ear with a vividness unequaled by mere preaching.

Various festivals have grown into the very life of the people. The influence of these spectacular events can scarcely be overestimated in gripping young Burmans to Buddhism. The Christians have only Christmas and New Year's.

"Sabbaths" are observed at regular times. On these days with considerable regularity groups go to the monasteries where they spend the morning in discussion of religious themes, hear sermons or the recital of episodes in Buddha's life. The quiet devotion of a sincere layman and the dignified demeanor of some priests have their unobtrusive influence. After a picnic lunch at noontime, the adults sit around and talk while the children play. Common cares and worries of one's vocation are set aside, and children eagerly look forward to these sabbaths.

There are four "duty days" in every lunar month, and on these days the good Buddhist is supposed to go to the pagoda for worship. At such times the monks read and expound their scriptures. There is a Buddhist Lent during which all religious requirements are more strictly observed.

Burmese religious life has a noteworthy social quality. It is not unusual for all the members of the family of a Burman to do their worshiping together. On duty-days the father will lead the whole family up to the pagoda. When the mother visits the shrine she takes the infant in arms, and one can see her patient attempts thus early to form a religious attitude in her infant.

In almost every home is a little shrine with a picture or image of the Buddha, and below it a shelf on which simple offerings are daily placed. In the more devout homes, verses are recited morning and night before the Buddha. Then there are innumerable acts of devotion at wayside shrines.

There is a simplicity and dignity about the worship at the pagodas. To one observer, at least, there seemed to be an unmistakable reverence for the founder of their faith expressed in offerings of flowers and lighted candles or in kneeling with forehead to the ground. It is individual worship—no priests, no corporate singing, no supervision in the unguarded open pagoda. In the face of many a worshiper one could hardly be mistaken in seeing a spirit of devotion and reverence.

These methods, which we have all too briefly summarized, are making Buddhism live in Burma. They cannot but be suggestive to any faith seeking indigenous ways of instilling or retaining loyalty.

But what about the content of Buddhism? Its view of the world and its ethics are strong forces in keeping it alive. All Buddhists know the Five Precepts—not to take any life; not to steal; to avoid sexual incontinence; not to lie, deceive or slander; and not to drink intoxicating liquors. Among Buddhism's most influential doctrines are those of rebirth, karma, nirvana and the Four Noble Truths. The latter declare that the five aspects of existence are suffering; that the cause of suffering is always desire; that by overcoming desire we may avoid sorrow; and that the way to vanquish desire is the Noble Eightfold Path. The character acquired through following the self-training outlined in this Noble Path is supposed to bring peace and that poise of mind that can be oblivious of life's sorrows.

Manifestly no fair treatment of Buddhism can be given here; hence the reader is directed to standard works on Buddhism. Suffice it to say that study or observation will discover two sides to Buddhism. The memory of the calm, intellectual, loving sage of India has undoubtedly been an inspiration to an innumerable company. Gautama's influence has been toward gentleness of spirit, the cultivation of the inner life and aspiration for the Great Peace. While there is unquestionably something selfish in the Buddhist quest for merit, and even in Buddhist salvation, Buddha himself gave a long-continued example of unselfish service that has even more potential influence than is at present realized. Before Buddhism came, the people were in a crude animistic state, fearful of *nats*. The myriads of images and pagodas indicate how great a boon the new religion brought. Moreover, Buddhism is sympathetic to an openness of mind akin to the scientific temper. Buddha, at war with Hinduism, looked to no supernatural source for knowledge, but attempted to think things out for himself and made his basis of appeal to others a verifiable appeal to experience. This will make it difficult, especially in these modern days, for any Christian group which is notably conservative or bound down to the authority and formulae of the past, effectively to interest intelligent Buddhists.

On the other hand, to the Christian, Buddhism has its debit side. Buddha tried to destroy belief in the efficacy of outward forms: he would be deeply disappointed at much of the externalism of present-day Buddhism. Many of the pagoda prayers are learned by heart in meaningless Pali. Often the mental attitude of the uneducated worshiper before the image or pagoda must be close to idolatry. The póngyis are superstitious and few think deeply concerning their religion. All too often religion is simply a method of gaining merit selfishly by certain offerings and practices, such as fastening gold leaf on a tree or mumbling sacred texts. Buddhism encourages a suspicious attitude to the normally good things of life, tends to preoccupy one with one's own karma, robs human endeavor of its initiative, and is immeasurably inferior to Christianity in the amount of actual helpfulness it inspires. It has been so intent on

the salvation of the individual that it has given little thought to the reconstruction of society. Neither in monks nor in laymen is there an ardent desire to help the world.

In this brief statement perhaps enough has been said to indicate that the marked lack of response by Burmans to Christianity is due in part to the fact that Buddhism is one of the strongest and most vital of the non-Christian religions and that Burma is one of its strongholds. It has attempted to meet human need and to comfort burdened hearts; and it remains alive in Burma because it has not wholly failed. While it would be easy to emphasize its barren and negative side, yet an observer in Burma has to recognize that there is, also, something positive and living in its mystical and rational elements.

II

THE CHRISTIAN MOVEMENT

FOREIGN MISSIONARIES

The first representative Christian, a French Franciscan, went to Burma about 1554. His was only a brief visit; but a church, the first Christian church in Burma, was erected by the Jesuits about 1613. Other priests came for brief periods with but little permanent influence until the eighteenth century when the Burmese king granted special facilities enabling them to carry on permanent work. The first brick church, ruins of which still stand, was erected by the Roman Catholics at Syriam in 1750. The first book printed by foreigners in Burmese was a little Burmese grammar by a Roman Catholic missionary, which was published in Rome in 1776. It is estimated that by 1800 there were 5,000 Roman Catholic Christians in Burma. Now there are three bishoprics with 71,941 Roman Catholic Christians. From the *Catholic Directory* for 1931¹ we learn that there are sixty-nine Burman priests, and that there were 7,069 baptisms during the preceding year.

The Rangoon Armenian Church Calendar shows that Armenians first came to Burma in 1612 and dwelt in Syriam.

Protestant missionary work dates from 1813 when Adoniram Judson with his wife arrived in Burma for work under what is now the American Baptist Missionary Society. He did his great work among Burmans for the most part; but the greater responsiveness of the Karens since 1828 has led later missionaries to give more attention to them. Their work is connected with a strong indigenous church. Work has been developing among the Buddhists and Animists of the Shan states. The Mons are reached about Moulmein, while other centers reach the Kachins and the

¹ *Catholic Directory for India, Burma and Ceylon* (Madras, 1931), pp. 307-316.

Chins. The Baptist work is the most varied and extensive as will be seen in the report on the church in Burma.

The next society to enter Burma was the Church of England through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which took up work in Burma after the annexation of Lower Burma in 1852. Mission work was first started among the Karens but later was extended to include Burmese.

A Presbyterian church was organized in 1872 for Scotsmen in Rangoon. However, it has conducted no missionary activities in Burma except sponsoring a small Tamil congregation.

The missionary work of the American Methodist Episcopal Church was begun under the direction of Rev. (later Bishop) J. M. Thoburn, in 1879. The Methodist entry into Burma sprang out of what is generally known as the William Taylor revival. A cardinal principle of that movement was the conversion of Anglo-Indians in order that they in turn might convert nationals. Indian work was begun in 1880 almost simultaneously with the work for Anglo-Indians. Ministry to the Chinese followed in 1895 and to the Burmese about 1901. The Methodist work has been confined to a few centers in Lower Burma and will be further described in the next report.

The English Wesleyan Church began its work in Burma in 1887. The missionaries of this church confined themselves to Upper Burma owing to the presence of other agencies at work in Lower Burma.

The Seventh Day Adventists began their work in Burma in 1919.

Of the 506 missionaries in Burma in 1923, 258 were Protestant and 248 Roman Catholic. The total number of American Protestant missionaries in Burma has increased from 201 for 1911 to 266 for 1924, and to 277 for 1930. The increase has been most marked in the number of unordained men. Of the American missionaries (1930), 88 per cent. are in the societies surveyed in this report.

The distribution of the various missionary societies and their overlapping are shown in the accompanying map. Seven-eighths of the foreign staff are found in the three of the nine divisions of Burma where four-fifths of the Christians live. The remaining one-eighth of the missionary staff is spread over two-thirds of the divisions into which the land is divided. This distribution, by which the location of the overwhelming proportion of missionaries coincides with the area of greatest Christian density, may be a tribute to the results coming from missionary occupation and evidence that missionaries are largely engaged in institutions intended to build up the Christian community they already have; or it may be in part due to the inertia and immobility brought about by property and vested interests. Whether such a distribution is judged wise depends on one's conception of the function of a missionary. A conscious and comprehensive policy of occupation is needed.

For the whole province, the average is four missionaries for 100,000



BURMA MISSION STATIONS

- ▲ American Baptist Foreign Mission Society.
- Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
- Christian Missions in Many Lands.
- ‡ Salvation Army.
- Seventh Day Adventist.
- + Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
- △ Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

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inhabitants. But in Rangoon there are 157 missionaries; and in Mandalay and Maymyo there are 70. Outside these cities the average is therefore two and one-third missionaries per 100,000 inhabitants. The number of Protestant foreign workers per million in Burma is 22.78, while the similar number for India as a whole is 16.95. If Protestant National workers also be included, then the total number of workers per million in Burma is 265, as against 175 for India. The decrease in the total number of foreign workers per million since 1924 has been decidedly greater in Burma than in India.

Of the total foreign staff (including Roman Catholics), 44 per cent. are engaged in educational work, 43 per cent. in evangelistic work, 9 per cent. in medical work, and 4 per cent. in other kinds of work.

CHRISTIAN INSTITUTIONS (NOT INCLUDING CHURCHES)²

Protestant Christian agencies maintain 972 schools, and Roman Catholics 180. Owing to the large proportion of indigenously supported Christian schools one must be careful not to subsume all these schools under missions. Management and support is so mixed up that it is almost impossible to separate the credit for these schools between church and mission.

The Protestant schools enroll (1921) 36,455 pupils, of whom 21,050, or 58 per cent., are non-Christian. Since the Karen schools are very largely Christian, the percentage of non-Christians in the other schools must be much greater.

In the Protestant schools are National teachers to the extent of 1,115 men and 817 women, in addition to eighty-three foreign workers. It is estimated that in the Roman Catholic schools there are 272 male and 210 female indigenous teachers, as well as foreigners to the number of twenty-six men and 101 women. There is thus a total staff for these 1,152 mission schools of 2,624 persons, or two for each school on the average, and one for each nineteen pupils.

If we confine attention to recognized schools only, Christian agencies conduct 6 per cent. of the entire number of schools for males and 13 per cent. of the schools for women. Of the total recognized education of the province, Christian institutions conduct 7 per cent. judged by the number of institutions, or 11 per cent. judged by the number of pupils.

The percentage of the total Protestant missionary force that is engaged in medical work is less in Burma than in India, being 3.8 per cent. for Burma and 5.2 per cent. for India as a whole. While Government maintains 291 hospitals and dispensaries, Protestant missions maintain nineteen hospitals and dispensaries, 270 beds, and minister to 46,564 patients.

The number of institutions (schools, hospitals, orphanages, homes for lepers, etc.), per hundred Protestant missionaries (excluding wives) is

² See "The Church in Burma," this Volume.

78 for Burma, as against 55 for India as a whole. Furthermore, the relative increase of institutions since 1923 has been decidedly greater in Burma than in India. The increase in Burma is accounted for by the increased number of middle schools.

It is estimated that the numbers of Nationals, men and women, who are in training to become Christian workers, are barely sufficient to provide for losses by death and discontinuance of service, while providing none for advance.³

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

There is a growing number of voluntary associations for various kinds of welfare work. Some of these are under semi-official auspices and enlist both Buddhists and Christians. Such, for example, are societies for the promotion of infant welfare, which function in fourteen towns. Baby Weeks are held in sixteen places, with as many as 3,000 babies entered.⁴ Almost all of the "societies for the prevention of infant mortality" (popularly called S. P. I. M.) do maternity work. One society obtained the services of a lady health visitor trained in Delhi. Then there is the Red Cross, a Home for the Aged in Mandalay (Buddhist), Home for Waifs, Rangoon, the Rangoon Charitable Organization, Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, the National Council of Women of Burma in which all communities join for the improvement of the status of women, the Humane Society, an organization for conducting national schools, the Youth Temperance Association (Buddhist), the W. C. T. U., the Prisoners' Aid Society, the Rangoon Vigilance Society in which Christians and non-Christians co-operated to drive brothels from the capital, the Chamber of Commerce, a rapidly growing number of societies that promote libraries, etc. These societies are definite assets to Burma; and each is centering on some segment of her need.

GROUPS INEFFECTIVELY REACHED

The outstanding fact in any survey of the Christian movement in Burma is that there are only 15,381 Christians (Protestant and Roman Catholic) from the Buddhist Burmese group of 9,004,544. That is barely more than one in 600. It is acknowledged by all missions that Christianity has not been successful thus far in reaching the dominant religion. Besides this largest group, the hill tribes on the Assam border still have to be reached (with the exception of the Chins). This can also be said of the Was and others on the Yunnan frontier, of the Nagas of the Patkai Hills, of inhabitants of certain areas to the extreme north where slavery was abolished a few years ago, and of many other small tribes.

Ideally it would be desirable to have a detailed summary of the total

³ Olmstead, C. E., *A Survey of Christian Progress in Burma* (American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, 1927), p. 24.

⁴ India in 1928-29, p. 332.

background of missionary work in Burma. Even if any one had the capacity to formulate such a summary, neither the meagre time spent in Burma nor the rigid limitations of space would enable him to present it here. Enough, however, has doubtless been given so that one may begin to face the problem of what it means to relate missions to comprehensive need.

THE CHURCH IN BURMA

by

DANIEL J. FLEMING

I

THE CHURCHES

ONE hundred years ago the Karens, Burma's second largest racial unit, were an ignorant, oppressed and superstitious people, hidden away in the jungle, leading on the whole a servile existence. Today they form a progressive group having a large measure of freedom and opportunity, with representation and responsibility in their country's Government. Among these Karens there are 977 Baptist churches, of which 98 per cent. are self-supporting.

Several factors have contributed to the Christian development of this people, viz., an able and wise succession of missionaries; the remarkable readiness of the Karens to embrace Christianity as a result of their traditions about their "white brother" and their "lost book"; the church and school which ministered to the deep Karen desire for tribal integration; the salvaging by missionaries of the Karen language, folklore, attitudes, customs, all of which were precious to them; their condition as depressed, despised "wild people" with everything to win by identifying themselves with the white man and his religion; and finally the missionary activities of the Karens themselves.

To this large Karen core have been added smaller groups of Burmese and Mons, Indians and Chinese, Shans and Kachins.

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

The total Christian community (made up both of Roman Catholic and Protestant Christians) numbered 257,106 in 1921. The five largest denominations are as follows:

	Number	Per Cent.
Baptist.....	160,656	62.5
Roman Catholic.....	71,941	28.0
Anglican.....	20,410	7.9
Presbyterian.....	1,508	.59
Methodist.....	1,424	.55

It will be noticed that the Baptist community is by far the largest, with

BURMA

the Roman Catholic a distant second, and the Anglicans a still more distant third. Outside of these three groups there are only 4,099 Christians in Burma. Roughly out of ten Christians in Burma six are connected more or less closely with America through the American Baptist mission; three are Roman Catholic, and one is an Anglican. Burma is more Protestant than India as a whole; for while in India Protestants comprise only 48 per cent. of the entire number of Christians, in Burma Protestants comprise 72 per cent. of the total Christian population.

The coherence of the Christian body in Burma is still further broken up by race; for the quarter of a million Christians are distributed as follows:

	Total	Protestant	Roman Catholic
The Karen Group.....	178,225	141,719	36,506
Tamils and Telegus.....	19,861	5,645	14,216
Anglo-Indian.....	16,658	7,622	9,036
Burma Group and Mons.....	15,381	9,046	6,335
Shan, Chin and Kachin.....	14,154	12,332	1,822
European and allied races.....	8,630	7,159	1,471
Others.....	4,197	1,642	2,555

Thus of ten Christians, seven are from the Karen group. The Karens are much the most numerous among the Protestants and also among the Roman Catholics.

Looking more closely at this most responsive group we find that Karen Christians are distributed as follows:

	Number	Per Cent.
Baptists.....	134,924	75.70
Roman Catholics.....	37,280	20.92
Anglicans.....	5,808	3.26
Methodists.....	82	

Relatively few Christians come from the strongly Buddhist (Burmese-Mon) group. Of the 15,381 who are Christians, the distribution is as follows:

	Number	Per Cent.
Baptists.....	7,265	47.2
Roman Catholics.....	6,835	41.2
Anglicans.....	1,293	8.4
Methodists.....	434	2.8

Thus almost half of those who are Christians from the Buddhist races are Baptists.

Grouping the Europeans, Anglo-Indians and allied races together we find the following distribution:

	Number	Per Cent.
Roman Catholics.....	10,507	41.5
Anglicans.....	9,944	39.3
Baptists.....	2,450	9.7
Presbyterians.....	1,389	5.5
Methodists.....	563	2.2

After the Karens, the second largest group of Christians by race are the Anglo-Indians. While there are a certain number of Protestant schools in which Anglo-Indians are doing useful work for the church as teachers, there are no recruits for the ministry. On the other hand, the Roman Catholic church has attracted some Anglo-Indians into the clerical and lay orders.

The relative growth of the different major communions may be seen from the following table:

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Census 1901</i>	<i>Census 1911</i>	<i>Census 1921</i>	<i>Gain or Loss in Twenty Years Per Cent.</i>
Baptist.....	66,860	122,265	160,656	140
Roman Catholic.....	37,105	60,282	71,941	94
Anglican.....	22,307	20,734	20,410	-9
Methodist.....	1,238	1,675	1,424	16
Presbyterian.....	620	1,000	1,508	143
All others.....	19,395	4,116	1,167	
Totals.....	147,525	210,072	257,106	74

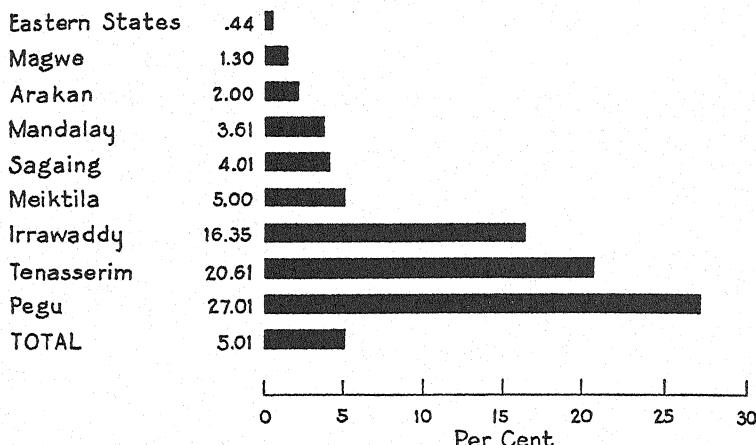
One out of fifty people in Burma is identified with the Christian community, as against one out of sixty-eight in India as a whole. In divisions where Christians are most numerous (e.g. Irrawaddy), they average only thirty-one per thousand of the population; while in many divisions the proportion falls as low as eight per thousand. There are 35,048 villages in Burma, and Protestant Christians are found in 1,767, that is, in one village out of twenty, as against Christians in one village out of fourteen in the rest of India.

The bulk of the Christians live in Lower Burma (Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim).¹ In fact four-fifths of the Christians live in Lower Burma where nearly half of the population resides. In the other part of the country, commonly called Upper Burma, comprising the other half of the population, is to be found the remaining one-fifth of the Christian community. Here the average is eight Christians for every 1,000 of the population. The Christian community is twice as numerous in urban as in rural areas.

A summary of church statistics shows that the Christian community

¹ For this and much of the data that follow, cf. Olmstead, C. E., *A Survey of Christian Missions* (American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, 1927), pp. 6-7.

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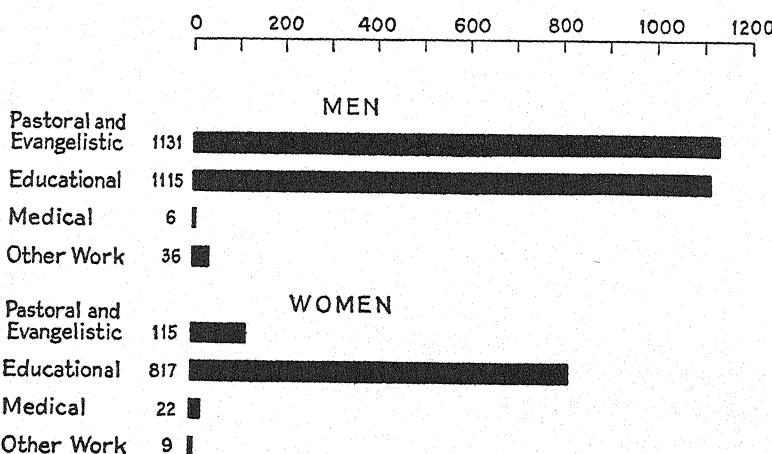
PER CENT OF VILLAGES
IN WHICH THERE ARE RESIDENT CHRISTIANS

The extent to which Christianity has taken permanent root in Burma is shown in this figure. Here for each political division the black bar shows the percentage of villages in the whole area in which there are Christians. Note the proportion of villages in which Christianity has no recognized foothold.

Note: Only Protestants included.

of 257,106 provides 3,650 Protestant and Catholic "Christian workers," or one for every seventy (1923). Of the indigenous workers among the Protestants the men are almost equally divided between evangelistic and educational work; while the women are predominantly engaged in educational work. Taking the men and women together 59.5 per cent. are

PROTESTANT INDIGENOUS WORKERS



engaged in educational work, 38 per cent. in evangelistic work, 1 per cent. in medical work, and 1.5 per cent. in other forms of work.

The number of villages in which Christians live far exceeds the number with schools. Many of the villages without schools are difficult of access, often small and unsanitary, and the people are often too poor or too lacking in interest to pay fees. In some areas there is opposition to Christian schools by District Councils and Buddhist leaders. Furthermore, some of these villages have very few Christians in them. Nevertheless, there are Christians in a great number of villages in which there is practically no religious instruction except for what the itinerant preacher occasionally gives.

In the organized Protestant Sunday schools there are 34,841 pupils. It is estimated that at least half of these are non-Christians. That would mean that 8 per cent. of the Protestant Christian community attend Sunday school. Of the total Christian community (257,106) 45 per cent. (116,570) are full communicants. The local contributions of Protestant Christians amount to Rs.799,755, being at the rate of over Rs.7 per communicant. The similar average for India is two and a half rupees.

BAPTIST CHRISTIANS

The Karen church forms 73 per cent. of the Baptist constituency in Burma, which in turn composes one-third of the communicants associated with the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in its work throughout the world. The 160,656 Baptists in Burma are connected with 1,335 churches, which have 329 ordained preachers and 815 unordained.

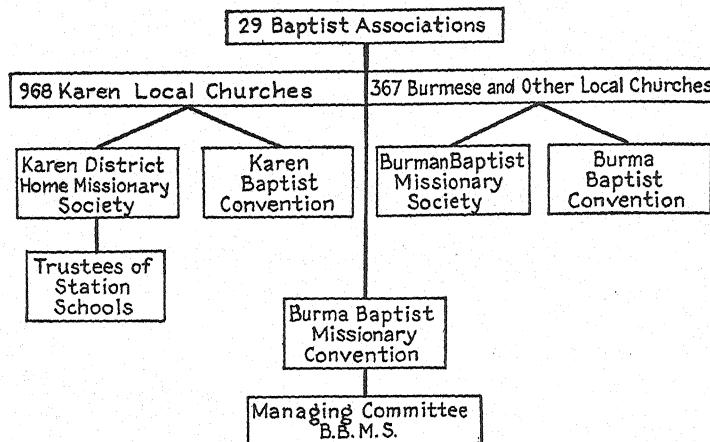
The 1,335 individual congregations form the basis of the Baptist Church in Burma. Each of these Baptist churches is an independent organization but is usually related to its sister churches in one or the other of twenty-nine district associations on the one hand, and on the other in an all-Burma Baptist organization called the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention. This body, therefore, is made up of all races and of missionaries; hence its annual assembly, meeting without dissension or violence, is an object lesson of the possible future racial unity of Burma.

Conservative elements have held the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention to the lines in which it was first organized, with missionary control largely in evidence.² This has tended of late years somewhat to retard its influence; and race conferences under the unaided direction of the nationals themselves have gradually taken a leading part in the thought of the peoples until now they are overshadowing the parent body. One of these national conferences, called the Karen Baptist Con-

²Cf. Marshall, Harry T., *On the Threshold* (American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon, 1929), p. 39.

vention, is formed by the Karen churches. The Burmese and other local churches form the Burman Baptist Convention.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BAPTIST CHURCH



Various aspects in the growth of the church which is the outgrowth of the work of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society are shown in the accompanying tabulation.

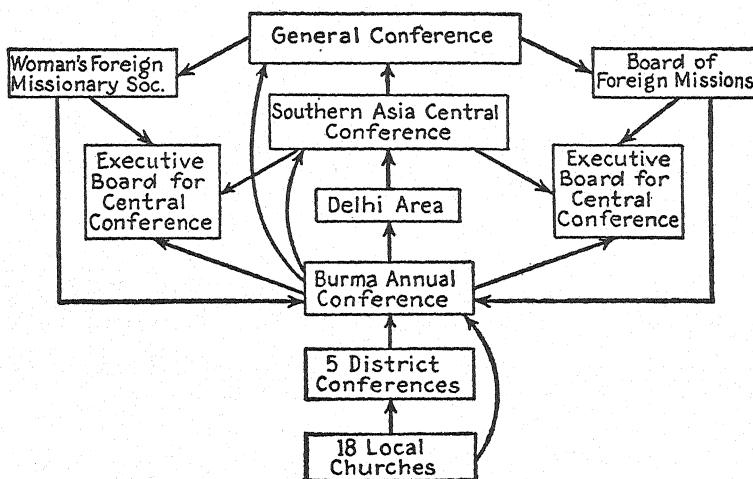
	1909	1914	1919	1924	1929
Ordained preachers.....	234	284	277		310
Unordained preachers.....	714	673	706		833
Number of churches.....	709	1,027	1,079	1,103	1,259
Total membership.....	66,062	69,167	69,459	82,127	93,197

It will be noticed that the number of Sunday schools has increased by 50 per cent. since 1909, and the Sunday-school enrollment by 84 per cent. Schools have increased since 1909 by 39 per cent., scholars by 97 per cent., and fees by 87 per cent. The total church contributions almost doubled from 1909 to 1920; and the increase during the next decade (1920-30) was 31 per cent. The average total contribution per full communicant was \$2.17 for 1930.

METHODIST CHRISTIANS

The total number of full members of the Burma Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is still small (1,412 for 1930). They form eighteen congregations worshiping in eleven buildings. The fol-

ORGANIZATION OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH



lowing table gives the present constitution of the church as well as its change in racial complexion since 1909.

	1930	1921	1909
Burmese.....	38%	32%	40%
Indian.....	32	26	24
English.....	17	26	32
Chinese.....	13	16	4

It will be noted that the English work has proportionately steadily decreased; and that the Indian constituency has steadily increased proportionately. It is noteworthy that Burmese form the highest present percentage.

The numerical growth of the church is indicated in the following table.

Number of	1910	1915	1925	1930
Christian workers.....	29	43	104	116
Christians.....	1,045	1,301	2,364	2,892

The contributions for ministerial support average \$4.41 per full member per year. Excluding the giving by all foreigners the average is \$2.71; excluding only the giving by missionaries, it is \$4.02.³

³ From figures given by the mission treasurer, reduced at the rate of Rs.2.73 per dollar.

In accord with Methodist polity the eighteen local churches form five district conferences. All are under the Burma Annual Conference, which is a part both of the Southern Asia Central Conference, and also of the world-embracing General Conference.

There are twenty-four committees or boards reporting to the annual conference, including provision for evangelism, education, religious education, state of the church, publications, medical work, colportage, home and foreign missions, rural reconstruction, temperance and public morals.

II

THE MISSIONS

Of the six boards operating in the Indian Empire whose work is being studied by the Inquiry two are represented in Burma.

THE AMERICAN BAPTIST FOREIGN MISSION SOCIETY

The Burma Baptist Mission is the oldest, the largest, the most highly diversified, and the richest in history of the ten fields of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society. This society accepts responsibility for 8,000,000 (60 per cent.) of the population of Burma.¹

In 1813, while Burma was still under the rule of a tyrant king, Adoniram Judson landed in Rangoon and began the first foreign mission enterprise of American Baptists. After six years of unrequited labor he baptized the first Burmese convert.

In 1828 work was extended to the Karen, a wild hill tribe, and later on a Karen slave, Ko Tha Byu, purchased and freed by Judson, became the great apostle to the Karen. These people, with their traditions concerning God and the "Lost Book" which told about Him, responded in great numbers to the gospel message.

At a very early date Mr. James M. Haswell, a missionary to the Burmans, became interested in the Mons, who, like the Burmese, are Buddhists, and translated the New Testament into their language. But it was not until 1902 that a separate mission was opened for them.

In 1860 a mission to the Shans was started by Dr. Josiah N. Cushing, who translated the Bible into Shan and also prepared a dictionary of the Shan language.

Besides the Karen, who in the early days dwelt in the hills, there are several other hill tribes among whom the Baptists now have prosperous missions. These are known as Chins, Kachins, Lahuhs and Was. Forty years ago or more (1887-1905), work was begun among these wild races, the first of which was, at the time, still practising human sacrifice.

¹ *A Review of the Progress in the Work of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society during the periods 1918-19 to 1928-29.*

The language of each race was reduced to writing, textbooks were prepared, and the Bible, or portions of it, translated. From the first the response was good, much better than that among Buddhist tribes. The Lahus, whose traditions are similar to those of the Karens, came in by scores and hundreds from the first.

Work among Indians, who have settled in the cities and large towns of the province, was begun fifty years ago. A few strong schools and churches have been established; but lack of workers has always been a handicap.

There is no missionary set apart exclusively for the Chinese; but in several stations missionaries to the Burmese have, with the aid of Chinese evangelists, built up churches and schools.

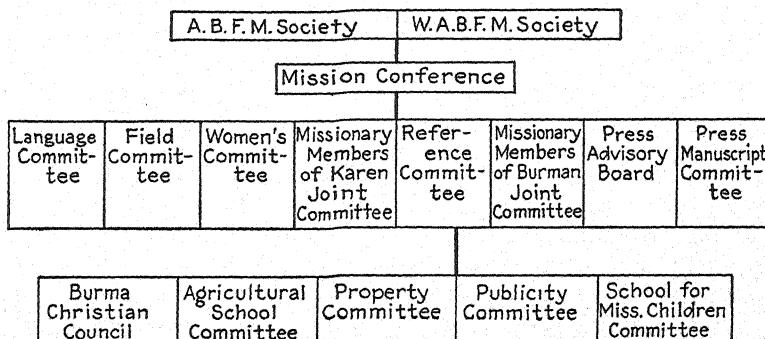
Two large, well-equipped schools and three churches represent the Baptist contribution to work among Anglo-Indians.²

PRESENT ORGANIZATION

For over eight decades Baptist missionaries wished to have their time free from the business problems of administration. There was also the fear lest certain strong personalities should come to dominate. From 1887 the missionaries began to meet for devotional and inspirational purposes. But it was not until 1898—eighty-four years after the founding of the mission—that the Conference of Missionaries was definitely organized with officers, committees and a constitution. The Conference, which is the seat of final authority on the field, has eight standing committees.

Among these the Committee on Reference stands out through having possessed since 1910, in the interim between the annual meetings of the Conference, initiative and limited executive powers. It increasingly cen-

ORGANIZATION OF THE BAPTIST MISSION



² The facts of this section have been taken from a pamphlet by the Secretary of the Mission. W. E. Wiatt, entitled "Burma."

ters in itself powers formerly exercised by the board in America and by the Mission Conference in Burma. Not until 1919, and after the strongest opposition had been overcome, did the Conference agree to having a field secretary. As a result of these changes, the present machinery of administration is much more developed than in the highly individualistic period preceding 1900.

THE MISSION'S VARIED WORK

The 208 missionaries of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society are carrying on work in thirty-three stations located in all parts of Burma. Besides station and evangelistic work they conduct extensive educational work, a limited medical work, two Bible training schools and two seminaries, an agricultural school, and a very successful mission press. The complex nature of Baptist efforts may be judged from the fact that work is maintained among ten distinct racial groups—the Burmese, the Sgaw Karen, the Pwo Karen, the Shan, the Kachin, the Chin, the Indian, the Mon or Talaing, the Anglo-Indian, the Lahu and the Chinese.

THE STAFF

Twenty-nine per cent. of the total number of missionaries under the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society work in Burma—a proportion that has remained practically constant since 1911. Baptist missionaries constitute 75 per cent. of the total American missionary body in Burma. The number of missionaries rose from 196 in 1911, to 217 in 1924, only to fall back to 204 in 1930. The proportion of single women to the total number of Baptist missionaries has remained practically constant, being 31, 31 and 28 per cent. for the years 1911, 1924 and 1930 respectively.

Appropriations were at their peak ten years ago. The appropriations for 1927-28 were 12 per cent. lower than those for 1922-23; but there has been recovery inasmuch as the appropriations for 1931-32 are only 2 per cent. lower than the 1922-23 level. The cost of building materials has gone up, however, and salaries of workers on the field have had to be increased. Thus, while the absolute amount of appropriations has almost recovered the 1922 level, it is far less effective. In 1927-28 the appropriations for evangelistic work were only 90 per cent. of those for 1922-23; since 1927 they have returned to 95 per cent. of the 1922-23 level.

THE METHODIST MISSION

A brief history of the Burma Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church has already been given. Expansion began from Rangoon where every branch of the work is strongly established. There are stations in contiguous territory which reached out to more distant points as responsibility was felt for following up membership. Twenty-

five miles out of Rangoon is Thongwa, center for a large area dotted with agricultural villages, and the training center for Burmese Christian workers. Syriam, where the Burma Oil Company's refineries are located, has a considerable agricultural community within easy reach, and lies across the Pegu River five miles east of Rangoon. Fifty miles north by metalled road or by rail is Pegu, centre of a vast tract covered with untouched villages. Twante, twenty miles west of Rangoon is another center of village work. Mergui, a center for Chinese work, is 350 miles south of Rangoon.

The situation faced by Methodism is complex. The peoples to which they minister speak four main languages and represent the great Asiatic religions—Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism and the Chinese religions. The work has a threefold aspect. There are the immigrant races coming into Burma without adequate attention being given to their spiritual needs; there is the great city of Rangoon itself, with its modern urban enticements, trade interests, overcrowding and electrically illuminated pagodas; and then there are the village, agricultural Burmese with their devotion to Buddhism, their superstitious practices and festivals, and their debts and improvident methods.

A STATISTICAL SURVEY

The thirty-three missionaries are found in seven stations. Seventeen of the staff are stationed in Rangoon. They conduct evangelistic and educational work for Burmese, Chinese, Indians and Anglo-Indians. At practically all points it can be seen there has been substantial growth. The proportion of Methodist missionaries in Burma to the total missionary staff of the Board of Foreign Missions has increased from 1 per cent. in 1911, to 5 per cent. in 1924, and 7 per cent. in 1930. The proportion of Methodist missionaries to the total American missionary staff in Burma is 12 per cent. The proportion of unordained to ordained missionaries has increased from 0 per cent. in 1911 and 1924, to 11 per cent. in 1930. The proportion of single missionaries has increased from 0 per cent. in 1911 to 38 per cent. in 1924 and to 47 per cent. in 1930.

III

AIMS IN CHURCH AND MISSION

This section endeavors to answer the Laymen's question as to how far the work of missions and churches exhibit the measure of inclusiveness set forth by the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council, viz., that "the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships." This question was approached in Burma from seven angles.

RECORDED STATEMENTS OF AIM

The matter of aim is important enough to justify giving in detail certain recorded statements. The Baptist field secretary for 1929 reports: "Evangelism is the keynote and the main objective of our whole mission. Other worthy projects are corollary to it."¹

The foreword to the published review of the work of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society in Burma for 1900-25 declared:

The American Baptists are not in Burma to take part directly in its political, commercial or productive life; they do not build its railways or develop its arts and crafts. They do, however, have a share, and a large one, in its education, its social betterment and its religious life. It was to bring the evangel of Jesus Christ to the dominant race of the land to which American Baptists sent their first ambassador, Adoniram Judson, over a century ago. It has been to reach out and give the evangel to all races that hundreds more have been sent since Judson's historic landing in 1813. The mission makes no boasts of its accomplishments, but it does emphasize the fact that its ministry is purely that of the evangelization of Burma. Those opposed to mission work may question the rights of any church to send its ambassadors into a land where old established religions hold sway. The missionary makes no defense of his high calling; he simply says "It is the Divine Command" and quietly goes on with his work.²

"To give knowledge of the scriptures, to develop a sound Christian character, and to fit for Christian work such as are suitable," is the aim of the Burma Woman's Bible School.

The commission sent out by the Baptist board in 1928-29 to report on the work of the Burma Baptist Mission says:

The Christian movement, with its limited means, is justified in engaging in education only in such forms and in so far as directly and effectively serve to win the non-Christian community for its task. . . . Another way of stating the same general principle is this: the fundamental Christian institution is the Church, and the test of a particular education enterprise is the measure in which it serves that Church as a field and as a force. . . . The state of the Church must furnish the ultimate index of all success in the enterprise to which we are committed in Burma.³

The Burma Baptist Missionary Convention is the most comprehensive coördinating Baptist organization in Burma. Its officially stated objects are:

¹ *The Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society* (1930), p. 91.

² *The Evangel in Burma* (Rangoon: American Baptist Foreign Mission Press, 1926), pp. 9-10.

³ *Report of the Commission of 1928-29 upon the Burma Baptist Mission*, pp. 3, 4 and 9.

The diffusion and promotion of the Christian religion throughout Burma and adjacent countries; the diffusion of useful knowledge and literature by means of printing and circulating books, both in English and the vernaculars; and the doing of all such other things as are incidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objects.⁴

The chairman of the Burma Baptist Missionary Society has been influenced by the Jerusalem statement of aim and writes:

We have conceived that the so-called evangelistic work does not consist in mere preaching but that the rendering of all forms of Christian service is essential to efficient evangelism. We will try to demonstrate that our God seeks to endow every one who believes on Him with abundant life.

Rev. Brayton C. Case, who is doing by far the most toward a systematic and scientific approach to village welfare thus explains his advocacy of the broader aim:

When the only representative of the gospel whom the villager knows at all intimately is a half dead preacher (paid to keep moving in a certain area) or only an ordinary village teacher about half converted and sick with fever half the time, what little chance has the villager of seeing the abundant joy-filled life which comes with the Christian gospel. What a distorted translation of the gospel we are preaching! I am therefore trying to present the gospel in a way that the villager may really have a chance to see a demonstration of its life-transforming power.

The Methodist Bible Training School at Thongwa has as its aim:

The preparation of both man and woman to do effective evangelistic work, chiefly in the villages, who will appreciate the people's problems and be able to guide in solving them, be they health, economic or educational.

One of the most recent statements of aim is that of the Burma for Christ Movement, launched as a union endeavor in February, 1931. This movement, which has issued a call to the Church of Christ in Burma, aims to make Burma Christian, emphasizing the responsibility of Christians for positive witness and for sharing with others their experience in Christ. It aims explicitly at establishing the Kingdom of God in all relationships of life. The call says:

Not the least important part of the movement should be a searching examination of all social and industrial conditions, to see how far they are consistent with the Christian principle.

⁴ Report of the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention (1928), p. 3.

JUDGMENTS OF THIRTY CHRISTIAN LEADERS

Thirty Christian leaders in Burma (including missionaries and nationals) were asked how far the work of missions and churches exhibits the measure of inclusiveness set forth in the Jerusalem statement of aim. Twenty-seven approved the statement. Eleven of these twenty-seven thought that this comprehensive objective is fairly reflected in the missionary program. In support of this judgment they pointed to such work as education, hospitals, efforts to increase earning power, urging the avoidance of debt, decrying hostile race feeling, and the introduction of cooking and sewing in girls' schools, along with other things which make for sanitation, exercise and better home life.

Eleven missionaries among the thirty leaders expressed the judgment that this comprehensive objective is very inadequately embodied in mission work or even grasped.

Moreover, these eleven missionaries were not able to discover the broader purpose in the indigenous church.

The churches are not sufficiently awake to their duty and privilege in this respect. Too often they look upon attending meetings and preaching as the aim and end of their service. No attempt has been made by the church to better physical conditions as such.

It is significant that the five nationals among the thirty Christian leaders had decided opinions on the matter.

Both the missions and the churches have been primarily interested in the saving of souls. Practically nothing has been done to improve the physical and social conditions of the people. There are mission schools and hospitals, but the underlying motive in maintaining them seems to be to secure a place for preaching. The purpose of the missionary enterprise as set forth in Jerusalem is quite a new idea for the missions and churches in Burma.

Of the thirty Christian leaders, three missionaries rejected the Jerusalem objective.

When a man's spiritual life is correctly adjusted by the standards of Jesus Christ then he naturally adjusts his physical, mental and social life. Our task is first of all a spiritual one. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God." Our foundation work must be in winning individuals to a saving knowledge of Jesus Christ. Physical, mental and social uplift have their place, but they should not crowd out our chief work of winning men as disciples of Jesus.

Three reasons for the failure to embody the more comprehensive objective were given in the answers of missionaries who believed in it as an ideal—lack of information as to how to draw up a program on the

broader basis; insistence by the Karens on a program too narrowly educational; and deficient qualifications in the workers. "Among those who have been deficient have been not only the people of the country but also we missionaries."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BASIC HUMAN NEEDS

A third way of discovering the aim, which in actual practice is motivating the Christian movement, is to see what contributions it is making to the solution of such basic human problems as high birth-rates and death-rates, low subsistence levels, disease and illiteracy. Inquiry was made of the same thirty Christian leaders answering under the preceding section.

Answers demonstrated that missions have tried to aid the basic need of health. The hospital at Moulmein (for women and children) and at Namkham (for all) each have a training school for nurses. Medical missionaries among the hill tribes and the Shans are making a valuable contribution. Schools are working on the problem of illiteracy, and the Pyinmana Agricultural School is trying to help in the solution of the problem of lower subsistence levels. The Baptists manage a leper asylum, orphanage and home for tubercular women.

With reference to mission contributions to basic human problems three Christian nationals observed:

With the exception of maintaining schools and a few hospitals there has been no mission organization or institution established with the purpose of directly solving these basic human problems. Missions maintain these institutions largely as evangelizing agencies and not as a definite contribution to the mitigation of the evils.

In fourteen churches more intensively studied inquiry was made as to the welfare organizations the church had publicly advocated or contributed to within a year. Each of the fourteen was supporting the orphanage at Moulmein; two in addition give to the support of the W. C. T. U.; two to the blind school; one to the leper asylum, and one occasionally to famine relief. One received the impression that there were more stereotypes in a conventional program than evidence of a living, creative interest in meeting basic needs.

THE FUNCTION OF MISSIONS

The same thirty Christian leaders were asked: "What evidence is there in favor of leaving some or all of these efforts to solve basic human problems to secular agencies, Governmental or private?"

The answers were unsatisfactory. They were also conflicting, and suggested that there has not been very much corporate thinking on the subject.

CHURCH OBJECTIVES

An intensive study of fourteen larger churches uncovered "the objectives which actually and chiefly motivate the life and work of each of these churches." All recognized as objectives the desire to make converts and develop Christian character. In five there was the objective of making good citizens, two of these explicitly said that they tried to do this "through preaching and evangelization." Only three churches had as an objective the making of the total community Christian in spirit and corporate action.

TESTIMONY BY NATIONALS

One way of judging the objectives of Christian missionaries is to see what impression their work makes on the larger Christian constituency who know it best from the outside. Hence one hundred and fifteen Christian nationals, who are in positions of leadership but not so outstanding as the thirty reported in three preceding paragraphs, were asked to state what in their opinion Christian missions are trying to do.

The great majority of these nationals described the missionary objective in the following terms: "to teach the Gospel of Christ," "to win souls of Burma for Christ," "to convert the heathen to Christianity." Missions are trying "to get members for the Christian community," "to make people of other religions accept Christianity" and "to increase the number of Christians."

Seven thought of missionary work in terms of education. Eight were impressed with a more comprehensive service: "to do good to people in this life and eternity," "to do good to the Burmans," "to uplift the people of the country spiritually and temporally," "to better the life of the people."

COÖPERATION WITH NON-CHRISTIANS

Another indirect way of judging the degree to which the meeting of man's comprehensive need has become a conscious objective is to study the coöperation of Christians with non-Christians. In every station visited this topic was explored. Various possibilities for such coöperation have already been enumerated under the discussion of voluntary organizations. The coöperative work by women in the Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality ("S. P. I. M.") was most frequently cited.

Another most suggestive instance of coöperation with non-Christians was in a Methodist area under a national district superintendent. Still another rewarding example was the Street Boys' Refuge Trust, Rangoon. The Y. M. C. A. inaugurated a refuge or hostel for the homeless street boys of Rangoon and developed a scheme of work for them. From the beginning it was the intention of the Board of Directors of the Y. M. C. A. to relinquish control of the work as soon as it had been successfully inaugurated. This transfer was consummated in 1930, and a board of

trustees nominated by the local Government, the National Council of Women in Burma, the Corporation of Rangoon, the Council of National Education, the Burma Education Extension Association and the Y. M. C. A. The Y. M. C. A. secretary most closely associated with this work says that "we have not lost our cause in making this separate Trust. The Y. M. C. A. spirit and methods permeate the work, and it is easier to ask for support from non-Christians under the new plan."

Eighteen interviews on the subject of coöperation between Christians and non-Christians left the impression that, quite generally, very little thought had been given to the wisdom of such coöperation, and that nothing in the way of a policy in this regard had become conscious even where a certain amount of coöperation was actually under way.

SUMMARY

Anyone studying these seven inquiries would doubtless come to the conclusion that there are a few who have grasped the comprehensive aim of the Christian movement as stated at Jerusalem; that still more are able in the light of this statement to criticize the present program; but that the great majority have not made that aim a vital and creative part of their thinking. Burma's freedom from great disasters has not impelled missions to undertake the wide range of service characteristic of missions in India and China. If the Jerusalem statement in its breadth and comprehensiveness should still be adjudged as the ideal, the question arises whether there should not be some definite and constructive education on this fundamental subject among the missionaries and the churches.

IV

RELATIONSHIPS

There are relations between mission and church, between mission and mission, and between church and church. Each of these relationships has its problems.

DEVOLUTION

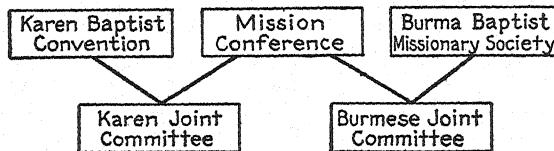
One type of relationship is not found in the Methodist Episcopal Church, as there is no mission organization separate from the church as in most other denominations. The two American Foreign Missionary boards (general and women's) have relations through their missionary personnel and their appropriations with the Burma Annual Conference. The functions of the World Service Commission, which is composed of the various benevolent boards, are entirely financial and lie between the General Conference and the Board of Foreign Missions.

Baptist missionaries in Burma have a different problem, and in 1928

took their first large organization step in devolution. In this they were stimulated by the New York Conference on Foreign Mission Policies (1926), and by the knowledge that their society in other fields had gone much further than Burma in associating nationals in the management of affairs. Two "Joint Committees" were established—one with Burmese and one with Karens.

On each of these committees there are from nine to twelve nationals and only three missionaries; and to these intermediate bodies the American Baptists hand over their appropriations for evangelistic and educational work. To the Burmese Joint Committee, the largest indigenous Baptist body (the Burma Baptist Missionary Society) agreed to turn over one-half its total receipts (Rs.3,000). It is hoped that ultimately, instead of separate Burman and Karen Joint Committees, one such organization can take over the principal functions of the Reference Committee and serve the whole field; but at present racial and linguistic difficulties make this impracticable.

RELATION OF CHURCH AND MISSION



A second part of the plan was the establishment of local committees. As a rule every field has an evangelistic committee consisting of the missionary and nationals chosen by the churches, and in each suitable town there is a similar school committee. The Joint Committees allocate funds received from America for Burma to these local committees which are responsible for administration. An occasional missionary complains that his work is hampered, that he is left without a helper, or that the district is not properly cared for. However, in forming these local committees it is recognized that fundamental training for larger responsibility comes through this shouldering of responsibility by stations.

A third step in devolution recently placed four Baptist districts and two Methodist districts under national superintendence. A description of two of these fields—one of each denomination—is given because the changes, already under way or contemplated by nationals, will be suggestive. The Myingyan (Baptist) field has been under complete national leadership only since April, 1930. Since the new superintendent has no funds for evangelistic work from the mission, he stimulated the central church, the Burma Baptist Missionary Society, and a local women's

association to provide workers for definite projects. He collected Rs.235 the first year for traveling, medicine and sundry expenses. The church and Christian Endeavors supplement the evangelistic work with Friday-night and Saturday-night moonlight preaching visits. The following is a typical program: a Christian Endeavor orchestra, church choir, or a magic-lantern show; an address on history, science, economics or general knowledge; a health lecture; the story of Christ.

A principle of concentration was adopted, by which seven centers were chosen for intensive work. Two-day visits are made to those centers according to a definite plan. They further concentrate on three definite kinds of work—children's classes with lessons not only limited to religious themes but stimulating Christian ideals of conduct and character through games, stories and songs; a medicine chest for troubles of the eye or skin; and the preaching of the Gospel.

The workers, being Burmese, are able to accept the well-known hospitality of their non-Christian countrymen and this maintains friendship between the workers and the villagers. The Burman workers themselves do not adhere to any regular time for meals and sleep, which makes it easy for them to accommodate themselves to the villagers. Buddhism is not attacked, nor is Buddha mentioned unless by request of the people. Since it has been found that most of the village elders are freest from work at night, the male workers arrange to sleep the night at the village visited.

A Methodist district (Thongwa) was put under a national for the first time in 1929, with Americans as well as Burmese under him. In each of five centers he has succeeded in persuading the community as such to provide a community center, the property of the whole village, which houses a library, as well as paddy and other agricultural exhibits, and where minor ailments are treated. In certain other centers village committees were formed for the improvement of village life. In the two main centers, workers concentrate on a section of the town for two weeks, then move to another section, returning again to the scene of their earlier work for another two weeks, thus bringing the church into more intimate contact with the people and their moral and spiritual condition. A further effort at concentration aims to reconstruct and improve the existent church organization, and make more stringent the conditions for membership so as to avoid the creation of a weak church.

Such transfers have not been uniformly successful, indicating that care and common sense have a place in any plan of devolution. A Methodist district was put under the direction of one who had been overestimated. A Baptist high school was placed in the hands of a Burmese Christian; but the Christian character of the school suffered under him and some of his financial transactions were not above suspicion. In 1924 the complete leadership of the Maubin Baptist Association was transferred to a

national. A statistical study¹ of this association with over 2,000 members showed that while under the previous régime of fifteen years the average enrollment per church had risen from 43 to 56, under national control it had fallen from 56 to 51; and that the total average annual increase in members had fallen from 62 to 23. It should be said that the predecessor was the ablest missionary that had been in that area in over sixty years; and that widespread financial depression as well as political conditions may account in part for this retrogression.

It is the considered judgment of the former secretary of the Baptist mission, who knows most intimately this field and another turned over to nationals, that there are distinct dangers in any sudden transfer of the whole burden of leadership and responsibility upon nationals. After close observation of such complete transfer in two Pwo Karen fields, he favors further missionary assistance being reintroduced. This, also, is the petition being made by the two associations concerned. He has nothing but praise and appreciation for the hard work, dependability and devotion of the two nationals to whom the transfer has been made; but queries whether the load was not heavier than they could bear, calling for training they had not received, and for natural gifts with which they were never endowed. He does not regard these two experiences as failures, but merely as premature attempts at complete devolution of field and school leadership.²

In 1929, for the first time, the Burma Christian Council made a national their chairman, thus recognizing growing indigenous leadership in the realm of Burma-wide coöperation.

The younger nationals are asking for still further devolution. This demand was (as far as interviews revealed the situation) more vocal among Burmese than among Karens. It has not yet reached the exaggerated stage manifested elsewhere in which an unnatural emphasis is put on the supremacy of nationals. But among the younger educated Karens, also, there is a growing desire for responsibility, for power in administration, and for ownership of churches and schools. Of fifty-seven nationals actually stating their judgment as to the most desirable shifts in mission policy, fifteen mentioned transfer of responsibility to nationals. No other shift was mentioned so often. One indication that there is room for further devolution is seen in the fact that there are seven missionaries and three nationals on the Finance Committee of the Methodist Burma Annual Conference.

The indigenous members of the Burma Christian Council, in a formal paper drafted in 1929, declared:

¹ Chaney, C. E., *A Survey of the American Baptist Mission Station Pwo Karen Work, Maubin, Burma*, being an M.A. thesis submitted in 1930 to Colgate-Rochester Divinity School.

² *Ibid.*, p. 32-3.

The younger churches should have a definite voice in the choice and designation of the missionary as he is expected to serve the churches in all their activities. . . . As regards institutions we take them to be agencies maintained primarily for the development of the indigenous church. The younger churches should have an effective voice in determining all matters affecting the major policies, problems of administration, maintenance and future development.³

At just this point, however, should not these young leaders be helped to see that the self-direction of the indigenous church is not a right to be arbitrarily claimed in National Council resolutions, but a stage of growth to be achieved? And should not all the missionaries be far more permeated with the educational point of view, viz., that they are in Burma "not so much to get things done as to help people grow,"⁴ that they are not so much to be executives as educators, and that the transfer of power and responsibilities is not something that is accomplished by vote but only through the gradual and progressive assumption of specific tasks?

CHURCH UNION

Some statements regarding church union by Burmese Christians outstanding both in their personal influence and in their official positions follow:

The Hon. Secretary of the Baptist Burmese Joint Committee and of the Burma Mission Society:

When the missions leave the matter entirely in the hands of the Burmese Christians the problem of unity will solve itself. The leading Burmese Christians who have not been nurtured in denominationalism by the missionaries do not have the denominational spirit.

The chairman of the Baptist Burmese Joint Committee:

The indigenous Christians of the present day are not keen on doctrinal differences and would welcome all developments toward any united effort and even a united church.

A Baptist higher-grade pleader in Rangoon:

The fact that we belong to this or that denomination is due to circumstances, and not so much to conviction. We would rather have a unified church and if it were not for the missionaries I think it could easily be accomplished in Burma.

³ Report of the Indigenous Members of the Burma Christian Council on the Jerusalem Findings, 1929.

⁴ Fleming, D. J., *Helping People Grow: An Application of Educational Principles to Christian Work Abroad*, p. ix.

A Methodist District Superintendent:

Organic unity is financially impossible because the Burman church cannot stand on its own feet. If we are to get help from an ununited West we must allow denominationalism.

These four judgments are confirmed by statements made by the indigenous members (mostly Burmese) of the Burma Christian Council in connection with their consideration of the Jerusalem findings.

Statements on church union cannot be quoted from Karen leaders equally outstanding. But the definite impression is left from many interviews that the Karen section of the church is much more conservative than the Burmese; and that pressure toward union might easily cause a disastrous division in the Baptist Church.

The Burma Christian Council in 1930 authorized a committee to explore the possibilities of union. Actual work was postponed at the suggestion of the Bishop of Rangoon until after Lambeth had dealt with the South India scheme. Since the Lambeth Conference the committee has not been organized, because the chairman of the Council judged the time is not ripe for union.

In fact, neither among the missionaries nor among the churches can union be said to be a live issue in Burma. Mutual good will exists among the main denominations; and it is the judgment of the writer that urging union at this stage would be harmfully forcing the situation. Although there is a discernible trend toward coöperation, there is no such trend toward church union.

SCANTY UNION EFFORT IN BURMA

It is noteworthy that there is no union institution in Burma. In fact, outside the coöperative work of the Burma Christian Council repeated inquiry revealed very little united effort. In one center (Mandalay), occasional special women's meetings are held in which Baptists and Wesleyans join. The oratorio, Elijah, was given twice in March, 1931, for a church benefit, and this drew together Burmans and Europeans in Rangoon. When Mr. and Mrs. Edward A. Annett came to Burma under the auspices of the India Sunday School Union, lectures were open to, and were attended by, members of different denominations. Similarly, when an Anglican religious educationalist visited a few stations in Burma, an effort was made to make his services available to Baptists. A distant approach toward coöperative work is found in Judson College where Wesleyans and Methodists have been elected to the Board of Trustees. They do not have, however, a constitutional claim on these places; nor is either denomination represented on the faculty.

Coöperation among the various racial or language groups within the same denomination is found in the two all-provincial coördinating bodies—the Burma Baptist Convention and the Burma Annual Conference of

the Methodist Episcopal Church. There are occasional and isolated efforts within a station to bring together the racial groups under a given denomination. For example, at Toungoo there are three language groups, all Baptists. An effort is made to encourage contacts among these groups through a union meeting of the three Christian Endeavor societies, through interschool sports, and through a union meeting of the women's societies once a year. In 1928 a group made up of four delegated representatives from each of the four lingual sections of Rangoon Methodism was called together to consider the problems and relationships of Methodism.⁵ The Indigenous Christian Association brings together Christians of different language groups for social, religious and political objectives. No effort has yet been made to bring together the Christian young people of Burma through a union meeting of the Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor and the Epworth League.

THE BURMA CHRISTIAN COUNCIL

Christian coöperation in Burma has been brought about mainly by the Burma Christian Council. The departments of the Council which have been most active have been those responsible for the development of Christian literature, the language examination of missionaries, and the helping of Christians to take an intelligent position on various "public questions." Under the latter head the Council has made investigations and reports on such questions as gambling, racing, opium, housing, and drink. Dr. Stanley Jones has twice been brought over to Burma for evangelistic work, and his expenses have been paid by the Council. A survey of Christian missions was consummated in 1927. Effective representations have been made to the Government in regard to schools. A booklet has been published with the aim of bringing tourists intelligently in touch with Christian work.

One of the most promising efforts in coöperation under the leadership of the Burma Christian Council is the "Burma for Christ" movement which was launched in February, 1931, and which aims to unite all Christians in Burma in an effort "to make Burma Christian." Editions of the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis have been issued in English, Burmese, and Karen with the idea that it would be a unifying and helpful influence if Christian workers throughout the country should, during the preparatory months, engage in the study of this devotional classic. Recognizing that the preparation of the Christians themselves is an important factor in the movement, various union meetings for prayer and penitence are being held.

Compared with ten years ago, there is increased interest in coöperation; and the various activities of the Burma Christian Council have created a better feeling among the denominations, where before they hardly knew one another and tended to be distrustful.

⁵ *Burma Annual Conference, 1928*, p. 38.

NEED FOR FURTHER COÖPERATION

A need for further coöperation was definitely expressed by different ones interviewed with reference to a union language school, the Maymyo Assembly (the "Burma Northfield," now managed entirely by Baptists), a rural reconstruction unit, a union industrial school, coöperation in schools rather than retrenching and a vernacular normal school. The president of Judson College feels that coöperation on the part of missions and churches is essential: "Though Buddhism is thoroughly divisive itself, Buddhists recognize that Christians ought to be coöperative."

Repeated inquiries from those best in a position to know failed to elicit any evidence of trouble coming from coöperation among the various missions or among other Christian bodies.

There is, on the other hand, practically no evidence of conscious irritation from undue competition except with reference to the Seventh Day Adventists. On the contrary, there was evidence that the presence of different denominations had its good side. A Baptist missionary of thirty-eight years' experience says that "the Roman Catholics have stirred us up to fresh efforts in efficiency and the Wesleyan colporteur work is so much better than ours that it is a constant challenge to do as well as they."

A STUDY OF DUPLICATION

At Insein the Baptists have a Burman Theological Seminary with thirty-three students, and the Burmese Bible Women's School with fifteen students. At Thongwa, thirty miles distant, the Methodists have eleven students in their men's and women's Bible training school (costing \$51,000), which is also for Burmese and for practically the same grade of workers as those who attend the two Baptist institutions at Insein.

From the point of view of liberal laymen financing an understaffed and undersupported world enterprise, this would seem to be a clear case of unwise duplication in the use of resources. One seminary could easily handle all the Burmese theological students, and one Bible school all the Burmese women, coming for training. A better quality of training could be given, and the spirit of coöperation encouraged, in combined institutions; whereas, at present, according to the Methodist District Superintendent, the separate institutions are tending to keep the two denominations further apart.

If, however, the situation is approached from the point of view of local conditions and attitudes, serious obstacles to a coöperative training center at once are evident. An early conservatism and strongly denominational consciousness still persist among many of the older and more influential Baptist missionaries. While members of the younger group, on the whole, are more liberal and would be willing for an associate membership (communion without immersion), it is by no means certain that a proposal for coöperation with the Methodists would carry the mission.

Missionary attitudes are strongly reflected in the Baptist Christian nationals. Dr. Smith, for forty years a missionary, sent generations of pastors out from the seminary imbued with the conception of closed communion. Although the chairman (a national) of the Burman Joint Committee (the highest coördinating body between the mission and Burmese Baptist churches) thought that the Burmese would be open to reasonable appeal, remnants of the old conservatism still doubtless characterize the majority.

A third conservative factor is found in the Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Society and its donors who have given specific gifts to the Burmese Women's Bible School and would not be interested in a union effort.

Denominational fear is another obstacle. Baptists do not wish to have the way open for aggression by Methodists, since their own organization on principle is loose in contrast with an episcopacy which is able to formulate a policy and follow through continuously. Baptist missionaries in Burma believe more in coöperation than in organic union, so that the argument, that training the future ministry together would encourage church union, does not make an effective appeal. On the other hand, at present the number of Methodist students, compared with the Baptists, is so small that the Methodists feel that they would be at a disadvantage among the Baptists.

In any coöperative plan, special denominational tenets—viz., immersion, episcopacy—would be taught in separate classes for the two groups. But the president of the Baptist Burman seminary thinks that one would have to express one's particular conviction in so many classes that co-operation would be impracticable.

A sixth obstacle is financial. The Baptist training plants and staffs are larger than the Methodist, so that the latter at this stage would probably not be ready to coöperate financially to an extent that would interest the Baptists. Again the Baptist institutions have succeeded in enlisting the supporting interest of the Burmese constituency, so that while the training institutions are technically under the mission, the latter could not wisely negotiate for a coöperative training center without full conference with this Burmese Christian constituency.

Hence a problem for the Appraisers would seem to be: Not whether they should encourage steps toward immediate coöperative training in Burma, theoretically ideal as that might be: Rather, whether they should encourage the Laymen to indicate to the boards that they will not be interested in the prolonged support of such duplication unless educational measures are adopted that will remove the obstacle arising from attitudes in the American giving-constituency, the missionary staff, and the Burmese Church. Only thus would eventual coöperation become possible.

The Baptists have work in twenty-eight of the forty-four districts of

Burma. Of the sixteen districts which the Baptists do not occupy, eleven have no mission work, and five have been entered by the Wesleyan Methodists. Some idea of possible future overlapping may be gained from noting that in one district (Rangoon) there are eight societies; in another (Pegu) there are four; in five there are three societies each; while in eight districts there are two societies each.

METHODIST AND BAPTIST OVERLAPPING

Attention is called to a slight overlapping between the two American missions in Burma. It will be recalled in the way of historical background that the dates of the successive entrances of the main missions into Burma were: Baptists 1813; Church of England through the S. P. G., 1852; the American Methodist Episcopal Church 1879; and the English Wesleyans 1887. Thus while Burma has been overwhelmingly an American Baptist field from the standpoint of time and extent of work, it would not have been an exclusively Baptist field even if the Methodists had not come in. For both before and after the American Methodist entry, other missions took up work in this land.

Undoubtedly certain Baptist missionaries still believe that the American Methodists came to Burma with the explicit understanding that their work would be confined to Anglo-Indians and Europeans, and would therefore be English work only. But there is equally no doubt that statements to this effect have been repeatedly and officially challenged; and the writer is not aware that any documentary proof of such an agreement has ever been produced, nor that any official appeal to such an agreement has ever been made in the various discussions of comity. Moreover, William Taylor's approach to Anglo-Indians and the early development of the church would seem to indicate that the intention was not to confine work to one class. In 1921, officials in New York agreed that Methodists should not work among the Karens beyond receiving a few who might come in touch with and join Burmese churches.

There has never been an allocation of separate territories to these two missions, largely because while working in the same areas they for the most part are working among different races. Such a step seemed unnecessary, also, because so much of the territory in question was inadequately occupied. The nearest approach to any delimitation of territory was a resolution proposed in 1911 by the Baptists "that in the extension of the work each mission should, as far as practicable, avoid entering localities where the other mission has work established."

Many years before this proposal had been made, i.e., in 1893, the Methodists entered the district headquarters of Pegu which the Baptists had occupied since 1854. The district of Pegu is an area of about 4,000 square miles, containing over 500 towns and villages. At the time of the Methodist entry the Baptists had one lady missionary, one Burmese

preacher, and one Bible woman at work among the Burmese; and this continued to be the extent of their occupation until 1907.

In this large area there are at present only seven Baptist churches and seven Methodist. But, under the present plan one of these denominations may start work within a very short distance of work established by the other. This is said to have been done at Impatle and at Syriam. High-minded, considerate and Christian leaders on both sides might be able to avoid ruinous friction in the absence of any delimitation of territory; but, under the present plan, and with scantily educated workers, grievances and accusations are not infrequent. Some of these have been acknowledged and regretted; and some have been brought before comity committees and adjudicated.

At the district center, Pegu, where the Baptist and Methodist missionaries reside, there has been only one case of friction in thirty years. But the possibilities of friction arising in the outlying and seldom-visited districts where inexperienced and inadequately trained workers are employed is very great. There is so much territory wholly unoccupied or inadequately occupied that delimitation ought not to be difficult at this stage.

THE SUGGESTED RETIREMENT OF METHODIST MISSIONS FROM BURMA

The question of the retirement from Burma of the mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church was under discussion while the writer was making his studies in Burma. It is no part of the writer's task to pass judgment on this issue; but a statement of the facts seems desirable, since the discussion is contemporaneous and has significance for anyone interested in the science of missions.

The suggestion that withdrawal be considered originated officially in the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church at the instigation of their Secretary for India. The proposal was occasioned by the serious fall in income in 1930 and the drastic cuts thereby necessitated, as well as by the oft-expressed desire on the part of both Baptist and Methodist missionary leaders that the theological, practical and personal controversies, occasioned by the Methodist occupation of Burma over a period of some thirty years, might come to an end. Moreover, a serious earthquake had recently damaged Methodist and Baptist buildings so that the Methodist Board was advised that reconstruction ought to take place around some new united program.

Any such step naturally would involve some very difficult problems. One suggestion was that the work could be continued, controlled, and financed by the Baptists, but manned in part at the first by Methodist missionaries. These would retain their relation to the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church which would continue responsible for the retiring allowances of these missionaries. The Methodist congregations (nine of which are self-supporting) would have to shift

for themselves, or identify themselves with some other mission, presumably the American Baptist Missionary Society.

The board took no action further than to recommend that negotiations be opened regarding the wisdom and the possibility of uniting the work in Burma with the Baptist Church. However the Burma mission, and the Bishop over the Burma Methodist Conference, vigorously protested against any such action; and the Central Conference meeting at Cawnpore in January, 1931, went on record against the proposal.

In eight interviews on this subject, various considerations have been put forward by different people. These are given here without any attempt at appraisal:

For withdrawal

- (a) The Methodist mission entered Burma sixty-six years after the Baptist mission.
- (b) Baptists overwhelmingly outnumber Methodists; the Baptists have 1,335 churches and the Methodists only 18.
- (c) An eventual financial saving to the Board.

For remaining

- (a) That, in general, Burma is far from being evangelized, only two out of one hundred being Christians. In particular the Buddhists are neglected. For while the Baptists have 1,335 churches to the Methodists' 18, only 70 of the Baptist churches, with less than 6,000 members, are amongst Burmese (Buddhists), thus leaving Burma's predominating community of over 11,000,000 almost untouched.
- (b) The extent of the influence of the Methodists should not be judged merely by the number of their converts or churches. In so far as a large part of their work has to do with transient emigrants it is seed-sowing for all China, India, and Malaysia.
- (c) There would be difficulty in making any large saving for the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The regular appropriation of this board for 1930 was \$1,952; the conditional appropriation for work was \$7,226, and for property, \$3,682; while the appropriation for missionaries' costs was \$18,600. Since the work of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (Methodist) is also involved, its appropriations should be noted, viz., \$13,850 for missionaries and \$14,311 for work. It would be hard to sell Methodist properties, complicated as many of them are by grants from the Government and Oil Companies.
- (d) While the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church feels some financial embarrassment, the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of this church has not felt a similar stringency.
- (e) While it would undoubtedly be possible to withdraw the Methodist missionaries, it would probably be impossible to persuade the Methodists of Burma to amalgamate with the Baptists.

Pressure to unite where there is no union of spirit would only put off the day of a united church. Since goodwill between the members of the two communions does exist, union might be conceivable if time were given for the growth of a common mind through the coöperative work of the Burma Christian Council, through common evangelistic efforts, and in other ways.

(f) In particular, many among the Indians and Chinese would be quite unwilling to be immersed in order to be admitted into the Baptist church, and many who go back and forth between their native land and Burma desire to affiliate temporarily with a communion that does not require immersion on the one hand or confirmation on the other. Those who have endeavoured to bring any two denominations such as the Baptists and Methodists together in an American town, or even to amalgamate two branches of the same communion, can imagine the reception that would be given to a suggestion that nationals might change their communion because of a deficit in funds in America.

(g) The Methodists are a liberalizing influence affecting indirectly a Christian community predominantly conservative and in danger of resting back with pride on a great past.

(h) While some of the Baptists frankly wish that the Methodists had never entered Burma as a mission field, yet none of the several Baptist missionary leaders interviewed wish them now to withdraw. The Baptists did not initiate the suggestion; they are not prepared to take over the highly institutional work of the Methodists, since the Baptists are querying whether they do not already have too many schools; nor have they the money to finance the additional work.

(i) The reception of Methodists on any basis they would be willing to accept would very likely cause serious division in the Baptist church.

The Anglican Bishop of Rangoon privately expressed his surprise that, when turning over work was contemplated, American Methodists should approach American Baptists rather than English Wesleyans. Here the national bond appears to be stronger than the denominational.

V

PROBLEMS OF POLICY

BETTER USE OF AMERICAN MONEY

Almost no definite and positive suggestions were made as the result of repeated inquiry from leaders as to desirable changes in the use of American money. Some missionaries were clear cut in the opinion that no change is needed. Some had in mind what they regard as radical mission action, by which recently all appropriations were placed in the hands of joint committees of nationals and missionaries for administration, and

thought that the result of this experiment should be noted before any further change was made.

The most specific suggestions as to change in the use of American money were made by the secretary of the Baptist Mission. He doubts the wisdom of using American money to pay evangelists, since they are so largely discounted by non-Christians as paid agents of the foreigners. Furthermore, he sees that too much use of foreign money is producing a spirit of dependence and creating, even in the minds of some of the well-paid workers, the idea that the mission owes them a living. In the third place, he would like to see a new effort made to enlist the laity, old and young, in evangelistic work; and to this end would like to see American money used to send an English seminary graduate to one group of churches after another to awaken the evangelistic potentialities of the people.

In determining the future use of American money, two contrary conditions have to be taken into consideration. On the one hand there was widespread and explicit testimony that nationals most often fail in handling money. Very few, even of the best, thus far tried can resist the pressure from their relatives to loan church funds for private use. This weakness is well recognized by the Burmans themselves; they do not trust their own people in this regard. Hence missionaries often are asked to be treasurers even for indigenously raised funds.

On the other hand a psychological change has come about in Burma as well as in the rest of the Orient, and this change cannot wisely be overlooked. The impact of Western civilization the spread of education, and the rise of a new and intensive national consciousness, are leading Burmese (to a less extent, Karens) to desire freedom, self-expression, and the doing away with patronage. There has been a growing feeling on the part of nationals that missionaries have been keeping them in leading strings, so that some qualified nationals are holding off until more responsibilities are turned over to them. Whether one regards these reactions as justified or not, the state of mind is there and increasing, and cannot be left out of consideration.

OWNERSHIP OF PROPERTY

One of the glories of the Baptist church in Burma is the way the Christians, especially the Karens, have contributed toward the cost of church and school buildings. To a very large extent, however, the legal ownership of these properties rests with the American Baptist Missionary Society. In the mind of any informed person there can be no doubt as to the society's equitable trusteeship of these properties, for even with reference to properties wholly paid for from America the following explicit declaration has been formulated:

The Boards recognize that buildings erected for the carrying on of mission work are intended, with the exception of missionary

residences, primarily for the benefit and use of the native Christian community and, in harmony with the ideal that all missionary activities shall ultimately pass over to the native Christian church, it is the policy of the Boards that the ownership of church, school and hospital buildings erected on the mission field with funds appropriated in whole or in part by the Boards shall ultimately be transferred to the indigenous Christian community on conditions mutually to be agreed upon as respects time of transfer, safeguards as to future use and reimbursement for funds invested.

But while no American would likely doubt the good faith or the wisdom of the society, definite evidence of a certain unrest and insecurity on the part of nationals was found. "The Pwos and the Sgaws think they own it; and the mission legally owns it." "Ownership of property has caused many dissensions in Thonze, Mandalay and Pegu. This gave rise to an independent church." At Toungoo there was considerable hesitation over contributing Rs.16,000 for a new church on a site belonging to the mission because the people did not know what the mission policy as to ownership would be. A few years ago one group complained that the mission had taken away their property.

The actual feeling of insecurity is apparently confined to a few situations. But the complications of original gift, just because of the liberality and trustfulness of the people, make the materials for possible future trouble abundant. Take for example the intricacy of equity in property of the Burman Woman's Bible School. In 1903 a national made the original gift of less than an acre of land worth Rs.1,700, now worth Rs.7,000 per acre. Another national gave Rs.500 for a dormitory, rebuilt at a cost to America of Rs.748. Other nationals gave Rs.257 toward a well which actually cost the society Rs.309. In 1908 Burmese Christians gave Rs.1,515 toward a strip of land which cost the society Rs.2,846. The fencing and latrine were given by the Women's Baptist Foreign Missionary Society at a cost of Rs.470. The deed is held in America. The Burmese women have adopted this training school as their project. Who ought legally to own the school? The principal says it would be safe to turn it over, "but the Burmese women have not asked for it."

We were told that the Karens paid half for the dormitories of the Paku school and the Government half; and that the Karens paid for all of the Cross Memorial in connection with this school. What legal right have the Karens in the property? "None. It is not bad for them to learn to trust us. They do not trust one another." Toward the dormitory of the Burman Seminary the Burmese gave Rs.6,000 and America Rs.10,000. In many cases America gave the land and the people put up the buildings.

There is real danger that if titles are turned over to small local groups, a few may get possession and sell off the property for selfish ends. And yet there are definite signs that there is danger in letting a complicated

condition of equity continue when an accentuated sense of nationality may cause the issue to be raised with feeling at any time.

The American Baptist Missionary Society has already visioned in general for each area in which it has had work "a holding body representing the indigenous Christian community, competent to take title and ready to accept responsibility for administering the property in accordance with any specific agreement that may be entered into at the time of transfer." Should not the formation of such holding bodies be pressed in Burma where such unique contributions have been given on the part of the people, and where serious disputes, otherwise almost certain to arise, may still be avoided?

NAMES OF BUILDINGS

A less serious matter, though significant of trend and attitude, is that of naming buildings. There is, for example, a series of seven large Karen schools and chapels costing over a million rupees. Of the total cost, Karens gave 65 per cent., the Government, 30 per cent., and American contributors, 5 per cent. Although the national contributions attained the high level of Rs.769,550, and although the American contribution was only one-thirteenth as much, the names given to these buildings are the Vinton Memorial Chapel, the Brayton Memorial Chapel, the Jennie Nichols Dormitory, the Nichols Sgaw Karen High School, the Smith Memorial Dormitory, and the Morrow Memorial.

Burmese women, with their own money, erected the Frederickson Memorial building to house their all-Burma Baptist Missionary Society. For the new Judson Chapel of Judson College, Burmese through their churches have subscribed 48 per cent. of the total pledges apart from the large gift of Mr. Rockefeller. One comes across other buildings to which nationals have not so largely subscribed, such as Vinton Hall, Judson High School, Kelly High School, Cushing High School and Morton Lane School.

CHRISTIAN LITERATURE

The question of Christian literature is a serious one in Burma. The problem is at least threefold.

I. Despite efforts by the Government and the Christian Literature Society through the offer of prizes to encourage indigenous writers there has been very little response. The present condition of Christian literature remains, as described in a paper by the nationals on the Burma Christian Council, "deplorable."

II. Despite the relatively high percentage of literacy in Burma a taste for reading has still to be developed. The writer's own observations in the homes of pastors fully bear out the statement of the president of the Karen Seminary that "Karen pastors are not buying books; nor is there a flow of Karen books to buy." Usually the shelf-space of pastors'

libraries could be measured by a foot rule in inches, and in some cases it was manifest that there was no working library at all. It is said that Christian school teachers, also, do not read.

To encourage the use of books, the Baptist Mission Press has, during the past four years, been able to finance an average of fifteen colporteurs; and for the past two years there has been a short training course for such colporteurs. The present plan of campaign is based on the assumption that a people must produce readers before it will produce writers. Hence the literature committee of the Burma Christian Council is endeavoring to develop the reading habit among young people. To this end a magazine in Burmese for young people has been started. A few workers are attempting to have a well-lighted library in each church building.

III. There is, also, a startling paucity of suitable Christian literature. The head of the Baptist Mission Press says:

There has been practically nothing done in the way of recent devotional books either original or translation. There have been only two new devotional books in Burmese. Nothing has been done to give wholesome reading to the Karen or Burmese Christian family. The Press has put out very little literature which does not have a direct bearing on Christian worship in some form or other. There is practically nothing of a cultural nature.

Of the list of books available in Karen, he says:

None of these books have been published within the last five years. Many are obsolete. Most have been printed for over twenty years.

As to the responsibility of the Christian movement for stimulating literature other than Bible translations, commentaries and hymn books, the manager of the Baptist Mission Press and the chairman of the committee on literature of the Burma Christian Council agree:

Religious agencies should not hesitate to use their resources in the production of general literature where it is necessary to quicken the minds of the people and break them loose from age-old delusions in which they have been immersed.

Both of these leaders have been making definite efforts during the past few years to supplement Burma's literature at this point.

PROVISIONS FOR PUBLISHING

The problem of the production and distribution of literature is not unified. Among the Baptists there is a Karen printing fund which is in the hands of the president of the Karen Seminary. During the past five years the fund has been used for a book on hygiene and for the seminary bulletin. The Burmese Baptist Missionary Convention also has a printing fund, nominally under the control of the Convention. The funds will

probably go to the reprinting of the Karen Thesaurus, the new English-Karen dictionary and a Karen grammar. New rules have been formulated in the Baptist Mission Press so that books may not be published unwisely both as to subject-matter and quantity. The manager—an alert, efficient and progressive administrator—is of the opinion that the Press should have an editorial staff and two committees—Karen and Burmese—to advise with the superintendent on the production of literature.

The Methodist mission has a Board of Publication whereby literature is made available for evangelistic work and for denominational instruction such as membership manuals, books of discipline, etc.

Union effort for the production of Christian literature has centered in the Christian Literature Society. A local committee is nominated; but the nomination as well as those of the Publication sub-committee, are supposed to be confirmed by the General Committee of the Society in London. For some time the London committee undertook to make an annual grant equal to what might be raised in local subscriptions. It also undertook to make a grant of the cost of the first 1,000 copies of any book the local committee might wish to print. The funds of the London committee long ago ceased to be sufficient to keep up the former grants in full. The society has never had any paid employees in this field or a depot of its own for distribution. Its total grants for the past twenty years would probably not amount to more than \$1,000.

About 1920 the Indian Literature Fund was organized. It is operated through the National and the Provincial Christian councils. The money is obtained largely in grants from the various mission boards in Europe and America, and is distributed by a committee appointed by the National Christian Council. Burma has had through the years, including the grant for the current year, upwards of Rs.5,000 from this fund for the support of translators. This grant was made on the condition that the missions furnish a missionary supervisor to give at least half of his time to literature work. For the third year the Methodist mission is giving half the time of one of its ablest missionaries for this work.

BIBLE TRANSLATION

The entire Bible has been translated into Burmese, Sgaw Karen, Pwo Karen, Shan and Kachin; and the New Testament or portions of it, into Chin, Talaing, Northern Chin and Labu, thus making the Scriptures available to twelve of Burma's thirteen million inhabitants.

WHAT MIGHT BE DONE

More than one remedy is suggested by the following serious statement of the chairman of the literature committee of the Burma Christian Council:

Only a few school superintendents seem to take any interest whatever in the production and dissemination of literature among

their students or teachers. Those responsible for financial administration never think of appropriating money for this department of work. There is a slight improvement in this respect but missionaries and Christian workers must be prepared to make it part of their religion to impress on their following the sin of starving a God-given mind.

Still another remedy is suggested by the following facts. The Baptists have for the past eight years had two men devoting their entire time to literary work. Both have passed the retiring age. One of them is engaged in the revision of the Judson Bible, which will never have a wide sale (2,000 copies of the Revised New Testament have been sold in the past eight years). The second is spending most of his time on commentaries when the reiterated testimony of those interviewed was that relatively there are enough commentaries. It is said that he is not a man who is guided by counsel from others, and is not putting out books that will be read. Recently he has been giving his books away to religious workers. Previous to this the sale of any of his books would be limited to less than sixteen copies a year. There are two other Burmese literary workers—one seventy and the other seventy-four. These two put out the Sunday-school lesson helps. There is no one else doing literary work in Burmese in this major mission. In Karen, the Baptists have had two men set aside for literary work within the past three years. One has completely broken down and is now in America, the second is past seventy and is working on a dictionary.

The facts here given would seem to indicate that Burma's need for Christian literature is not going to be met in piecemeal fashion, whether by denominations or by national groups; that institutions to increase literacy are not enough; that the problem in Burma is exceedingly difficult and complex; that certain individuals have been thinking deeply and creatively on the subject; but that there is need for a more unified, cooperative, adequately supported, and carefully planned effort to meet Burma's lack of Christian literature. It is the writer's opinion that the people on the spot are doing about all they can, and that the stage for further statesmanlike planning and organization must be set up from outside.

CONCENTRATION OR DIFFUSION

Among thirty-five leaders to whom the question of concentration vs. diffusion was definitely put, eight voted for diffusion. One thought it would be a decided advantage if missionaries would leave the central institutions in which they are usually confined and go out for tours among the villages.

By following a policy of reaching out from the Henzada center an association of eleven churches has been developed in my time. Moulmein, which had a start of fifty years, by adopting a policy

of concentration in school work has added only one Burman church in the last forty years.

Another is emphatically in favor of diffusion because he feels the pressure of an un-Christianized Burma, and the necessity of giving an active evangelistic example to Burman Christians. "Working for the few would elevate them too much above their kind."

Twelve voted for concentration in one way or another.

Instead of trying to get more members into the church, more effort should be put into bettering the life of the church.

Something more than occasional preaching is needed to grasp the missionary opportunity in the villages.

We must let the people know through constant contact with Christians what Christianity stands for.

One speaks out of personal experience:

I have confined myself to a territory which I can cover at least once a year spending one night in each village. Prior to my coming these villages were visited once in two or three years. The year I arrived there were sixteen reversions and only two baptisms. In the succeeding five years we have not had sixteen reversions, and this year alone we have had ninety baptisms and refused baptism to seventy others.

One of the ablest evangelists expressed this conviction:

The same people need to be met again and again so that friendships are formed and the confidence of the people is won. Not until they repeatedly meet the teacher and become friends do they catch the spirit of what is taught and begin to understand.

The consensus of opinion favors a policy of concentration in schools—"fewer schools with a more Christian student body and staff." It unanimously points out that the persons in charge of schools are running machinery instead of making Christian contacts, are rushing to get out reports or something else which a Rs.50 clerk could do. A canvass of the Baptist mission would doubtless show a decided approval of a policy of concentration for schools in the abstract. But by what process can such a clear judgment be applied to concrete situations in the face of institutions entrenched behind interested personnel and sentiment?

The evidence shows that there is no thought-out or generally understood policy with reference to this fundamental question of concentration vs. diffusion. There was some knowledge of and interest in the "Rural Reconstruction Unit." But there was no indication that anyone was seriously pushing for or constructively visioning this type of concentration suggested by Dr. Butterfield. Even on the one question of reducing the number of schools upon which there would be greatest agreement no

action is being taken. When it comes to the concrete, there is no genuine willingness to scrap anything.

PLANS FOR RURAL WELFARE

In interviews with thoughtful missionaries two changes were repeatedly suggested in answer to the question as to what shifts in policy should take place. The second most frequently suggested shift was a curtailment in Anglo-vernacular school work in behalf of a greater evangelistic emphasis mentioned in the preceding section. But decidedly first in frequency was the conviction that there ought to be a greater proportionate emphasis on rural work.

No other suggestion approached those two in frequency. In other ways, also, evidence showed that the most obvious realm in which missions may meet the comprehensive needs of man, and in which they may regain pioneering leadership, is in the villages.

A scientific study of the village as a basis for a fresh and more comprehensive Christian approach to rural life still has to be made for Burma. The proper departments of Judson College might well inaugurate such rural studies, thus linking up the college with the rural church and providing leadership in what undoubtedly constitutes a problem of the first magnitude.

A great many realize the needs of the village, but frankly acknowledge that little is known about the ways and means of attacking the problem. Here and there one finds promising attempts. One missionary takes up infant welfare, sanitation, agricultural suggestions, general world-knowledge and religion in every village to which he goes. A pastor, who was spiritually awakened in Mesopotamia, has led his people to see the medical needs about them; the women's society and Christian Endeavorers pay for medicine out of their funds and the pastor and Bible women take the medicines to the villages. A Methodist District Superintendent has succeeded in stimulating five centers, each to put up a community house, the property of the whole village, where a dispensary, medicines, agricultural exhibits and a library are available.

The Baptist Agricultural School at Pyinmana through its enrollment, institutes, and extension work, is the most definite and forward-looking attempt by missions in Burma to grapple with the problems of village life. Here, from fifty to sixty young men are learning each year better methods of cultivating the soil, the importance of seed selection, the rotation of crops, and better ways of raising cattle, pigs and poultry. Eleven-day institutes are held each year, one for teachers and pastors, and another for laymen, giving instruction along vocational lines for the farm and home, care of health, and religion applied to village needs. A sample institute program provides for gardening, poultry keeping, field crops and care of animals; for health demonstrations by a Christian

nurse, cooking, preserving foods and home conveniences; for dramatics, games and songs; and for Bible study.

In 1930 the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention took formal action recommending that evangelists be sent to the institutes at Pyinmana to train for rural reconstruction service to be carried on simultaneously with their evangelistic work; that the Agricultural School should give a short course to which students of the theological seminary may go; that each mission station should use selected bazaars as centers in which a regular systematic program of rural reconstruction be carried out, including units on agriculture, health, and religious education; and that girls be admitted to the Agricultural School for a two-years' course in agriculture and home economics, in order that the women of the villages may be trained in village-welfare methods.¹

In February, 1930, the Burma Christian Council appointed a committee on rural reconstruction consisting of two members from each communion in the Council to study the problem in a preliminary way. Various aspects of the question were treated in papers at the Council's meeting in July, 1930. The rural reconstruction unit on Dr. Butterfield's lines has not yet been projected in Burma, nor is any serious effort to launch such a unit in evidence. There is not sufficient money, staff, specialized experience, or conviction, to initiate such a step.

EVANGELIZING THE PWOS

The remarkable advance by Christianity in Burma has not been among the Karens as a whole, but among the Sgaw section of this group. While the Sgaw church-members (Baptist) reach 68,227, the number of church-members among the Pwos (actually a still larger Karen group), is only 7,462. For example in the Bassein and Myaungmya districts there are 167,248 Pwo Karens with 15,845 Christians, while there are 47,067 Sgaw Karens with 34,840 Christians.² Thus, according to the 1921 Census in these two large Karen districts, while the Sgaws were 70 per cent. Christian, the Pwos with far larger numbers were only 9 per cent. Christian. Not only have the Pwos not become Christians, but during the same century in which their brother Sgaws have so largely become Christian, the Pwos have tended to become Burmanized in language, dress, and religion. In thus becoming largely assimilated to the dominant race they are passing from a stage of sheer animism to a nominal or animistic Buddhism.

Various reasons would suggest an emphasis on Pwo evangelization. Experience shows that when a Karen has once become a Buddhist and is caught up in Burmo-Buddhist culture, it is exceedingly difficult to draw him away from it. Secondly Christianity has been associated with Karen

¹ Report of the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention, 1930, p. 13; see also Proceedings of the Burma Baptist Missionary Conference, 1930, p. 860.

² The News, Vol. XXXVI, p. 24.

nationalism; and with the growth of this spirit there is a distinct readiness on the part of the Pwos to turn to Christianity rather than further to be assimilated in a culturally hostile group. In the third place, Pwo Christian leaders are eager for help in the evangelization of their people; the Pwos themselves seem receptive, and plentiful conversions seem possible when proper approach is made. The Pwos point out that they have never had as much help as the Sgaw Karen, that they have practically no missionaries among them now, and that they have frequently petitioned for help.

APPROACH TO BUDDHISTS

Awakened political self-consciousness in Burma has affected a reaction to the Christian approach in two quite opposite ways. In some places, street preaching has had to be discontinued and insistent efforts to restrict Bible teaching in schools has developed. On the other hand, through this awakening the Burman is losing his old prejudices; the entrance of Buddhist monks into political life has weakened their ancient prestige with the people; and a need for responsible leadership is growing up. Much the greater volume of testimony was that the villages are distinctly more open than before.

The evidence was practically unanimous that a most inadequate approach has been made to Buddhists, notwithstanding the fact that it is the religion of 85 per cent. of the people.

Three disconcerting criticisms are most frequently heard. First, that missionaries do not know Buddhism, that many do not even feel any necessity of studying this faith. Some, realizing the theoretical advisability of knowing the religion they were attempting to displace pleaded lack of time for study. More nationals than missionaries actually consulted held that "one cannot be a successful missionary to Burmese unless one can intelligently and sympathetically discuss Buddhism with Buddhists." In view of the difference of opinion on the subject, as well as the pressure that prevents study, it might be well to focus the experience of world missions on this issue.

A second serious criticism is that missionaries do not know the language; and the third is that the nature of the typical approach actually made is unacceptable.

Two widely different approaches are being made. One rests on the efficacy of preaching where, after hymn singing and tract distribution, the missionary and his assistant address the people and then move on. Often, though not necessarily, with this take-it-or-leave-it attitude is a condemnatory mood. The other emphasizes the social approach through friendship. In this, emphasis is placed on the discovery of the actual human needs most felt by the people approached, and on the demonstration in actual life of what Christianity provides as a background for realizing Christian values. Often, though not necessarily, those who

make this approach rejoice over every noble quality in Buddhists or any teaching of value in Buddhism. Evidence would seem to indicate that a more common agreement between these two methods might well be sought as the best approach to Buddhists.

Whether one considers the meagre results in the way of baptisms among Burmese Buddhists, or the number of those assigned to this task, or the degree of seriousness in the preparation for a dignified approach to intelligent and devout Buddhists, it appears that in spite of all that has been done in the past the major religious need in Burma has still to be met.

CHRISTIANS AND BURMAN NATIONALISM

The peoples of Burma are rapidly becoming politically self-conscious and assertive. The dominant Burman race, however, is inclined to confuse nationalism and religion, taking it for granted that a true Burman must be a Buddhist. The reverse is also true; militant Buddhism is bound up with nationalism. A complex of sentiment enfolds the two.

Hence there is uncertainty in the minds of some Christian leaders as to what their position should be. One point of view is represented by a paper read before the Baptist Missionary Conference by a leading Christian, in which he held that it was a mistake for the Christian community to be sidetracked into any such thing as politics.

Self Government should not be our concern at the present time. When all the Burmans, or at least most of them, have become Christians, we can begin to talk of home rule and such fads. Our prime business now is to make Burma into a Christian country.³

On the other hand, there are those who believe Christians should show themselves good Burmans by throwing themselves unreservedly into the life and work of the nation. To this end, a large reception was recently given by the outstanding Christian lady of Burma, Dr. Ma Saw Sa, at which some thirty Buddhist elders were invited to meet with leading Christians. Burmese music was played, Burmese dishes were served, and in the addresses it was explained that Christians also are patriots.

The older Karens and the masses are on the whole loyal to the British who freed them from Burmese oppression. This was evidenced during the visit of the Fact-Finders by the fact that the Government armed Karen villages in connection with the riots, but did not arm Burmese. This fact only widens the gulf between Burmese and Karens and, since a large percentage of the Karen tribes are Christian, the Burmese identify Christianity with a group they have in the past despised as "dogs and eaters of ants."

The younger Karens show less of the old antipathy toward the Bur-

³ *The Proceedings of Burma Baptist Missionary Conference, 1920*, p. 14.

mese, and are tending more to identify themselves with the national movement. Thirty of the seventy girls in the hostel of Judson College are Karens, and they cannot be distinguished in dress from the Burmese.

This problem of nationalism brings its peculiar problems to the Christian community. How to convince others that one is patriotic, and still keep alive that which is essentially Christian in one's thought and life, is a difficult problem. One Christian interviewed admitted that he would undoubtedly have been given a high post had he been a Buddhist. The temptation in such a case is to hide Christianity, and to lean backwards in an attempt to show what little difference there is between a Buddhist and a Christian.

No single minority group can solve the problem of Burman nationality—and the Christians of Burma are in a minority. But such a group can give a demonstration of unity and solidarity. An approach is found in the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention, the Burma Annual Conference, and other church organizations that give an annual demonstration of the fact that the differing peoples of Burma can be brought together. The Christian church can at least seek every means possible to assuage bitterness and ill-will, to temper hasty and biased judgments, to seek to discover the elements of good intention and sincerity of purpose that underlie actions otherwise deplored or condemned, and always to appraise in a Christian spirit. If the Christians of Burma, regardless of racial background or connection, can stand and work together, Burma will learn that Christianity offers the basis for mutual understanding and social unity.

Missionaries, also, must face questions raised by nationalism. Many thoughtful leaders, both Christian and non-Christian, witnessed to the fact that for them problems of political development comprised the need nearest to their hearts. They would like Christians of the West to help them evolve their political destiny; they do not wish American missionaries to be merely watching on the sidelines as interested spectators. One prominent Christian remarked that missionaries have shown too much interest in the British Government policies in a way that amounted to being on its side, and that they have not shown enough sympathy with Burman nationalism. Several resented the lack of sympathy shown by missionaries for "nationalist" schools.

On the other hand, it must be recognized that American missionaries in Burma are non-British, and as guests occupy a delicate position. In Burma, as in India, missionaries are required to give certain pledges of neutrality as was indicated in the introductory section on India. The Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia (which includes Burma) at its meeting in 1931 formulated the following statement:

We recognize that those of us who are American missionaries, whatever our convictions may be, can take no part in political

movements as such; that we also recognize that the Church as a Church cannot give itself over to, or ally itself with, any Government or political party or group. As we see it the function of the Christian Church in this matter is to keep its conscience unbound by entangling alliances so that it may provide ideals and the dynamic for the correction and regeneration of the social and national life. But while those of us who are American missionaries can take no part in political movements and while the Church as such cannot go into politics, the individual Christian—Indian, Anglo-Indian, or Briton—who may be a member of our Church, should be free to partake in or to refrain from partaking in national movements and in the political life of the country as his Christian conscience may impel him to do. The Church must be comprehensive enough in its understandings and sympathies to hold within itself those of differing political views and outlook.*

Christian leaders in Burma began to get keen nationally about 1921; but little evidence was obtained showing that they have encouraged their congregations to grapple with the principles involved in nationalism—unquestionably one of the vital issues in Burma.

MISSIONS AND COMMUNALISM

Burma has, in a somewhat different form, the problem with which America has contended, that of making one community of good will and mutual understanding out of racial and social groups whose backgrounds and opinions are diverse. It must be remembered that Burma is 70 per cent. Burmese by race and 85 per cent. Buddhist by religion. One cannot be surprised that a patriotic citizen of such a dominant group should resent any encouragement of divisions that make national unity more difficult.

There is a decided tendency among the various hill tribes, but especially among the Karens, to refuse to identify their interests with that of the dominant (Burmese) race. As we have already seen, they cannot easily forget the oppressions and persecutions which they experienced under the Burmese kings, and they are still grateful to the British who freed them from this tyranny. They are not assured that the spirit of the Burmese has been transformed in half a century, and hence there arises the protective desire for communal representation. Furthermore, among these people, whose inherited instincts were formed in a turbulent land of hills and poor communications, there is naturally an absence of power to combine on a large scale. In the recent past the trend has been decidedly toward separatism into tribal or racial groups.

Christian missions inevitably become involved in this vexed problem of communalism. In fact, what they have already done has had decided political consequences. Note, for example, the effect of the decision to reduce the language of the Karens to writing for the sake of evangelizing

* *The National Christian Council Review*, Vol. 51, p. 52.

them. At the beginning, some of the Karens, especially the men, understood Burmese; moreover the Karen language at that time was the dialect of a comparatively insignificant people. Hence it is held by some that it would have been quite practicable to have pursued the evangelization of the Karens through the dominant tongue. This apparently was precisely what the missionaries started out to do. But in the course of evangelization the Karens began asking for their lost "Karen Book."

This insistent demand of the Karen people, in accordance with their traditions, seemed to make it necessary for the missionaries to give them the Bible in their own vernacular.⁵ There followed Karen grammars, dictionaries, Sunday-school literature, and both secular and religious books, periodicals and newspapers. Missionaries opened schools and taught teachers and preachers to read the new literature. This attainment of a written language raised the Karens in their own estimation, and gave them a new status among the peoples of Burma. Hence missionaries bear the responsibility for slowing up the process of Burmanization of this important minority group. Their action would be commended by those who believe that tribal must precede national consciousness; but it would be none the less denounced by Burmese nationalists.

Missions still further encourage the communalistic tendency when (since 1922) they teach Sgaw Karen as a second language in schools, thus reversing an earlier decision and helping to establish it as the Karen national language; when they idealize all that is praiseworthy in the Karen character and tradition, inevitable comparison is made between the Karen and Burman to the disadvantage of the latter.

With the modern impetus to nationalism Karens formed a "National Society" (Daw-ku-lu) in an attempt to unite the heterogeneous Karen clans by an appeal to common nationality. It has raised money to send a delegation to London to speak for the Karen nation, has collected funds for educating Karen children, and has sought the all-around development of its people. The Karens as a whole have obtained the right to five reserved seats in the Legislative Council. Their keen desire to maintain the integrity of the Karen people accounts in part for their missionary zeal, since they see that the better-educated Christians tend to separate from their non-Christian kindred.

The Pwo Karens have later formed a separate "National Association" to advance their own interests. Each of these groups desires to have its own dialect and tribal personality survive. "Every bunch of grass has its own rabbit" is the way their proverb puts it. Both associations receive Protestants, Roman Catholics, Buddhists and Animists. Even the "Indigenous Christian Association," with a strong nationalistic consciousness, is making representations urging that Christians as such be given at least one separate and reserved seat in any new government

⁵ Harris, E. N., *A Star in the East* (New York: American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1920), pp. 63-66.

that is formed. A selfish nationalism seems uppermost among the Karens—a Karen consciousness greater than the Christian church.

Against this background of separatism, one can see how policies, made primarily from the evangelistic standpoint, have their political consequences, in that decisions confirm or discourage the communal spirit. The Pwo Karens are even now urging, as they have in the past, that there be a separate theological seminary and Bible women's training school. There has at various times been talk of uniting the Bwe and the Paku Karen Baptist missions at Toungoo; but opposition from the Karens made it hopeless. In some places missions are helping with separate schools for Burmese and for Karens, although educationally the schools could, with advantage, be combined. In some places missions are helping with schools for two different sections of the Karens in the same town. Among the Baptists there are Karen, Burmese and Kachin associations. In certain sections there is a strong desire for missionaries who will devote all their time to a particular group and have no dealings with others. The Bible Society, and those responsible for the development of literature, must decide whether they will lengthen the life of the Pwo language by producing books in that tongue.

Furthermore, the evangelistic appeal to these more backward tribes may be entangled with nationalism. If the ancient injustices and oppression on the part of the Burmese are emphasized, the gulf between them and these tribes will be widened, supposedly there would be less tendency for them to adopt the religion (Buddhism) of their former masters, and Christianity, as the religion of the British who did so much to free them, would be all the more acceptable. This appeal has been made in the past, especially by Christian nationals, and has been operative.

One mission is connected with a body of 2,000 Pwo Karens and 500 Burmese Christians. Heretofore the policy has been to encourage the Burmanization of the Pwos so that they might evangelize the Burmans. But it is pointed out that under this policy the Pwos are becoming Buddhists faster than they are becoming Christians. It is suggested, therefore, that the mission encourage Pwo nationalism, thus increasing the gap between them and the Buddhists, in order better to win them to Christianity. Later, attempts would be made to turn their thoughts toward evangelizing the Burmese. If the latter policy is adopted the Pwo language will be used in worship. While the schools would be in Burmese, Pwo would be the second language. In this policy, care would be used not to stress hatred or fear of the Burmese; but on the other hand, to guide Pwo nationalism.

That some conclusive thinking has been done is indicated by an action taken in 1931 at the Central Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Southern Asia (which includes Burma). The following pronouncement on communalism was there made:

We hereby declare ourselves to be opposed to communalism. We feel that neither race nor religion should be used for separatist, social and political ends. We hereby state that we have no intention of creating a separate political entity called the Christian community. We believe in the Christian Church as a moral and spiritual organization and as a means of the corporate development of the moral and spiritual life, but we do not desire to build up around the Christian Church a separate social and political entity called the Christian community. If this kind of community has been built up part of the responsibility has been ours. But we now feel that this period of segregation is over; we have no intention of continuing this separatist mentality in our people.⁶

The reader will scarcely wish to enter further into the detail of such questions; but the foregoing illustrations of actual situations raise the question whether missions should not think out a policy in regard to communalism in Burma that will be thoroughly Christian in principle. Such a policy cannot be said to exist. Few leaders are thinking seriously and consistently about it; and the rank and file are not aware of the issues involved.

THE TREND IN RELATIONSHIP TO GOVERNMENT

The relation of the Christian movement to Government has thus far arisen mainly from the grants-in-aid to schools. Liberal grants have encouraged missions to open up more schools than they are now able to run efficiently. Government connection has influenced the raising of the teachers' salaries to such a point that missions find it hard to keep up. The consequent disproportion between salaries of preachers and teachers has caused considerable heartburning; it has made it difficult to recruit higher-grade men for the ministry. The Government policy of giving pensions has led many Christians to feel that the mission must not only guarantee them a job on good pay, but assure them a pension for life, before they will undertake definitely Christian work. The monetary relation to Government necessarily limits the missionary's freedom to express his opinion when he may happen not to approve of any given action of Government, and hence may lead nationals to feel that missionaries are not in sympathy with their political aspirations. On the other hand, Government inspection has unified school work, and in most cases kept missions up to a higher standard than they would have otherwise maintained.

The Government's policy during the last fifteen or twenty years has been one of gradual restriction of Christian instruction and limitation of grants-in-aid. More and more the British Government will be consulting Burman opinion—and most Burmans are Buddhists. The

⁶ *The National Christian Council Review*, Vol. 51, p. 92.

power to give or withhold grants will be in Buddhist hands. Unless communal or minority safeguards are provided, anything approaching autonomy will likely mean persecution of the Christianized Karens; and restrictions not unlike those in China and Turkey may be imposed in Burma more than in India, because Burma is so predominantly of one religion. The probable future for missions is being canvassed with no little concern, for there are elements of uncertainty in the future.

VI

THE NATURALIZATION OF THE CHURCH

ADAPTATIONS ALREADY MADE

There are those who are eager that each of the younger churches should be like a great and beautiful tree growing out of the land, drawing strength and beauty and usefulness from the soil in which it is planted, expressing in impalpable yet unmistakable ways the spirit of the place wherein it is set. To all such, the extent to which a church has embodied the best elements of a nation's genius and culture becomes an important question. There is by no means as much interest or experiment in indigenization in Burma as in India proper. But, in 1929, the Burma Christian Council declared that "the time has come when larger use should be made of Burmese music, art and architecture by the Church."¹

Isolated efforts toward Burmanization have already been made. The most intensive example the writer noticed was the Kemmendine Anglican Church, Rangoon. With the approval of the church committee the benches have been removed from the main aisles. There was opposition at first, but now, after two and a half years, the congregation is happy without benches. The Western bags for the offering have been discarded for small silver Burman bowls which are emptied with a noticeable sound into a large silver urn. A small prayer room for Burmese Christians is now under construction in a place formerly used as a lumber loft. The altar is an almost exact replica of the middle portion of a Buddhist shrine, and is decorated with work called *hmamsi shiv cha* (seeds of glass covered with gold). There are plans for a Buddhist gong instead of a church bell, and worshipers will be encouraged to bow three times as do Buddhists, in thought of the Trinity, or in memory of God, the Law, and the Church. A *zayat*, or rest house, at the side of the road is planned where people can come after the morning service and drink tea provided by the more prosperous according to Burman custom. Here, every evening, someone will expound "the Law" of Christianity, and here visitors can sleep as in a Buddhist *zayat*.

¹ Report of the Burma Christian Council (1929), p. 18.

A-Hlus (occasions of hospitality to a town or large group) of a Christian character are fairly frequent. Often in the jungle someone will invite the congregation to his home, where tea will be served. A village will invite a whole association to meet with them providing food and lodging free. Not infrequently Burmese Christians will invite the people of their church to their home to celebrate the birth of a child or some other event when, after a sermon and prayer, they have refreshments and a social time. Within the past year two Baptist associations invited the leading Buddhists of the city to a meeting at which some topic, such as "Rural Improvement," was discussed, followed by a feast for the visitors.

Paya-pwes (religious dramas) are said to be on the increase among the Christians of the younger generation. It is common for a village gathering or an association to have a concert, story telling, or dramatization of religious stories along with a sermon.

The only extensive example of adapted architecture noted was at Myittha near Mandalay, where an Anglican church was in the form of a pagoda with seven roofs surmounted by a cross. However, this church was built some fifteen years ago and has never been copied.

The two matters in connection with Burmanization which drew forth the most decided and diverse opinion were footwear and music. Many felt that pastors should shed their sandals before entering the pulpit, and were especially disturbed to have girls and women ascend the dais to sing while retaining their sandals. An Anglican school attempted for years to enforce the leaving of shoes outside the building, but finally abandoned the effort. Ideas of sanitation are developing, so that whether the indigenous custom should be followed may easily be made an ethical matter.

The question as to whether Burmese tunes should be used in church music proved to be a baffling one. Answers were conflicting and even contradictory. As a matter of fact, the Methodist hymn book has only Western tunes, as has also the Baptist Burmese hymn book. There is a hymn of praise set to Burmese music in the Anglican hymnal which the people often sing with pleasure. The Baptist Karen hymnal contains 588 hymns, of which about 500 are translations, while only four are compositions by Karens. There are three Karen tunes; but inquiry from the pastor of one of the largest Karen churches showed that not once in this church during the past year had a Karen tune been used, nor did he desire any more Karen tunes. He knew only of one original Karen hymn. It seems that "Translations satisfy, Western tunes satisfy." Some missionaries have little regard for Burmese music, limited as it is to the pentatonic scale and to tunes having more rhythm than melody; and hence shrink from encouraging the Christians of Burma to remain on the indigenous level. Others see, as the significant thing, that Burmese find their own music thrilling; and that mission-school girls love to sing

and dance to Burmese music about a camp fire. It is significant that the Burmese popular taste is changing. Much band music is beginning to be a mixture of the Burmese and Western styles, so that Western music will not seem so foreign.

Whether music should be used at all in a church service is a less difficult matter. Evidence was clear that Buddhists use practically no music in their worship. However, a monk, Mya Wadi, recently toured Burma to introduce singing in unison. Christians doubtless have made a contribution to Burma by demonstrating that music can be used in worship.

ATTITUDE OF CHRISTIANS

There was a distinct difference in the interest manifested toward indigenization by Karens and by Burmese Christians. There are special reasons for the Karen lack of enthusiasm. The British gave them security from the Burmans, and America gave them their religion and preserved their language. They have, therefore, no complaint against foreigners. Furthermore, it is agreed that there is very little that is worth preserving in their early culture apart from their music and traditions about their "lost book" and the coming of their "white brother." They had no religion, except obeisance to *nats* (spirits), no temples, no objects of worship, no priests, none who ever professed to know the way of truth.² As a leading Karen put it, "We were like naked and hungry children who had no scruple to take over what was handed us." Hence they look back upon their early missionaries as inspired of God and upon all changes with disfavor. Much Karen music has a melancholy strain reflecting the weary monotony and grueling toil of their mountain home where life was hard, rice often scarce, raids frequent, and enemies many. Hence, Christian Karens do not always fancy singing such music now. Moreover, one of the great inspirations of a visit to Burma is to hear a Karen congregation sing to Western tunes. It is nothing less than marvelous—no doubt unexcelled in Asia by any other race or tribe.

One comes into an entirely different atmosphere, however, when talking with the younger leaders among Burmese Christians. The managing committee of the Burma Baptist Missionary Society (including all races other than Karens) believe that buildings, worship and preaching should be adapted to the genius of the people. That the "churches are still exotic in their social and ecclesiastical organization, forms of worship, and outlook," was the judgment of the indigenous members of the Burma Christian Council in 1929. It must be said, however, that outspoken as some Burmese leaders are, they have done very little creative work on their problem of Burmanization.

While it is manifest from what has been said that there is no widespread and popular demand for indigenization, yet evidence seems to

² Dautremer, J., *Burma Under British Rule*, p. 103.

indicate unmistakably that the evangelistic aspect of the question is quite serious. As one national put it:

The forms of worship and consequently Christianity itself have little appeal to the Buddhists of Burma. They find it hard to appreciate Western methods, and they do not see sacredness or reverence in our form of worship. Western in all its aspects, Christianity has not effectively made its appeal to the Burmese mind. In the eyes of the Burmese these Western or American methods seem quite artificial or ridiculous although in the eyes of Christians who have been trained to follow or adopt them they may seem to be quite perfect and natural.

The Karens sing and love Western music so well that they may not need to develop their indigenous music for themselves. But how about the evangelistic approach to non-Christians? Certain conferences with both Karen groups and Burmese groups indicated that while village non-Christians would listen out of curiosity to Western music their hearts could best be reached through indigenous tunes; that Burmese tunes are needed for converts raised as Buddhists and unable in later life to learn Western music; and that for the most effective evangelism doubtless both English and Burmese tunes are needed.

SUGGESTIONS BY CHRISTIAN LEADERS

In view of the fact that Buddhism in spite of its monastic system has actually entered with service into the lives of the people, various suggestions were made as to factors in indigenization that might prove wise. Better opportunities for quiet prayer might be provided through churches being kept open, thus following the custom of the Burmese pagodas. Religious services could be held (as by the Buddhists) for blessing a traveler, or for building a home, or when a baby first eats solid food. Thought could be given to the fact that for centuries religious impulses have impelled Burmans to take refuge from the world in monasteries, and hence as to whether a system that had directed the hopes of a people for two thousand years should be wholly ignored.

Missionaries see the rare opportunity of coöperating with Burmans in this movement. Evidence showed that an over-insistence that Burmans attend to their own indigenization may be interpreted as the disclosure of a conviction that there is nothing indigenous worthy of incorporation. A still stronger reason for coöperation is that historically, Christianity approached Buddhism in Burma by antithesis. "When our forefathers embraced Christianity they were led to think that almost everything native was heathen," says one Burmese Christian. Hence foreign ways have become indigenous for the more or less isolated Christian community.

If the missions of Burma are to take seriously the judgment of the Burma Christian Council that the time has come for indigenization,

some adjustment in attitude will be necessary even in the present missionary staff. Although there were a few missionaries who were constructively interested in greater Burmanization of the church, there were more who were unsympathetic and unexpectant. The temper of the latter may be illustrated by the following judgment:

After twenty-three years of work with Burman Buddhists I have been unable to find anything distinctive in Buddhism that should be brought over into Christianity. If Christianity is true and Christ the only Saviour then things in both religions are mutually exclusive. Whenever and wherever Christianity has taken anything over from a non-Christian religion, Christianity has been decidedly the loser. No further modifications are necessary.

A group of Christians testified:

If we do anything according to Buddhism we are censured.

To take part in or contribute money toward the Burmese New Year is considered sinful. We are so far Westernized that most of us look down on Burmese literature and music with contempt. The result is that we have become a distinct community.

Each church service attended proved to be almost an exact replica of those in the West; and more than one missionary when challenged to point out a single detail in which any adaptation to the genius and culture of Burma had been made, failed to respond. In music, architecture, modes of worship, and theology Burman Christians are following the West.

Finally, let it be said that every item that has been mentioned is debatable; and certainly no details that would be universally applicable can be laid down. Then, too, most of the jungle churches are simple buildings on posts, so that the inquiry as to whether such a church is Oriental or Occidental in architecture seems hardly applicable. It is simply "native"; it is "their church" and they built it. Any single item is a matter of relatively small importance—except as it is symbolic of an attempt to help Christianity to be Burmese.

VII

PROVISION FOR TRAINING

The Baptists conduct four Bible training schools, two for men and two for women—the Karen and the Burmese theological seminaries and the Karen and the Burmese women's Bible schools. The Karen Theological Seminary will be described at greater length since it provides the pastors for 977 of the 1,259 Baptist churches in Burma.

THE KAREN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

This seminary shows what has been found possible in an institution that is in its eighty-sixth year. The entrance requirements of the Karen Theological Seminary are significant. From 1845 to 1900 there were practically no scholastic requirements for entrance. Many had mastered little more than the rudiments of reading and writing. Shortly before 1900 the fourth standard was set as a qualification, and a few years later it was raised to what would correspond to the fifth grade of the American system. In most of the classes, however, in the years from 1900 to 1920, a majority of the students admitted had not attained even this standard and some had practically no schooling at all. Since 1921, the fifth standard qualification has been enforced to a greater extent, except for those from backward areas. Some seventh-grade or even more advanced students are enrolled, but they are very much the exception.

Frequently testimony was given that parents send to the seminary those who are apparently going to fail at what are considered more desirable occupations; according to the president perhaps 50 per cent. feel no call to the ministry when they enter. Manifestly the intellectual equipment of the students is very meagre; but it is hard to persuade the Karen church and missionaries in touch with needy areas to accept even the fifth grade as a minimum. This persistent demand for trained men of a lower standard would suggest that separate provisions should be made for such, and that the standard of the Karen ministry as a whole should not be lowered by continuing all together.

Part of the difficulty in getting suitably qualified entrants is due to the poor prospects before the graduates. The majority go out to become pastors of village congregations. Since each group of twenty-five to one hundred wants its own pastor, only a pittance can be given. Hence the Karen pastor, in most cases, buys a farm and settles on it for life, as changes in pastorate are not common; or he marries a well-to-do wife or supplements in some other way the meagre stipend given by the church. This means little money for books or travel.

It will be noticed that the basis for theological training is a translation from what the president of the seminary calls "an unimportant book published in the South before the Civil War." Classical dialectics take up much of the space, and most of it is acknowledged to be over the heads of immature Karen students. The dates of the publication of the other volumes from which these texts have been translated are 1835, 1835, 1853, 1897, 1920 and 1921. The dates of the translations are 1866, 1866, 1868, 1870, 1870-87, 1876, 1884, 1887, 1889, 1895, 1906, 1919, 1920, 1922, 1925 and 1928.

Personal observation of pastors' libraries, and inquiry into their reading habits, as well as testimony from those who know conditions best, revealed the fact that all too many seminary graduates have stopped

growing as soon as they have left the seminary; and that no love for reading has been acquired. Undoubtedly part of the cause of this widespread condition is the fact that for the most part their texts were not written for Burmans, but are translations made from English written for Western college men. In addition, the general literature available in Karen is meagre and out-of-date. It is not surprising that students who find reading more of a drudgery than a delight do not develop a reading habit for their later ministry.

Surely it would be absurd to condemn a book merely because it is old, or merely because it is a translation. But the theological training of the present and future pastors of the largest section of the Christian community of Burma should be based on better literature than is now sparsely available.

It is true that the Karen constituency, characteristically conservative, does not show restlessness over this situation. But modern trends of thought, disturbing to current Karen positions, are already evident in the younger Burmese Christians, and sooner or later are bound to permeate the Karen churches.

In this institution there is an enrollment of 100 to 120 students. There are six members of the faculty. In 1900 the faculty contained only one man who had as much as a seventh-grade education. At present the four Karen instructors have no degrees and receive Rs.85 per mensem each. One of them has written five books, and the president knows of no books or articles written by the others.

The American Baptist Foreign Mission Society makes only a small annual appropriation for the maintenance of the seminary. The contributions of the Karen churches amount to about Rs.5,000 annually. The Karen endowment fund amounts to Rs.41,737. New dormitories have recently been completed; but the teachers' houses are old, and shaky, having stood for thirty-nine years. The price of food is going up and school expenses are continually increasing. Someone is greatly needed to take hold of the library. It has 2,000 volumes, but many are old and out-of-date. The president reported a deficit of Rs.500 in 1927, of Rs.1,489 in 1928, and of Rs.2,867 in 1929. With the utmost economy these debts were reduced by only Rs.439 in 1930. The impression was received that this most important center for training the future ministry of Karen churches was being decidedly under-financed.

A higher standard of admission is being recommended, and an effort is being made to improve the standard of instruction. Beginning with 1927, it has been attempted to make the work more practical and to relate it more closely to evangelism and pastoral work. The upper classes spend alternate week-ends in near-by villages where they have actual evangelistic work and preaching to do. They make full reports of this work, and their problems are discussed each week on their return to the classroom. Two summer vacations must be spent in field work in order to

graduate. Retreats are conducted by the faculty twice a year. A student committee helps to administer student affairs. A Karen seminary bulletin is issued with a circulation of 850. Summer sessions were held in 1928 and 1929 with an attendance of 25 and 30 pastors and teachers respectively.

When one considers the growing number of well-educated Karens, the presence of college-trained men in the schools, the educated Buddhist community upon which any great impression has still to be made, the signs of waning interest on the part of younger Karens in the poorly trained preachers, and the oncoming materialism and atheism, the fact that not one of the 977 Karen churches has a college-trained pastor can be appreciated as a serious omission. Only five of these pastors have gone beyond high school; most are the products of middle schools. The Karen ministry is not sufficient unto the day, and it is doubtful whether the average graduate can command the respect of the more thoughtful and better educated village folk.

The president of the seminary is able and alert. In 1925 he wrote a S.T.M. thesis on a "Proposed Curriculum for a Theological Seminary on the Foreign Field." But heavy burdens in teaching and administration work have prevented the reorganization which he himself visions. A revision of the texts has long been contemplated; but has not been undertaken because no one has time to give to writing. The president estimates that \$800 per annum would give the relief that would make constructive writing possible.

THE BURMESE SEMINARY

Space permits only the briefest summary of the other training institutions. The Burmese Seminary, which ministers to all non-Karen races, has an enrollment of thirty-three; and a faculty of four with a salary scale of Rs.50-100 plus rent-free quarters. The teaching load is from five to six hours a day. The library has 100 Burmese volumes and 500 English. The textbooks are decidedly more modern than those in the Karen seminary. There are no regularly organized retreats, field work, nor evangelistic tours. Great emphasis is placed on the analysis and preparation of sermons. Students sometimes conduct the entire daily chapel service. The president is in full charge of a large school nine miles away and is consequently burdened with heavy administrative work.

THE ENGLISH SEMINARY

An English department for the Burman and Karen seminaries was started in 1927 and has an enrollment of five full-time students, four of whom have had some work in college. An agreement has been completed by which this department is affiliated with the Northern Baptist Seminary in Chicago. Faculty members already heavily burdened are

taking on extra obligations that this need for higher training in English may be met; but the provision is far less than it should be, and this department cannot go on much longer without being fully manned and equipped.

BURMAN WOMEN'S BIBLE SCHOOL

The Burman Women's Bible School (Baptist), founded in 1893, is located at Insein and will soon move to be in close touch with the two seminaries. The staff consists of three women teachers—one, a missionary; one a Judson College failed B.Sc. Burmese; and one a high school vernacular Burmese. There is an enrollment of fifteen, composed of six races, for a three-years' course. The previous education of the entrants is usually no more than the second, third or fourth standard. The managing committee consists of two missionaries and twenty Burmese women appointed every three years by the Burmese convention. The Burmese women have adopted the school as their project; of the current expenses only the missionary's salary is paid from America.

There is very little in the curriculum that touches on village welfare. The principal believes that "until a person has a spiritual dynamic all the uplift work rolls off." Until two years ago the curriculum consisted almost entirely of memorizing outlines of Scripture, and produced a stereotyped mind. The present plan places emphasis on teaching the girls to think, or winning non-Christians through friendship instead of controversy, and on witness growing out of experience rather than on preaching. The girls can look forward to a salary of Rs.25. A recent survey showed that no graduate was at work in the villages. Many marry; others become evangelistic assistants in larger centers.

THE KAREN WOMEN'S BIBLE SCHOOL

The Karen Women's Bible School (Baptist) is located at Rangoon. The staff consists of two missionaries and four Karen teachers. There is an enrollment, for a three-year course, of eighty-three, most of whom have passed the fourth standard. There is no written constitution. The control is in the hands of an executive committee of fourteen appointed by the Karen Conference. The Karens contribute Rs.6,000, and the mission Rs.759 besides the two missionaries' salaries. The library consists of four shelves of books—one for English, one for Burmese, one for Sgaw Karen and one for Pwo Karen. Sixty of the eighty-three in attendance went out on gospel team work during the preceding Christmas vacation. The curriculum is centered about the Bible and about training in conducting women's meetings, Sunday-school work, children's meetings, temperance work, Christian Endeavor, daily vacation Bible schools, and evangelistic work. The graduates marry pastors or go out to jungle villages to teach and preach. About fifty are now in villages out of 500 graduated in the past four years. Many who go to the villages

are supported at the rate of Rs.15 per mensem by Karen Women's societies. In the way of after-care, seventy-five friendly letters were written during the past year, and an alumnae meeting attended by some forty is held annually.

THE METHODIST BIBLE TRAINING SCHOOL, THONGWA

The Methodist Bible Training School, Thongwa, combines the Methodist Theological School for which the annual conference provides two part-time teachers (one missionary and one national), and the Women's Bible Training School for which the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society (New York) provides two part-time women teachers (one missionary and one national). The theological students and the women study together in the same classes. The enrollment last year was five men and seven women. The material for the curriculum is modern and well chosen. There are no texts in Burmese for many of the courses offered. There have been eighteen women graduates, all of whom worked as Bible women for a minimum period of fifteen months, twelve of whom are still in this service at a salary of Rs.20 to 25 with an advance of Rs.1 per mensem annually. There have been ten men graduates, all of whom became local preachers at the approximate pay of Rs.30 for a single man and Rs.45 for a married man.

The curriculum includes courses on rural social problems, first aid, gardening, as their aim is to produce graduates who can "appreciate the people's problems and be able to guide in solving them, be they health, economic or educational." The library contains 150 volumes, with an average weekly withdrawal of one. Advanced students work with evangelists in the villages during the months of January to March. Retreats are held at the close of each year. The buildings cost \$51,000, all from America. The occasional student desiring higher training in theology is generally sent to one of the Methodist seminaries in India.

SUMMARY FOR PROFESSIONAL TRAINING

Testimony was marked and widespread regarding the failure of the educational institutions to produce a higher-grade ministry. Here is Burma's greatest need in the realm of training. The church in Burma has to face the fact of an uneducated ministry. Pastors with less than high-school training are not likely to have the breadth of vision or the discipline of mind to be adequate leaders for the Christian church in Burma today.

Evidence showed that good work is being done for the meagerly qualified students now being received. The Methodist Bible Training School, the Karen Theological Seminary, and the Burman Women's Bible School were getting away from the old-fashioned subject-matter method; but in all more use could be made of methods of developing initiative, thinking, and personality through practical projects. At present the

education too often prepares students to attend to the conventional conceptions of a pastorate rather than to help them in solving the varied life-problems of those whom they serve.

On the basis of an extensive survey made by the president of the Karen Theological Seminary, who for five years has been sending out seniors to make studies of pastors, it is estimated that two-thirds of the Karen ministry have no plan of Bible study or daily devotions. Where they do have a plan, it is usually the daily readings in the Sunday-school leaflet. Two-thirds of the Karen pastors have access to one paper once a month. Only about 5 per cent. of the pastors do anything special for children. There is very little systematized sermonizing among the pastors; many follow a plan introduced by the seminary years ago and recommended until 1920, viz., to go over the Sunday-school lesson in the church service. More than one missionary lamented the difficulty in getting these less-educated preachers to stop haranguing and exhorting, or to persuade them to read.

In five city Baptist churches, old and inadequately trained pastors were in charge. What made the situation poignant was that each of the five congregations was made up mainly of pupils from the neighboring Christian high schools. Here were the youth of tomorrow sitting Sunday after Sunday throughout their school lives under pastors described as follows, when detailed inquiry was made from the one best informed about the Baptist ministry: "a seventh-standard pastor who does not learn new things"; "a man of seventy absolutely gone to seed and in poor health"; "they could only combine on a man of seventy or eighty with no seminary training, who is quite inadequate, although of a bright personality"; "this pastor is seventy-two years old, is set, conservative, and not evangelistic"; the fifth pastor "is very inadequate in spirit and intellect and has monotonous services."

The head of at least one of the large schools involved was literally torn with solicitude between loyalty to her church and her eager desire that her girls should be receiving the nurture they needed. If her pupils should be removed only eight or ten regular members would be left.

LAY-TRAINING: THE MAYMYO BIBLE ASSEMBLY

Since 1908, a ten-day assembly has been held each year at "the Northfield of Burma," Maymyo, for the purpose of training lay-leadership. Courses are given in English, Burmese and Karen. The morning begins with physical drill, followed by a prayer service. Then come Bible classes, and methods of work for Sunday school, the Christian Endeavor, boy and girl leadership, church and women's societies, and daily vacation Bible schools. The afternoon is given up to recreation, and the evening to a song service followed by an inspirational address. From 200 to 250 teachers, leaders, and young students attend. The assembly is sponsored by the Baptists, but is open to all, and other than Baptist leaders help

from time to time. Much more could be made of this as a genuinely coöperative affair.

THE GOSPEL TEAM MOVEMENT

The Gospel Team Movement, under the leadership of Rev. V. W. Dyer, is one of the outstanding experiments in Burma. In one Christmas week alone, 188 formed themselves into seventeen gospel teams for campaigns in fifty-three villages. Tours have been made in India and Siam. Frequent week-end trips are taken. The inspiration for this work came from the Buchman movement.

Under one or more leaders, groups of young men or women, or both together, go to selected centers primarily to witness to their own Christian experience. Preaching is discouraged. Central emphasis is put on the "Koinonia" or community of sacred love, i.e., Christian fellowship. Expert friendship is their ideal, based on friendship with Christ and reaching out to friendship with the inner group and the outside world. Release of personality is attempted through wholesome fun, games, concerts, and pageants.

Among the good results are renewed prayer-life, deepened consecration, and a fresh vision of reality on the part of the participants; and many among the hearers are led to confess their faith in Jesus Christ. Moreover the movement has demonstrated in many centers the way in which young men and women can work together. The method and characteristic emphases are spreading quite noticeably in Burma. The plan is said to work better in schools with a Christian background than in raw villages; Buddhists are often offended by the combination of play and preaching; some think that the repetition of the same testimony leads to insincerity or coloring; and some fear the experience may be demoralizing in contrast with the drudgery of the pastorate.

The central groups under Mr. Dyer are heavily financed by special gifts from America; but local groups are told to depend on the Spirit of God in their efforts to raise money for their trips. The movement unquestionably is deepening spiritual life and encouraging the spirit of fellowship and testimony. Undoubtedly, it has its dangers also. The movement is too young for any adequate appraisal.

TRAINING COURSES

An interesting and hopeful experiment is being made in connection with the English department of the Baptist theological seminaries. Three school teachers have been sent in for a year's special training as lay-workers, as a result of which they are expected to revivify the Bible classes and evangelistic spirit in the school.

Many missionaries conduct annual Bible classes for workers in which a fair number of laymen and laywomen may be enrolled.

CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR AND EPWORTH LEAGUE

There were 278 local societies connected with the Burma Christian Endeavor Union in 1930, an increase of 47 per cent. since 1920; and 91 per cent. of these societies are among the Karen. There are 12,353 members, an increase of 64 per cent. since 1920. The reported contributions amount to Rs.3,777, an average of \$5.02 per society.¹

There are six senior, one intermediate, and six junior Epworth Leagues with a membership of 248, 100, and 299 respectively.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

The Baptists in Burma have 758 Sunday schools with an enrollment of 37,741. There are 1,431 teachers (two per school, one per twenty-six pupils). The total number of Sunday schools is 60 per cent. of the number of organized churches.²

The Methodists in Burma have fifty-six Sunday schools with an enrollment of 3,122. There are 158 teachers (three per school, one to twenty pupils). Seventy-two per cent. of the pupils are under twelve years of age. The number of Sunday schools is three times the number of organized congregations.³

The Baptists publish in Karen 19,000 copies of a sixteen-page Sunday-school lesson guide. A noteworthy feature is that the existence of juniors is recognized by devoting the last four pages to them. The able editress might be more progressive if the Karen constituency were not so conservative.

The Baptists also publish a lesson guide in Burmese. The one who for many years has faithfully edited these important helps, has now had forty-five years of service in Burma; is naturally not in touch with modern education; and weights her comments with premillenarianism. There is no attempt to grade.

During the past five years, lesson manuals for teachers have been published according to a plan devised by the Burma Sunday School Union. There are three books composing a three-year course of Intermediate Group-graded Scripture Lessons. While these books have been intended primarily for use in the Sunday schools they can be adapted to week-day instruction. There are also graded primary and junior courses. These graded books are only slowly displacing the uniform series.

As to equipment, the village Sunday schools have almost none. In a study of sixteen non-rural churches visited by the writer, only one

¹ Annual Report of the Burma Christian Endeavor Union, 1930, and the Proceedings of the Burma Baptist Convention, 1920.

² Report of the Burma Baptist Missionary Convention, 1929, p. 25; Report of the American Baptist Foreign Mission Society, 1930, p. 281.

³ Report of the Burma Annual Conference, 1930, p. 217.

had a library. In another study of thirty-four churches in the Toungoo field, twenty-nine had a table each; six had a shelf-closet for supplies; two had pictures; eleven had benches; nine had blackboards; and fifteen had gongs. The classrooms and equipment of day schools are used by many Sunday schools.

Only a start has been made toward producing an indigenous curriculum. The primary and junior graded lessons are translations and adaptations of lessons written for India. The intermediate manual was based upon topics worked out by the World's Sunday School Association freely supplemented in Burma. Attempts are being made to relate the lessons to classrooms and the play field; but "there is not a single course developed *de novo* out of the needs, experiences, and the life of Burma." It is not the custom to use illustrative or supplementary material from Buddhism in any lesson leaflet or manual.

Inquiry revealed no place where the pupils shared in the decision as to how their contributions were to be expended; the decision is usually made by the pastor or superintendent. In all too many rural Sunday schools, the lesson consists of a second sermon. In many places classification by standard would be unwise because of the great divergence in age and social background of the pupils. The two persons best informed on Sunday schools in Burma knew of no surveys of the work, nor of any tests of results.

DAILY VACATION BIBLE SCHOOLS

One of the three most promising movements in Burma is the Daily Vacation Bible School. It began in 1927 under the leadership of Rev. E. M. Harrison. A corps of teachers stay from three to five weeks in selected villages. Here the children are divided into three groups—seniors, juniors and primaries. The daily program is carried out under six heads—worship, music, Bible instruction, Bible story, handwork, character story, and flag salutes. A three-hour session is held in the morning, another in the afternoon, followed by games for all. In the evening, one or more evangelistic teams are organized for visits to neighboring villages. By prayer, personal testimony, vocal and instrumental music, visiting in homes, stereopticon lectures, and street preaching an attempt is made to win people to love and follow Jesus Christ. In 1927 there was one school with sixty-five pupils; in 1928 there were five schools with 265 pupils; in 1929, eight schools with 540 pupils; and in 1930 eleven schools with 700 pupils, seventy workers giving from three weeks to two months of their vacation without other remuneration than necessary expenses.

An exceptionally well-qualified and successful Burmese, a kindergartner, has been secured for full-time work. She goes from school to school holding classes with groups of teachers, seminary students, col-

lege students, Bible-school girls, pastors, and others who expect to conduct vacation Bible schools in subsequent summers. At present two-thirds of her salary comes from America, and one-third from Burma.

A RELIGIOUS EDUCATIONAL DIRECTOR FOR BURMA

A great church has been developed in Burma. Faithful service has compensated for the lack of modern religious education and approach. Furthermore, most of the workers are too engrossed in other specific tasks to give time to constructive work in this realm.

But are there not opportunities too central and urgent to be ignored? The secretary of the Baptist mission said that "no man in the country is satisfied with the teaching of the Bible in schools." One of the few missionaries who have received university training in religious education wrote that "the Bible teaching in many of our schools is most puerile, lacking in planning, proper classification of pupils, properly trained teachers, with poorly adapted courses, and with very little practical application to life. I know that none of us would want the whole truth of the matter broadcast in America."

The following curriculum, used in one of the largest Christian schools, and approved by the American Baptist Missionary Convention, deserves careful scrutiny: Grade 1—Catechism; Ps. 1, 23; 1 Cor. 13. Grade 2—Matt., Ps. 23, 27. Grade 3—Gen. 1-20; Esther; Ps. 16, 27; 1 Cor. 13. Grade 4—Ex. 1-20; Josh. 1-10; Acts, Ps. 15, 19, 23. Grade 5—1 and 2 Sam.; Ps. 90, 103. Grade 6—1 and 2 Kings; Romans; Ps. 90, 103. Grade 7—Lev., Joel, Hebrews, Ps. 116, 119: 1-16; Rev. 21: 1-5. Grades 8-10—Daniel, Revelations.

There is need, also, for coördination of the activities in the field of religious education. The Burma Sunday School Union Secretaryship, the direction of the Daily Vacation Bible schools, and the leadership of the Christian Endeavor societies would gain from such coördination. The Baptists appointed a director of religious education for their work in 1921; but an unfortunate shortage in men and money caused a cessation of this work before it had more than started. Two brief visits to Burma by the head of the India Sunday School Union, who with his wife, held a series of institutes for teachers in various places, have given a taste of what is possible.

VIII

THE KIND OF HELPERS DESIRED

KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGE

A most serious defect in missionary personnel is in connection with knowledge of language. One Baptist missionary said that only three

men in his mission had satisfactorily learned Burmese. This judgment was confirmed by another. The head of Karen Seminary said there were only three missionaries who knew Karen well enough to give a baccalaureate address. One missionary, in charge both of a school and a district, acknowledged that his talks had to be translated in the district, and that when visiting a school during the Bible period he could not understand what the teacher was saying. A leading pastor pointed out that this lack of knowledge of the language among missionaries stands in the way of a better insight into the ways and thoughts of the people, and also makes the preaching of missionaries so handicapped as to be of little effect among Buddhists.

Some of the difficulty goes back to the failure of the mission to give young recruits sufficient time to learn the language. Ten years ago the Baptists passed a rule that each new missionary should have six months clear time for study and six more months with light work. But even this startlingly low minimum has not been given. In the past eight years not more than 25 per cent. of the new missionaries have been given even this minimum time for study. Conditions are worse among the men than among the women.

It was disturbing to talk to recent recruits who had been thrust all too soon into situations where they had small chance to study. The growing knowledge of English tempts some to follow the line of least resistance; but to yield is suicidal from the standpoint of missionary efficiency. Some of the pressure is undoubtedly due to the understaffing of recent years. But even that can scarcely excuse the failure to make such adjustments in the work as would enable young missionaries to learn the language. It is now known that always about one-seventh of a missionary staff is on furlough,¹ and there is no excuse for not making allowance for this in relating expansion of work to staff.

FREEDOM FROM EXCESSIVE PRESSURE

Another difficulty voiced by many is the way missionaries are burdened with an excess of committees, questionnaires, Government reports and administration, to such an extent as seriously to impair the attainment of their missionary objective. Many engaged in educational work are becoming mere administrators without opportunity to demonstrate evangelistic method, or to embody evangelistic zeal. This is a serious issue for the 48 per cent. of the missionaries in Burma who are in schools, and many of whom are in charge of districts, also. Leaders with spiritual radiance, as desired by one of the two outstanding Methodist pastors, do not come as a rule from such harried lives; nor is a missionary fettered by too much machinery able to stand back and get that long view so necessary for wise management.

¹ *Directory of Protestant Missions, 1924-25*, p. v.

A NORMAL STANDARD OF LIVING

Unlike India, the question of the missionary's standard of living is not a live one in Burma. The following opinions state the case: "Most are not living extravagantly." "There is no occasion to question the standard of living of the missionaries." "Christians don't mind the level at which missionaries live if they have humble hearts." "The Burmans themselves have cars—the gap is not so great as in India." "The Karen standard of life is so simple that they realize missionaries could not live on it."

NATURAL HUMAN CONTACTS

However, the relationship between missionary and national cannot be said to be entirely satisfactory. The longing for a closer, more natural, human contact with missionaries was expressed by almost every national with whom the subject arose.

We want our missionaries to visit us and visit us frequently. The power of the early missionaries was due to frequent visits in the homes of the people, a spirit of frank sincerity, and a genuine concern for the interests of their spiritual children.

We want someone who can come into our homes and help us with our home problems.

At the end of our itinerary the national who had been the writer's associate throughout the tour declared:

There is a general feeling among the nationals that the modern missionaries are lacking in the spirit of fellowship, and that whether because of overwork or a superiority complex, they do not as a rule have social contacts with the people.

Other evidence of this longing for fellowship could be given from interviews; and from a popular but representative questionnaire to fifty-seven Burmans and Karens in which the second most frequently mentioned desirable change in mission policy was that missionaries should exhibit more fellowship in friendly intercourse.

NO PATERNALISM

Paternalism lies at the other extreme. There is a stage when paternalism seems almost inevitable; certainly it is the easy course. But the experience of missions shows that it is most injurious if that stage is too far prolonged. Missions among the Karens have been going on for more than one hundred years. Karens have 68,000 church-members and 957 self-supporting churches; and yet a definite impression is left upon a visitor that paternalism is still unduly present. This impression is confirmed by the head of the Karen Seminary when he says that "the average preacher has not been led to think, but only to follow the missionary." The Karen churches are a demonstration to the world that

this paternalism is not financial; but there is nevertheless a definite paternalism of influence and leadership.

This attitude has been easy because of the characteristics of the Karens. To a marked extent they revere old men; and the Baptists have at present on their roll some who have rendered long years of service. "The Karens naturally look up to and lean on the missionaries—they do not trust their own leaders." "Only recently have the churches begun to think for themselves." "They are used to a missionary bossing them—they are used to being told what to do."

LESSONS FROM SIXTY-NINE YEARS

If stated graphically, two illuminating curves would show how variation in missionary method and leadership is reflected in rates of growth in a study of the development of churches and of total membership from the organization of the Maubin (Pwo Karen) Association in 1861 down to 1930.² These sixty-nine years have been covered by seven missionaries.

The first period begins with 182 members and eight churches under one missionary for nineteen years. It shows little progress; and this is attributed to the fact that the missionary was an old man, and did almost no traveling in the field in the later years, giving most of his effort to educational and literary work in the station. The young churches were left without the stimulatory contacts and initiative of the touring evangelistic missionary. Moreover, the missionary attempted to work this field from a distant home center.

The second period of fourteen years shows a steady growth in churches and membership throughout. The missionary and his wife were wise and devoted workers. They transferred their home to the area and this undoubtedly stimulated the zeal and coöperation of the Karens. The young missionary was able to travel extensively in his field. The figures show greater growth in their second term than in the first when they were learning the language and getting to know their field. What would the advance have been in the third term if he had not been transferred?

The third period of five years was under a missionary of fine Christian character; but he was unable to master the language. With this handicap his touring of the field was largely ineffectual. After five years of service he returned to America. We find that though the number of churches increased, the average membership fell. The average annual increase was about the same as his predecessor's first term, and less than half of his second term.

The fourth period of seven years was filled by a missionary transferred from another language area. The Pwo Karens are particularly insistent on having a missionary who speaks their language, and so this

² From *A Survey of the American Baptist Mission Station, Maubin, Burma*, an M.A. Thesis submitted to the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School by Rev. C. E. Chaney, D.D.

handicap was unfortunate. Moreover he was well along in years, and after paying a flying visit to each of the churches felt that he could not tour in the non-Christian villages. On the other hand, he had years of experience in Burma to his credit and aid. In rate of increase, both of churches and members, his period stands fifth.

The missionaries of the fifth period of three years endeared themselves in a remarkable way to the Karens. There was almost revolt at receiving another missionary when, owing to his wife's illness, the missionary in charge had to leave for America. Hence in spite of his defective knowledge of the language and of his inability because of health conditions to do much itineration, the rate of annual increase in members for his period was third.

The sixth period lasted fifteen years, and from a graphic standpoint, would show a continuous rise in the curves. This growth is attributed to the building of a program which called forth much latent talent among the churches. Moreover, this definite and constructive program was combined with a period of service extending into the third term.

The seventh period (six years) introduced a new order in mission policy; for the field was placed under full Karen management. It is not surprising that there is a sag in efficiency.

While admittedly many other factors enter into the situation, the evidence suggests that a missionary cannot hope to be a leader in his field if he remains tied to his station; that one who does not master the language is hopelessly handicapped; that short and broken terms of service are far less fruitful than long ones; that a program which challenges the leadership of the whole church can be very fruitful; and that a too-rapid transfer to indigenous control may be accompanied with temporary setbacks.

IX

SOME RESULTS OF CHURCH AND MISSION

There is a large and independent church in Burma that has long passed its centenary. Manifestly this church has had an increasingly creative part in the Christian movement of that land. Hence in making any list of results one must bear in mind that both church and missions have had their part. At this late stage results are not to be attributed to American missions alone.

THE CHURCH AND ITS EVANGELISTIC ZEAL

The greatest common fruitage is the present church in Burma. Much definite evidence was available showing that this church has long given practical manifestation of the missionary spirit. Many testified to the

fine work done by teachers out of school hours. Organized effort has found expression through various racial organizations.

Nearly every Karen association has a strong working home missionary society to care for the local evangelistic extension work in its territory. Moulmein, for example, has twenty-five villages under its care and the forty churches are spending about a rupee per month per member for this work alone. The Karens through their national conference maintain a mission to the Karens of Siam. They did a great deal in the early days to keep the Kachin mission going during an interval when American missionaries were not allowed to live in the country. Work for non-Christian Karens and the hill peoples has especially appealed to the Karens, and to the evangelization of these peoples they have made notable contributions. Today Karen preachers are to be found in the distant hills of Chin and Kachin and in the mountain valleys of Yunnan in China. Their going forth to these backward areas is quite comparable to the self-denial exhibited by Western missionaries.

In a similar way there are active local missionary societies among Burmese Christians, and there is a national organization of non-Karen Baptists known as the Burman Baptist Missionary Society which has work in four centers.

In particular the women, both Karen and Burman, while politically far less vocal than in India, are far more effectively organized for active evangelism. In 1920 women delegates from every Karen association in Burma met at Rangoon and formed the Burma Baptist Women's Missionary Society for the purpose of strengthening local societies through a national organization. This society supports three workers in the Shan state, and contributes to the Women's Bible School, Rangoon, besides various miscellaneous objectives.

The Burmese women founded the all-Burma Baptist Missionary Society later (1923); but have gone further as they have more of the gift of organization than the Karens. Two able Burmese women volunteered to travel without salary through the country strengthening the local women's organizations already established and helping to organize other groups. In its fifty local societies are 900 members, fifty-three of whom have become life members by paying Rs.100.

The society through its own funds erected a home in Rangoon which houses the office, the resident Bible women and traveling secretaries, and provides shelter for women who are alone in the city for short stays. There are ten traveling evangelists, two of whom are honorary, for whom only the traveling expenses are paid, since one has a paddy field and the other a bamboo plantation. The society has "adopted" the Woman's Training School, Insein, and pays for all its current expenses except the salary of the missionary principal.

There is work in nine centers and contributions are made to Daily Vacation Bible Schools. Thus far the work has been purely evangelistic.

But there is a trend toward larger social work as five of the ten workers have been to the welfare classes held at the Pyinmana Agricultural School. The income of the society is about Rs.6,000. A committee of twenty-four, two of whom are missionaries, directs the work. These local women's societies seldom take up in their meetings the broader problems of women—home, children, baby welcoming, etc. Their programs are not much different from a prayer meeting.

SELF-SUPPORT

Of the 1,335 Baptist churches in Burma, 80 per cent. are self-supporting; and of the eighteen Methodist churches in Burma, 50 per cent. are self-supporting.¹

The Karen provide one of the most notable instances of the development of Christian work with a minimum of mission grants to be found anywhere in the world. Of their 968 organized Baptist churches, 98 per cent. are recorded as self-supporting. Many Karen associations have financed their home and foreign missionary work without aid. In the largest Karen district they have built all their own chapels and all their school buildings, and support without American grants all their pastors and evangelists, besides their mission station in the Shan territory. The total value of the school buildings on the Bassein Sgaw Karen compound, exclusive of the three owned and used by the American Baptist Mission as distinct from the school, is well over a million rupees; yet all these have been constructed without the appropriation of a single rupee from America.² The graph of the per capita giving since 1879 ranges usually between \$2.04 and \$2.26. One group of 14,000 Karen raised over \$200,000 in five years for buildings, and at the same time increased their contributions to the regular work.

The Karen work at Shwemyin was started on the basis of self-support. The work was advanced just as fast as the Karen could contribute money for it. Only as they showed their willingness to get under the load was a forward movement launched. They also have supported and developed their own schools and work. Under the new plan of Joint Committees they were offered Rs.600 from America, and they refused to touch it, saying that they preferred to support their own work. The per capita giving in this field is \$4.02.

The Karen of the Rangoon field have received practically nothing for years from America except the salaries and special allowances for missionaries.

As a matter of fact the Burmese church-members show a larger per capita giving than the Karen. But they are far more scattered so that the results are not cumulative.

¹ Letter from W. W. Bell, May 1, 1931.

² *Rangoon Gazette*, Oct. 30, 1924.

In Taunggyi the Shans have built increasingly good jungle churches at their own expense; and their medical work consisting of four dispensaries treating 7,000-8,000 patients, is developing without aid from America, except for about two-thirds the salary of the doctor.

The Burma Baptist Convention which brings together Baptists of various races has work in fifteen different fields including the border states, China and Siam. It has carried on work for seventy years without mission appropriation.

The Burman Baptist Missionary Society (the non-Karen association of Baptists) has for twenty-nine years been carrying on work without mission grants. It has evangelistic work in Magwe, Myingyan, Nyaung U. and Taungdwingyi, a high school at Myingyan, and a middle school at Nyaung U. The foundations in most of these places were laid with mission money and personnel. But in Myingyan, for example, during the last six years, when it has been under the management of the indigenous church, there have been no appropriations from the mission.

It has been said that the Karen churches are self-supporting. By this is not meant that they support their pastors in every case as churches in America do, nor that they always undergird the church program most vitally needed; but simply that they support their own work in their own way and are not dependent upon mission funds from America. The custom of a pastor's supporting himself has come down from the early beginning of the work. At that time the leading man in each church was appointed its pastor. Most of the men who were thus chosen had their own means of support and needed no help from their churches. Such being the precedent established, the successors of those early pioneers have had, for the most part, to find their own means of support. It is estimated that 30 per cent. of the present pastors receive nothing from their churches; but rather raise paddy, engage in petty trade, or do lumber work with elephants. At the same time few have sufficient training to make it profitable for them to spend all their time in sermon preparation and pastoral work.³ Some of the larger schools are self-supporting only because their missionary superintendents earn Rs.500 allowed in the maintenance grant for their supervision.

Inspiring individual instances of giving are by no means uncommon—a man at the price of an elephant pays all the expenses of entertaining the Baptist Association in his village; another with slender means pledges \$500 for a dormitory; another fully supports a worker; not far from the Chinese border is a Christian woman who on her own responsibility and at her own expense is running a boarding school of eighty pupils.

There have been at least two conflicting theories within the Baptist mission with reference to self-support. And each has been shaping policy through enough decades to make an historic appraisal possible.

³ Cf. Harris, E. N., *A Star in the East* (Revell, New York, 1920), p. 102.

IMMATURE FRUITAGE

In the Burmese church many are little more than "babes in Christ" so that it is not surprising that some return to Buddhism. Generally members are scattered in twos and threes in widely separated villages, hence the problem of self-support is peculiarly difficult.

We have seen that the Karen church stands out for its excellent singing, its extensive self-support, and its emphasis on education. As among the Puritans, wherever you find a church, you are likely to find a school; Karens unselfishly seek to put education within the reach of all their people. They are Puritans, also, both by disposition, and missionary training in regard to very strict Sunday observance. Karens are custom bound, are much inclined to church discipline, are legalistic, and are conservative theologically. The whole church is in a position to be profoundly disturbed by such a pamphlet as was being circulated by the Buddhists during the visit of the inquirer. In this pamphlet a monk had for the most part simply quoted the more primitive Old Testament conceptions of God and had ended each section with the scornful refrain—"This is the Christian's God." It was significant that such a pamphlet could come as an awful shock to the people and to some missionaries, and was proving to be difficult to answer.

In the Bassein Sgaw Karen Association (14,878 members), family prayers are conducted in one out of two-and-one-half homes; and the complete Bible is found in more than half the families.⁴ In the Henzada Karen Association (9,801 members), the average attendance at worship is half the Christian population.⁵

It was a surprise to note how often the expression "third generation stagnation" was heard. Several of the best informed said this was found both among Burmese and Karens. The first generation was stirred by its decision and had the inspiration of heroism. The second generation knows about what its parents have done. The third generation, ignorant even of the folklore of their people, tend to rest on a plateau of development. Hope is variously placed (along with the usual means of grace) in "gospel teams," better trained seminary men, a new vision of rural reconstruction, a fresh grasp of the relation between the religious life and social-economic problems, or in the discovery of the spiritual equivalent of those hard conditions under which their forefathers became Christians.

Repeated inquiry in various areas revealed only one example of the setting up of a "standard church" for a district. In this case "Seven Tests of an Efficient Church" especially selected to fit and stimulate a given area were printed on heavy drawing paper, two by three feet, designed to be hung up in churches or pastors' homes and made the basis of a series of sermons.

⁴ Report of the Bassein Sgaw Karen Association, 1929.

⁵ Report of the Henzada Karen Association, 1930.

EFFECT OF CHRISTIANITY ON BUDDHISM

Christianity has by no means as profoundly affected Buddhism in Burma as it seems to have done in Japan. But, nevertheless, certain definite changes or tendencies are attributed largely to Christian influence.⁶ For many Buddhists their founder is assuming the value of God; there is a growing conception of him as a Savior who both hears and answers prayer; and many are feeling the need of personal conversion.

The conception of merit is being gradually modified in the minds of the younger and more progressive Buddhists. The orthodox and overwhelmingly approved acts of merit have been building pagodas and monasteries, feeding the póngyis (monks), and renouncing the world for the life of a monk. Such acts are still the most common ways of earning merit. But the younger generation is coming to regard the building of a hospital and the generous subscription to an earthquake fund as almost equally acts of merit. A noteworthy Buddhist gift to the new university, several new Buddhist orphanages (at Mandalay, Kemmendine and Gyo Bin Gauk), a new Buddhist hospital, as well as a tendency to laud Buddha's example as one who went about helping people, are cited as evidences of this trend to seek merit in more social ways.

Although the Burmese have ever been a hospitable race, and although still the feeding of the póngyis is to the feeding of a beggar as the planting of seed in good ground is to the use of poor soil, yet the duty of helping the poor and feeding the hungry is becoming more and more explicit.

Furthermore there is a tendency to a more positive interpretation of Buddhism's precepts. Just as Jesus took the Old Testament commandments and drew out their positive and spiritual significance, so there are signs that the precepts of Buddhism which of old were regarded as negative and passive are being expanded to bring out their practical application. Then there are a Young Men's Buddhist Association (now largely political), a Buddhist Charitable Society, a Burma Youth's Temperance Society, and Buddhist Sunday schools beginning at the same hour as the corresponding Christian schools.

It is recognized that there are many modern forces at work in Burma, and that it is almost impossible to separate certain results and attribute them wholly to Christianity. For example one Buddhist explained that in the old times they could afford to spend money on pagodas and monasteries; but that in these days of greater economic pressure they had to think more of the practical, and that this is what accounts for the change in the conception of merit. Or, again, it is undoubtedly Buddhist nationalism that has stimulated so many gifts for "national" schools. Yet most thinking men, certainly many Buddhists, would agree to the general proposition that Christianity has had a steady moulding influence upon Buddhism and upon the ideology and standards of behavior of Buddhists.

⁶ Cf. article by Rev. G. Appleton in the *Rangoon Times*, Dec. 23, 1930, p. 5.

EFFECTS OF BUDDHISM ON CHRISTIANITY

Written answers were received from one hundred and fifteen who among other things were asked as to the effects, if any, which Buddhism has had on Christianity. Only a few mentioned any effect whatever. Four noted a tendency for some Christian ministers after ordination to follow the pongyi pattern—being served instead of serving, thinking that his clerical dignity must be respected, and expecting honor, obedience, and ease.

Evidently the Christians of Burma are not conscious of any marked influence of Buddhism on Christianity. In fact Karen Christianity has avoided anything that savored at all of Buddhism, and even Burmese Christians seem to have made a complete break with Buddhism.

WHAT THE WEST MAY LEARN

Among the "Problems to be Explored" the question was raised, "To what extent are the best elements in the national religions and culture embodied in the faith and practice of the missions and younger churches?" Almost no response was received from the one hundred and fifty nationals questioned. To most the very idea was novel and it had to be carefully explained. Burma is in this regard decidedly less self-conscious than India, China and Japan. This is not surprising if we accept the judgment of a Burmese Christian highly trusted not only with denominational but also with inter-denominational responsibility when he says that "the missionaries in Burma appear to be carrying on their work with the idea that they have all to give and nothing to receive."

Moreover the answer to such a question demands world perspective which Burman Christians do not have. While they know their own circle of thought, they do not know what American Christianity is or needs. There was also the feeling that the Burma church is still in its infancy as regards any independent thought and expression.

The point most often mentioned by missionaries and the few nationals vocal on this question was that American Christians might learn more of the spirit of reverence from Burma. Other points mentioned were courtesy, hospitality, sereness, simplicity, taking religion seriously, faith in prayer, happy joyous religious singing, the example of self-sacrifice in giving, and evangelistic zeal.

Only three gave expression to any values that might come to the West directly from Buddhism. The values mentioned were inwardness or an unhurried reflective meditation; an emphasis on patience (although the Buddhist patience is pointed out to be somewhat vague and passive); and the prohibition of the taking of the lives of animals that do no harm to man, which while not going so far as the Buddhist ideal of protecting all animal life, does yet go further than the Christian rule against taking human life.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF CHRISTIANITY

Various approaches were attempted to discover the social effects of Christianity. For example, it was found that the Government figures for the death-rates by religions are Moslems 22.9; Hindus 22.1; Buddhists 21.2; Christians 14.5; while the figure for all of Burma is 21.2.

The last report for the Prison Administration for Burma⁷ gives the number of convicts admitted to jail in 1929. The Buddhist percentage of convicts corresponds closely with the Buddhist percentage of population (84.2 for convicts and 84.8 for population). The Moslem percentage of convicts was about one-half the Moslem percentage of population (1.9 and 3.8). The Christian percentage of convicts was one-fourth the Christian percentage of population (.45 and 2.0). However, since most of the Christians are Karens, we ought to have the convict percentage of the total Karen community for comparison; but the Government figures do not give this.

There are five Karen members of the Burma Legislative Council, all Christian. The leader of the Christian Karens who sat in the old Council was selected by the President of the Legislative Assembly of all India to tour Burma with the group securing Burman opinion about the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. Another Christian was appointed the Government member on the Finance Committee of the Legislative Council. There is no outstanding non-Christian leader among the Karen tribes. The remarkable development of a backward people that could produce such leaders is generally attributed to two factors—the protection and justice of the British Government and the vital force of Christianity.

Written answers were obtained from 115 Christians and non-Christians to the question as to "what definite evidences are available of changes in individual or group life brought about primarily through the Christian church and its evangelization." The same question was constantly asked of those interviewed. Principals of girls' schools were asked how Christian village girls coming to the school differ from non-Christian girls of the same class. An effort was made to find out how Christians compare with non-Christians in their response to Boy Scout work, voluntary welfare societies, etc. The answers are qualitative and do not lend themselves to satisfactory statistical display. But there was very general agreement that there is something about a Christian that marks him as such.

A Christian secretary for Boy Scouts, for example, reports that Buddhist boys are interested, but Buddhist financial supporters are harder to get than Christian. One of the most public-spirited women of Rangoon (a Christian) testified that Christian women have more of the spirit of service than Buddhist women. Two Christian women were the only ones to receive a medal for exceptional service in infant-welfare work

⁷ Report of the Prison Administration in Burma (Governmental Printing Press, Rangoon, 1929), p. 2.

in Moulmein. Christians can be counted on to help in plague because, unlike the Buddhists, they are willing to eradicate rats. A Christian member of a local earthquake relief fund said that Christians gave Rs.600 and all the others gave only Rs.100. Many said that Christians have more joy, sing more, send their children to school, have cleaner villages, and rise above the old *nat* (spirit) worship better than Buddhists.

However, it must be acknowledged that most of such data are inconclusive. The Christians, for example, can explain why there are fewer Christian women on certain Rangoon societies by the fact that there are fewer Christian women who know English and who can mix with the wives of the governing class. On the other hand, it is open to the Buddhists to account for the preponderance of Christians on most of the societies selected for investigation by the fact that these societies have been started by Christians or Westerners and that therefore Christians are naturally more in touch with them. To be fair, each situation would have to be studied far more carefully than a rapid itinerary permits. Furthermore, in this inquiry most of the testimony came from Christians. Hence the evidence obtained in the time and with the tools available is far from being scientifically fair or conclusive.

But while not all the evidence was that Christian villages are cleaner, or Christian husbands better, or Christians themselves more upright and progressive; and while Government officials as well as village observers said that merely being a Christian in name without having genuine Christian nurture did not differentiate either individuals or members of a group from their neighbors; yet the data, and actual contact with the people even more, created, in the observer at least, a cumulative and convincing impression of a better quality of life among Christians.

No such summary as has been attempted in this section can, however, convey to the reader the complete picture of results. One is aware of many imponderables as one visits the churches and the schools and the homes which have resulted from the Christian movements started in Burma by American Baptists in 1813 and by American Methodists in 1879. Burma is a field rich with Christian heroism in the past; and in the present one feels surrounded by loyal and devoted persons standing by their posts in spite of heavy burdens and inadequate help. An observer cannot but be profoundly impressed with the results already accomplished as well as with remaining needs.

X

A PERSONAL SUMMARY

It is not the primary function of this report to make recommendations; but rather to present such facts as a brief stay in Burma made possible. Nevertheless suggestions have been requested.

There are certain desirable changes which can be brought about largely by the vote of those concerned. These would include such items as a continuance of the policy of turning over powers and responsibilities to nationals, the clearing up of titles to the ownership of property, and the reshaping of administration for greater efficiency. Possibly in this group should come even such pressing advances as the evangelization of the Pwos and the Buddhists.

There are also certain major issues that partake more of the nature of changed attitude than of mere repairs. Change in these would at once affect many practical issues.

CLARIFICATION OF AIM

Burman Christians and missionaries have been loyal to the traditional formulation of aim. But the statement made at Jerusalem in 1928, under the pressure of this new age, calls for a "program of missionary work among all peoples sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships." One finds confusion of thought, among both missionaries and nationals, about what this means in the concrete—in mission policy, in actual program, and in allotment of funds. This need is so great that nothing less is demanded than an educational process that will clarify for boards, missionary staff and national leaders the essential nature of the Christian movement and the extent to which its aim should be progressively related to the total need of a given people. A statement of aim is needed in terms so explicit that its bearing may be apparent upon such modern practical issues as nationalism, communalism, concentration, and rural welfare. Vitality in the Christian movement is manifested not by stereotyped programs but by ability to renew its expressional activities in forms consonant with deepening insights. Moreover, such clarification, if effectively interpreted to the giving constituency, ought to do much to build up confidence in those for whom the missionary aim as traditionally stated may have lost meaning and directive force.

THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF ADEQUATE CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP, BOTH LAY AND MINISTERIAL

Education for leadership should be creatively developed in Burma to suit actual tasks, and be of first quality whether for higher-grade or for lower-grade workers. This will require the release of personnel, experience, and money. But this is a central need in Burma today.

AN EDUCATIONAL ATTITUDE

From one viewpoint the function of a missionary is not so much to get things done as to help people grow; and hence the type of missionary needed is less the executive and more the educator. This change in temper of mind comes not by vote, but by being subjected to the educational point of view. Educational principles can throw much light upon such

problems as the practice of building up large institutions with Western money, the process of devolving powers and responsibilities upon nationals, the avoidance of paternalism, the coming into closer, more human contact with the people, and upon all the practical methods of developing an independent and indigenous church. It would be part of this policy to keep every phase of the work in periodic touch with the best technical assistance which the church of the West can bring to bear.

A RURAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There is evidence enough to indicate that village reconstruction is a realm in which the Christian movement may regain pioneering leadership and may demonstrate its interest in meeting the comprehensive needs of men. Hence the best technique of the social sciences may well be brought to bear upon this problem, and recruiting plans may well include a few creative persons capable of working out for themselves and others the practical programs required.

A COÖPERATIVE SPIRIT

There are places where the Christian movement lags because of denominational and administrative independence, as in the production of literature and the training of leaders. Burma has its inter-racial and inter-communal strife; a ministry of reconciliation is needed; and this challenge is not being adequately met by the Christian church. Then, also, a richness of growth, experience, and service is possible when Christian fellowship becomes inter-racial and international and includes just such different cultural groups as are found among the peoples and missions of Burma. In the development of the coöperative spirit, rather than in merely this or that adjustment, the church will serve both itself and the growing nation in which it finds itself. It is against such a background and such a passion that one would discuss details—waste in duplication, overlapping, the production of an adequate literature, intercommunion, union institutions, and finally church union.

MISSION EDUCATION IN BURMA

by

LESLIE B. SIPPLE

FOREWORD

DURING the month of February, 1931, the writer of this report spent three full weeks in field work in Burma. During this time he traveled 1,500 miles, interviewed sixty persons, attended several conferences, visited nineteen high schools, three middle schools, several villages, and five teacher-training schools.

Missionaries of the American Baptist Mission and the Methodist Episcopal Church, as well as Government officials and others gave unstintedly of their time and efforts. Every facility for seeing and understanding mission and Government schools was placed at our disposal. Grateful acknowledgment is hereby made of these many courtesies.

In addition to field studies and investigations of Government and mission educational reports, a questionnaire was sent, as in India, to all the secondary and training schools of the two missions mentioned above. The results of this study may be found in the last section of this report. Acknowledgment is made of the valuable services of Rev. W. B. Foley and Miss Margaret Bittner, who assisted in tabulating and preparing the material in the questionnaire study.

As was said regarding the writer's report on mission education in India, the data regarding Burma have been gathered and the report has been written from the point of view of an educationist, but with very great appreciation of the need for Christian missions and of the work which they have done and may do.

I

THE GENERAL EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM IN BURMA

Missions in Burma have, until the past few years, dominated certain phases of education and have wielded an influence out of all proportion to the number of adherents to the Christian religion. Today that domination is being challenged by the nationalist movement in Burma, and partly for reasons which missions themselves control, they are facing a serious crisis in educational work.

Education in Burma,¹ while following the same general pattern as

¹ This report deals with primary, secondary, and teacher-training schools.

that in India, has several rather marked differences. Burma has not been under British rule as long as India. Lower Burma came completely under British control in 1852 and upper Burma in 1885. Consequently the system is not quite so complete nor so well organized as it is in some older provinces in India. Only since 1921 has Burma had a complete educational system from primary school to university, as Rangoon University was opened in that year. Before that time colleges and high schools were affiliated with Calcutta University. At present there is a complete system, including primary schools, secondary schools (middle and high), colleges, university and special schools, such as teacher-training, law, medicine, agriculture, etc.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

These schools are of two kinds, Anglo-vernacular and upper and lower vernacular primary schools. The lower vernacular school has two standards and the upper extends from the first through the fourth standard. The vernacular schools are by far the most numerous. Eighty-two per cent. of all pupils in primary departments are in the lower school or in standards one and two.² This is admitted to be a great weakness in the system. These schools are controlled almost entirely by local boards.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Secondary education begins with the fifth standard and ends with the tenth. There are two kinds of *high schools* in Burma, the English or Anglo-vernacular and the vernacular high school. In the vernacular high school, English is not usually taught, but there is an increasing demand for English classes to enable students to take the university matriculation examination in order to be eligible for Government posts. In the Anglo-vernacular schools, English is usually the medium of instruction with the vernacular as a second language. Owing to the national movement there is a demand for the vernacular as the medium of instruction in all schools.

In recent years what are known as "National" schools have sprung up as a result of the wave of nationalism following the World War. Pupils left (boycotted) other high schools in large numbers and went into these National schools, until in 1922-23 there were ninety such schools with 14,000 pupils.³ While improving in quality, they rank lower than other older schools. Virtually all high schools in Burma have primary departments. A large proportion of secondary schools are operated by private organizations. The Government exercises control over these schools through grants-in-aid, recognition and inspection.

² Annual Report *Public Instruction in Burma*, 1929-30, p. 10.

³ Quinquennial Report *Public Instruction in Burma*, 1922-23, 1926-27.

MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Middle schools constitute a most important phase of secondary education. The middle stage begins with the fifth standard and ends with the seventh, but middle schools generally include the primary standards as well. In 1921-22 there were 1,359 recognized middle schools, but by 1930 there were only 1,249. Of this number, 1,059 are vernacular middle schools and the others are English middle schools. They are controlled by district boards and the decrease in number is owing to the raising of standards. But we do not find any well-defined attempt to make the middle schools serve the needs of the people as for instance, in the Punjab in India. The Agricultural School at Pyinmana, operated by the American Baptist Mission is an attempt in this direction. Missions operate some 150 middle schools. "What is needed," to quote from the *Quinquennial Report on Public Instruction in Burma*, "is a system of central middle schools with hostels attached and a generous scheme of boarding grants or stipends which will enable children to continue their education at suitable centers."

UNRECOGNIZED SCHOOLS

Burma has a very large proportion of unrecognized schools, mostly of the primary standard and operated by Buddhist priests in monasteries. In 1929-30 there were 18,000 of these schools in a total of 25,400. They are decreasing in number, which is an indication of the rising standards of education. These schools are admittedly poor; and while they have assisted materially in raising the literacy rate for Burma to the highest in the Indian Empire, they discount any merit that may be attached to that rating. Of 1,750,000 children of school-going age, i.e., between five and eleven years of age, over 1,000,000 are not in any school.

The majority . . . have probably been to school and left it at the age of eight or nine. . . . Such figures discount any merit that may be attached to the so-called "literacy" of Burma and make one regret the more that the Buddhist monasteries cannot rise to the occasion and shoulder part of the immense burden the State has to bear.⁴

The fact that "lay Burmese opinion is opposed to recognition of the monastic school and considers it an attack on religion" makes the situation difficult.

TEACHER-TRAINING SCHOOLS

The training of teachers in Burma has undergone radical changes in the past few years. Since missions were training most of the teachers, these changes have proved serious to their work.

There were, up to March, 1931, two kinds of normal schools in Burma,

⁴ *Quinquennial Report Public Instruction in Burma*, 1928, p. 25.

viz., the Anglo-vernacular and the vernacular. On the above date the Anglo-vernacular normal schools were closed and the training of Anglo-vernacular teachers was centralized in the new Training College for Teachers, affiliated with and located at the Government University of Rangoon. This change closed four mission schools, two of which were Baptist and two Government training schools, and placed the training of these teachers under the control of the Government. This change, according to Government officials, would have been made long ago but for the reluctance of missions to give up the work. Further difficulties in making the change are stated as "sentiment, vested interests and heavy past expenditure by Government and missions on buildings and sites."⁵ Among the reasons given for this drastic action in 1931, is that missions do not have funds sufficient to keep up the efficiency of the training. At any rate, mission leaders feel that they have lost the opportunity to train teachers and give them a Christian background. Offers of the Baptist Mission to build a hostel for Christian students at the Central Training College of the university have not yet been accepted.

The Anglo-vernacular and English kindergarten training has not been centralized, and the Baptist Mission will continue to operate two such schools. For the present there will be no change in the training of vernacular teachers in vernacular normal schools, several of which missions operate. Two of these are operated by the American Baptists. Since there is a surplus (1931) of 1,900 vernacular teachers in Burma, the Government contemplates closing some of these schools. There is a proposal to open a centralized Government vernacular training college.⁶

In addition to the vernacular normal schools, there are many elementary-training classes throughout Burma. In 1930 the American Baptists operated ten such classes. These are considered as temporary or "mobile" classes, and the initial qualification of students in them is seventh standard passed, and the course is but one year. A surplus of teachers has caused some classes to be closed.

These classes are important to missions because of the possibility of experimentation in the training of village teachers. This is a great field for pioneer work, and so far missions have done little in it. A statement in the *Annual Report of the Department of Public Instruction* is worthy of quotation here.⁷

In India and especially in the Punjab, Christian missions have conducted valuable experiments in the training of village teachers and established institutions which have served as models. It is hoped that they will perform the same service here. The experiment (aided financially by Government) now being conducted by the Rev. G. Appleton (S. P. G. Mission) is particularly interest-

⁵ *Quinquennial report, Burma, 1923*, p. 41.

⁶ *Annual Report Public Instruction in Burma, 1929-30*, p. 15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

ing. He will transplant his Elementary-Training Class from Kemmendine to a village in the delta and provide a two-year course including manual training, gardening, agriculture, poultry farming, village industries; and hopes to interest the students in village welfare work including hygiene and sanitation, libraries and adult education. The students will form a village council and live under village conditions.

This proposed experiment and the work of the American Baptist Agricultural School at Pyinmana are the only attempts by missions in Burma to solve village problems.

Missions have complained of the fact that Selection Boards controlled admission to mission training schools. Government claimed this right because missions were training a large proportion of the teachers, but under Government subsidy. The matter has been settled by permission being granted for missions to name half the pupils for training.⁸ This situation has been acute and accounts, in part, for the small percentage of Christian students in mission training schools in Burma as compared with India.⁹

OTHER TYPES OF SCHOOLS

While there are several other types of special schools in Burma, only one other school remains to be discussed in this report as having a bearing on the mission educational problem. This type was alluded to in the preceding paragraph, viz., the Agricultural School of the American Baptist Mission at Pyinmana. This school is the type best fitted to train boys for village service, and is prophetic of what missions can do when the village problem in Burma is attacked. A similar school for girls, or a department for girls in the above school is very much needed. It is adapted to the broader rural reconstruction program proposed by the Jerusalem Meeting and contemplated in India.

MISSION EDUCATION TOP-HEAVY AND WASTEFUL

Education in Burma is top-heavy; perhaps more so than in India. Mission education has developed in the larger urban centers and likewise has become top-heavy. Quoting from the *Annual Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1929-30*:

Education committees or directors have stated again and again that our educational system is top-heavy, that our secondary schools are inefficient, that most of the money spent on primary education is wasted, that the teaching in our schools is too remote from the needs of modern life.

⁸ *Annual Report on Education, Burma, 1929-30.*

⁹ See later discussion in this report of Case Study of Baptist and Methodist Episcopal schools in Burma.

BURMA

It is the opinion of Government officials that mission education in general has deteriorated in recent years, principally because of lack of funds. To many individual mission schools the criticism does not apply. Also, it is true that much of the loss of prestige in mission schools is traceable to political reasons. But there is no doubt that at least some of the criticisms quoted above as applying to general education in Burma apply to mission education, as the latter constitutes such a large proportion of the total. That mission education has heretofore set the pace in Burma is freely admitted. The causes of its decline will be discussed in later pages.

II

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MISSIONS TO THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF BURMA

There are many intangible effects of Christian education which cannot be measured by mere numbers. Nevertheless, data are of great value

RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH TOTALS FOR BURMA,
1926-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, Vol. II

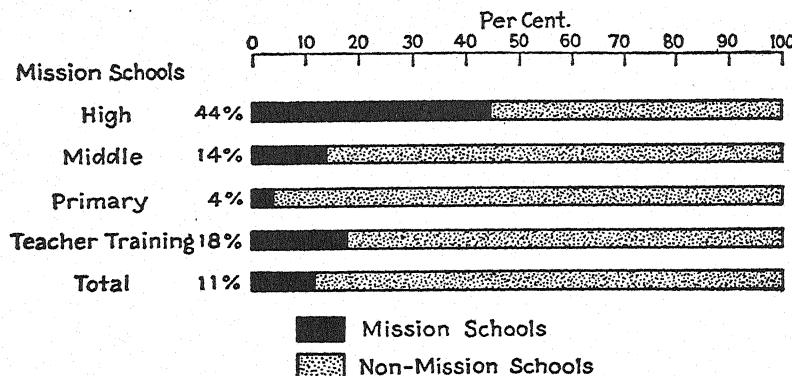
	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	Mission	Total	Mission	Total	Mission	Total
INSTITUTIONS						
Universities.....	0	1	0	0	0	1
Colleges *.....	0	2	0	0	0	2
High Schools.....	35	149	20	23	55	172
Middle Schools.....	104	1,214	46	118	150	1,332
English.....	45	112	25	70	80	
Vernacular.....	59	1,102	21	606	256	4,519
Primary Schools.....	224	3,913	32	29	8	98
Teacher-Training.....	3	69	5	29	6	761
Others.....	5	758	1	3		
Total.....	371	6,106	104	779	475	6,885
SCHOLARS						
University.....	0	1,425	0	0	0	1,425
Colleges.....	0	106	0	0	0	106
High Schools.....	14,635	40,251	5,908	6,423	20,543	46,674
Middle Schools.....	13,608	128,483	5,807	13,306	19,415	141,789
English.....	8,837	17,292	4,087		12,474	
Vernacular.....	5,221	111,191	1,720		6,941	
Primary Schools.....	8,455	207,666	1,769	31,171	10,224	238,837
Teacher-Training.....	138	1,615	258	599	396	2,214
Others.....	270		14		284	12,257
Total.....	37,106		13,756		50,862	443,302

* Judson College is listed as a constituent college of the University of Rangoon.

in determining trends, and as guides to decisions regarding policy. This is especially true in education. The phenomenal contribution of missions to education in Burma is revealed by the following table:

This table shows that in 1926-27, missions operated 7 per cent. of all recognized schools in Burma, and that 11 per cent. of all pupils in such schools were found in mission institutions. It also shows that 8 per cent. of all recognized teacher-training schools, 6 per cent. of all primary schools, 11 per cent. of all middle schools, and the unusual proportion of one-third of all recognized high schools belonged to missions. Of pupils in the several types of schools, we find that mission-recognized schools had 18 per cent. of all the pupils in recognized teacher-training schools, 4 per cent. of the primary pupils, 14 per cent. of middle-school

PROPORTION OF TOTAL ENROLLMENT
IN MISSION SCHOOLS, 1926-27



Data from Progress of Education in India,
1926-27, Vol. II

pupils, and the remarkable proportion of 44 of every 100 pupils in recognized high schools. Only in primary education was the contribution of missions not impressive; but it must be remembered that virtually all higher schools have primary departments.

In Burma, as in India, the most outstanding contribution of missions has been in the education of girls. In 1926-27, of twenty-three recognized high schools for girls, twenty were mission schools; and these had 92 per cent. of all students in such institutions. Thirty-nine per cent. of the recognized middle schools belonged to missions, and had 44 per cent. of the students in them. Five of the twenty-nine recognized teacher-training schools for girls belonged to missions, and these had 43 per cent. of the students in such schools.

Women in Burma are rapidly approaching an equal status with men, owing to greater freedom and the absence of caste. Burma's high literacy

rate is partly due to the education of women. Of 34,900 Christian students in schools of all classes, 15,700 are girls.¹

Too much cannot be said for this splendid contribution of Christian missions to the education and uplift of a people.

TRENDS IN MISSION EDUCATION

The following table indicates certain trends between the years 1922 and 1927.

RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS COMPARED WITH TOTALS FOR BURMA
1922-27

Data from *Progress of Education in India, 1917-22 and 1922-27*, Vol. II

Mission	1921-22			1926-27		
	Total	Per Cent. Missions of Total		Mission	Total	Per Cent. Missions of Total
INSTITUTIONS						
Universities.....	0	1		0	1	
Colleges *.....	0	2		0	2	
High Schools.....	44	98	45	55	172	32
Middle Schools.....	145	1,359	11	150	1,332	11
Primary Schools....	196	5,053	4	256	4,519	6
Teacher-Training..	20	70	29	8	98	8
Others.....	3	597		6	761	
Total.....	408	7,180	5.7	475	6,885	7
SCHOLARS						
Universities.....	—	—		0	1,425	
Colleges.....	135	515		0	106	
High Schools.....	12,344	21,888	56	20,543	46,674	44
Middle Schools....	13,603	110,833	12	19,415	141,789	14
Primary Schools....	6,010	200,648	3	10,224	238,837	4
Teacher-Training..	422	1,301	32	396	2,214	18
Others.....	101	—		284	12,257	
Total.....	32,615	335,185	9.7	50,862	443,302	11

* Judson College is listed as a constituent college of the University of Rangoon.

This table shows that in every phase of work of recognized mission schools during this period there was an increase in the number of schools and of pupils, except in teacher-training which suffered a distinct loss. The net total of mission institutions and students increased during the period, and the mission percentage of the total increased slightly. But the proportion of high schools and the proportion of students in them were reduced from 45 to 32 per cent. and 56 to 44 per cent. respectively. This relative loss of missions was caused, in part at least, by the rapid growth of nationalism and the sentiment for schools not controlled by

¹ *Annual Report on Education, Burma, 1929-30*, p. 18.

missions. It was during this period that "National" schools alluded to previously, were organized and others, especially "Westernized" schools, were boycotted. The "National" school movement in Burma, unlike that in India, is gaining and its schools, with the sympathy and help of the Education Department, are improving in quality. Thus, mission schools have lost ground, relatively, in recent years.

THE COST OF MISSION SCHOOLS AND SELF-SUPPORT

More than 17.5 per cent. of the total cost of recognized education in Burma is spent on mission schools. This is considerably more than the corresponding proportion in India. The following table indicates the amount and sources of funds for mission schools.

EXPENDITURES ON RECOGNIZED MISSION SCHOOLS, 1926-27, BURMA

Data from Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, Vol. II

Sources	Male	Female	Total
Government funds	Rs. 782,164	Rs. 346,249	Rs. 1,128,413
Board funds	107,105	22,020	129,125
Fees	850,761	361,381	1,212,142
Mission funds	No separate figures available		
Other sources *	665,651	290,431	956,082
Total	2,405,681	1,020,081	3,425,762
Total expenditure on education, all purposes			19,383,804

* "Other sources" evidently includes the amount from mission funds.

Unfortunately, the amount contributed by missions is not available. But if we consider that "other sources" in the table includes mission contributions, we find that missions contribute not over 28 per cent. of the total cost of their recognized schools.

SELF-SUPPORT IN MISSION SCHOOLS

Recognized mission schools in Burma are more nearly self-supporting than in India. The following table shows the relative self-support in the two countries:

PERCENTAGES OF EXPENDITURE ON MISSION-RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS
IN BURMA BY SOURCES COMPARED WITH INDIA, 1926-27

Source	Burma	India
Government and Board funds	37%	32%
Fees	35	29
Mission and other sources	28	39

Our case studies in Burma would lead to the conclusion that American Baptists and Methodist Episcopal schools have a much higher proportion of self-support than is indicated in this table:²

² See Case Studies of Baptist and Methodist schools later in this report.

BURMA

III

**THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST
AND THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSIONS
TO EDUCATION IN BURMA**

Only two of the six boards coöperating in this study have missions in Burma. These are the Baptists and Methodists. The relative strength of each organization has been stated elsewhere in this report (see Dr. Fleming's report). The two tables following show the schools operated by the two missions, the number of pupils in them, and the trends over a period of ten years:

TRENDS IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION, BURMA, 1920-1930
Data furnished by Rev. W. E. Wiatt, Field Secretary, Baptist Mission, Rangoon

	1920		1926		1930	
INSTITUTIONS						
Colleges.....	M	1	F		M	1
High Schools.....	12		2		15	
Middle Schools.....		58		77		83
Primary Schools.....		785		837		763
Teacher-Training *.....		3		3		3
Agricultural School.....		1		1		1
Total.....		861		938		870
SCHOLARS						
Colleges.....	M	109	F	23	M	245
High Schools.....		2,003		948		2,667
Middle Schools.....		3,998		2,066		9,003
Primary Schools.....		13,590		10,533		30,166
Teacher-Training.....		No statistics		22		40
Agricultural School.....		30		43		75
Total.....		33,300		43,557		46,534

* The Mission has in addition ten elementary training classes.

**TRENDS IN THE SCHOOLS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH,
BURMA, 1921-1930**

Data furnished by Rev. B. M. Jones, Dist. Supt., M. E. Church,
Rangoon

	1921		1926		1930	
INSTITUTIONS						
Colleges.....		0		0		0
High Schools.....		3		3		4
Middle Schools.....		5		6		5
Primary Schools.....		10		20		18
Teacher-Training.....		0		0		0
Others.....		0		0		0
Totals.....		18		29		27

SCHOLARS

	0	0	0
Colleges.....	0	283†	395†
High Schools.....	1,434*		
Middle Schools.....	610	1,066	1,044
Primary Schools.....	422	2,309‡	2,316‡
Teacher-Training.....	0	0	0
Others.....	0	0	0
Totals.....	2,466	3,658	3,755

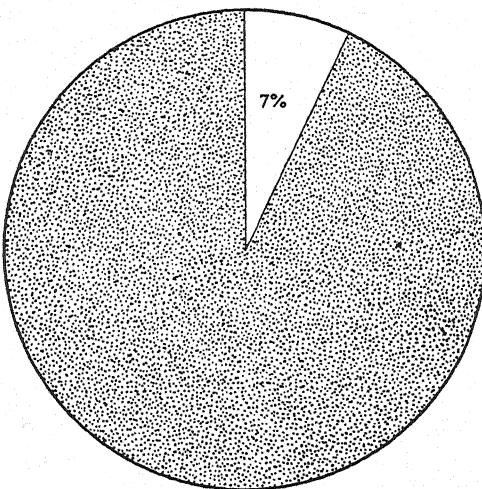
* Includes pupils in high, middle, and primary departments.

† Pupils in high departments only.

‡ Many of these pupils are enrolled in the primary departments of the high and middle schools.

From the above tables it is seen that these missions maintain a very large proportion, not only of the mission schools, but of the schools of the

**PROPORTION OF PUPILS IN BAPTIST AND
METHODIST SCHOOLS TO TOTAL PUPILS IN ALL
RECOGNIZED AND UNRECOGNIZED SCHOOLS**



In Baptist and Methodist Schools
 In all other Schools

Data from "Annual Report of Public Instruction in Burma, 1929-30", and from Mission Reports.

whole educational system of Burma. Together they operate 900 schools with more than 50,000 pupils. This is nearly 4 per cent. of all schools, recognized and unrecognized, and 7 per cent. of all the pupils in all the schools of Burma. In fact, the Baptist Mission alone approximates these percentages.

The Methodists do not operate colleges or teacher-training schools, but the Baptists have a complete school system from primary school to college, including teacher-training schools and an agricultural school. Indeed, because the Baptist Mission is one of the oldest and is the largest, one may say that it has virtually set the educational standard in Burma up to recent years. In training most of the teachers it has had a particularly impressive effect; and Judson College has had a far-reaching influence in training for Christian leadership.

FINANCING THE SYSTEM OF MISSION SCHOOLS

To finance this great system of schools is a never-ending problem with the Baptist and Methodist Episcopal missions in Burma. The following table shows the proportion of their total funds expended on education by these two missions:

MONEY RAISED IN UNITED STATES AND ON THE FIELD AND ALLOTTED TO THREE ACTIVITIES BY THE AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION AND METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN BURMA, 1929

Data Furnished by the Treasurers of Mission Boards in U. S.

	Total *	Evangelistic	Educational	Medical	Other
AMERICAN BAPTIST					
From U. S.	\$ 59,932	\$ 43,695	\$ 12,603	\$ 3,623	\$11
From Field.....	<u>877,657</u>	<u>119,704</u>	<u>743,876</u>	<u>14,077</u>	—
Total.....	<u>\$937,589</u>	<u>\$163,399</u>	<u>\$756,479</u>	<u>\$17,700</u>	<u>\$11</u>
METHODIST EPISCOPAL					
Field Budget †.....	\$ 71,241	\$ 6,820	\$ 64,421	—	—

* NOTE: Does not include salaries of missionaries, property, or administration as totals for these items were not allocated to types of work.

† The "Field Budget" presumably includes money raised in U. S. and on the field.

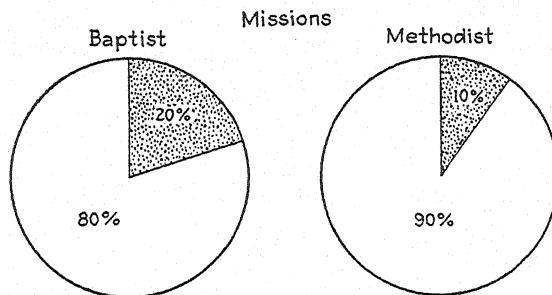
Thus it is shown that of every one hundred dollars raised in the United States and on the field combined, eighty dollars in the Baptist and ninety dollars in the Methodist Mission go to educational effort. Of the funds raised in America by the American Baptists, exclusive of missionaries' salaries, only 21 per cent. is spent on education, while 73 per cent. is spent for evangelistic purposes. In India the proportion spent on education is somewhat more than 50 per cent. This high proportion going to education is accounted for by the very large part of school costs in Burma that is paid by fees and grants-in-aid, especially by fees. In the case of the Baptist schools, as is shown in the preceding table, 98 per cent. of the total cost of education comes "from the field." It should be kept in mind, however, that the salaries of missionaries are not included in these figures. Since 44 per cent. (Dr. Fleming's report) of all foreign mission workers are in education, the proportion of self-support would probably be re-

duced to about 90 per cent. should salaries be included. (See Study of Twenty-eight Mission Schools reported later in this section.)

SELF-SUPPORT IN METHODIST AND BAPTIST SCHOOLS

It is well known that in the Baptist Mission in Burma there is perhaps one of the highest rates of self-support known anywhere in mission work. This is also true of school work. Among the Karen Christians especially, is self-support high. In Bassein, the Karen high school was not only built with Karen money, but the salary of the American principal is paid by the local church. It is said that of the 870 Baptist schools, about 700 are entirely self-supporting.

PROPORTION OF MISSION FUNDS RAISED IN THE UNITED STATES AND ON THE FIELD USED FOR EDUCATION



For other Mission purposes

For Mission Education

Data from Report of Treasurers of Mission Boards.

Note: Figures do not include salaries of Missionaries, property or administration.

Self-support in Methodist schools is also high, though not so high as among the Baptist schools. The reduced contribution from America in recent years has forced the Methodist schools to rely more and more on fees and grants. In the largest Methodist high school in Burma, the Methodist Episcopal high school in Rangoon, only the salary of the missionary principal is paid by the mission. Two American teachers (one a missionary) on the staff are provided for in the budget of the school. There is an impression, though data are not at hand to support it, that Methodist girls' schools are less self-supporting than those for boys, because the Woman's Foreign Missions Board in America has not reduced its contribution.

DEVOLUTION IN BAPTIST AND METHODIST SCHOOLS

The very high self-support in schools is one of the things influential in bringing to the fore the question of devolution or self-management of

schools. If Burmans can support schools, can they not manage them also? Both missions have made progress in turning over management to Burmans; but in most cases the larger schools are managed by Americans. The consensus of opinion among Karens, Burmans, and quite a number of missionaries is that in a short time, varying from "at once" to fifteen years, the management of schools, with possibly some support from America, can be turned over to nationals. All agree that in the interim missions should direct their energies to the training of suitable leadership to take over management. In this connection, it is pointed out that an increasing number of men and women should be sent to America to take training in educational techniques and that a portion of mission funds may well be diverted to this purpose. An alternative to this proposal would be the establishing of an indigenous Christian teachers' college, preferably a union institution; but this seems impossible at present owing to the opening of the new Government training college in the University of Rangoon.

It is interesting that Burman school men and women in whose schools self-support is least, are of the opinion that complete devolution, with some American funds, can be accomplished at once; while Karens, in whose schools self-support is greatest, are of the opinion that missionary direction is needed for some time. Both would insist that American educationists take places on school staffs under native management, as expert teachers and advisers. Devolution will probably not be achieved soon, however, unless a time is fixed for the transference of authority and steps are taken to provide the leadership and funds necessary.

The Baptist Mission is trying an experiment in complete devolution in the Myingyan district where Burmans have complete control of schools, including a high school, a middle school, and evangelistic work. We found at this place one of the few attempts at a social-service program being made by missions in Burma. The mission is contributing the property and the equivalent of a missionary's salary. The project is under a home missionary society. The chief difficulty in such ventures usually is in the lack of administrative ability of the man chosen to head up the enterprise and in the native distrust of nationals regarding financial matters. While this experiment is too new to predict results, it gives promise of success.

IV

SOME PROBLEMS IN MISSION EDUCATION IN BURMA

As an outgrowth of the educational situation in Burma, certain rather acute problems emerge.

THE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE

No question is more vexing to missions than that of the "Conscience

Clause" in Burma.¹ The "clause" itself is not different in principle from that in force in the other provinces of India. In Burma there is a definite attempt to use it as a weapon to force Christian schools to remain neutral on the question of teaching religion and not to require non-Christians (Buddhists) to attend classes for religious instruction. In the other provinces, the "clause" is so interpreted that unless parents take the initiative and request pupils to be exempted from religious instruction, such instruction is compulsory. In Burma, however, the Buddhists wish the clause interpreted so that any non-Christian is exempted automatically from Christian religious instruction, or the school must first get the written consent of parents to require it. It should be noted that the rule provides that instruction in the Buddhist religion is required in Buddhist lay schools.

That the Education Department sympathizes with the Burmese view is shown in the following quotation from the *1930 Annual Report on Public Instruction in Burma*.

A large proportion of our Anglo-vernacular schools are under Christian management and Buddhists are beginning to object to the compulsory religious instruction which is a part of the ordinary course in such schools. . . . The Conscience Clause was intended to prevent unwilling Buddhists from being subjected to compulsory Christian instruction, but in practice it has been used by some missions to justify it. In fact, it has the proverbial nose of wax and can be turned either way. Perhaps it should be redrafted as in a recent recommendation by an Education Commission in Ceylon, that "the Conscience Clause should be recast in a positive form so as to indicate that in the matter of religious teaching, the written consent of the parent is required." Revision of the Conscience Clause would be unnecessary if our Christian missions could see their way to obtain the consent of parents before enforcing religious instruction. That would be in accordance with the spirit of the present Conscience Clause, though it is not at present an obligation.

In the Burma Legislative Council in 1931, a resolution was introduced asking that no Christian religious instruction be given to those of other religions except where expressly requested by parents. The resolution was lost, but it indicates clearly the sentiment. The Government has promised to require the Christian schools to send out forms to parents for

¹ "Conscience Clause: It shall not be required as a condition of the admission or retention of any pupil that he shall attend or abstain from attending any religious observance or instruction, or that he shall, if withdrawn by his parents or guardian, attend the school on any day set apart for religious observance by the body to which his parents or guardian belongs; and no pupil shall be compelled to attend school on the recognized holidays of his religion included in the list of gazetted holidays.

"Note: Daily religious instruction should however be provided in all schools under Buddhist lay managers." Quoted from *Educational Rules*, Burma.

their consent, or that they post the clause in their schools and publish it in their prospectuses.

This strikes at the heart of the mission education program. Religious teaching to non-Christian pupils as a means of evangelism is the chief stated reason for the existence of many mission schools. If religious teaching is to be limited to Christian pupils, why operate a large system of schools principally for non-Christians? Why not let the Government look after secular education? Some missionaries are in favor of closing mission schools if compulsory religious teaching is barred. One missionary operating a mission school offered to relieve the Government from grants-in-aid in order to have a free hand in Christian teaching. The Government refused on the ground that this school was the only one in the area and must observe the rules.

Other missionaries, probably a minority, hold the view that education is a social service, similar to medical missions, and can be justified as an end in itself. They also are of the opinion that religious neutrality is inevitable and that missions must find more effective ways to develop Christian character in pupils than by direct methods. They point out that Bible teaching is often so poorly done as to be a harm rather than an aid to conversion to Christianity.

There is no doubt that the Conscience Clause problem requires careful handling in Burma, and that missions will probably find it necessary to reëxamine educational objectives. Where there is one dominant and aggressive national religion, as in Burma, it seems that neutrality is inevitable, especially should a measure of home rule be achieved. Nationalism in Burma is at a high pitch, and the sentiment that "to be a good Burman one must be a Buddhist," is growing. Hence anything contrary to Buddhism is opposed to the national ambitions of Burmans. Under such conditions Christian missions are placed in a very difficult position and conditions are likely to become worse.

THE DECLINE OF MISSION EDUCATION

Several problems arise out of the relative decline of mission education. The quantitative decline is not serious except in the case of teacher-training schools. The loss of teacher training is due to low efficiency. The missions had so many training and other schools to support, that funds, missionaries and competent staffs were not available to keep up standards. The relative loss in high schools, 45 per cent. to 32 per cent. in five years, is only to be expected when, partly from the incentive of mission schools themselves, the people become aroused and national pride is increased and desire for education stimulated. The aspirations of Burmans for independence or dominion status, the identification of the nationalist movement with Buddhism, and the attendant opposition to all things Western, have caused a great expansion in non-mission education and a

resultant relative decline in mission schools. Missions are just holding their own in primary and middle schools.

LOSS IN PRESTIGE

Owing to the growth in nationalism, and in part also to inefficiency, mission schools have lost prestige; which is even more serious than loss in numbers. A chief reason for centralizing teacher training in the university is said to be because the training in mission schools was thought to be ineffective. Missions, especially the Baptist, have expanded their educational efforts beyond ability to support or manage them adequately. Too often principals of mission schools are so overworked with a multiplicity of tasks, with the burden of balancing accounts and a district to evangelize, that good school work is impossible. In those schools where full-time trained educators are in charge, the attendance is increasing and the standards are satisfactory. Government is raising standards, the competition of non-mission schools is increasing, and the demand is for fewer and better schools.

CURRICULUM

The secondary school curriculum is designed primarily to train pupils for Government posts. Educators, Burmese and foreign, including Government officials, are beginning to question the advisability of this objective. A less literary curriculum is advocated. While it is not proposed that vocational instruction should be introduced into the high stage, a type of training more in keeping with the lives and future status of a majority of the pupils seems desirable, especially in middle schools in the villages. The fact that 70 per cent. of the pupils fail in the examination for the tenth standard matriculation, not only points to inefficient teaching but supports this view of needed change in curriculum. Whether the high-school curriculum should serve the 30 per cent. who pass or the 70 per cent. who fail is the question. Missions can probably experiment in curriculum problems better than any other organization can. The table on page 670 shows the ranking of the high schools of Burma in the tenth standard examination in 1930.

TOO MANY HIGH SCHOOLS

The general facts already presented, and the facts about individual schools that will now be given, indicate that missions, especially the Baptist, have too many high schools to operate efficiently or economically. These schools are located in the larger centers such as Rangoon, Moulmein, Bassein, Mandalay, etc. There is competition among mission schools and with Government schools. The situation is further complicated by the seeming necessity of operating separate schools for Karen, Burmans, and other language groups. In Hengzada the Baptist Mission is

PERCENTAGE PASSED OF THOSE SENT UP IN TENTH STANDARD EXAMINATION IN HIGH SCHOOLS OF BURMA, 1930

Data from Government Report

No. of Schools	Schools	Percentage Passed	Rank
77	Boys' High School.....	28.1	7
8	Girls' High Schools.....	34.8	3
19	Coeducational High Schools.....	23.6	10
5	A.B.M. Boys' High Schools.....	26.3	9
4	A.B.M. Girls' High Schools.....	34.3	4
10	A.B.M. Coeducational High Schools.....	20.9	11
2	M.E. Boys' High Schools.....	42.8	2
1	M.E. Girls' High School.....	44.4	1
25	National High Schools.....	18.5	12
37	All Mission High Schools.....	28.8	6
67	All Non-Mission High Schools.....	27.5	8
42	Non-Mission (Excluding National).....	30.2	5
104	Total.....	27.8	

building a fine new high-school building for Karens; while the schools for Burman boys and girls, one block away, are housed in shacks. The Karens are more largely self-supporting, it is true, but one would expect that a Christian spirit would enable the two groups to be housed in the same building. A similar situation obtains in Bassein and in Moulmein.

Coeducation is quite common in Burma, but missions have maintained a separation of boys' schools and girls' schools contrary to need and to American standards. This is owing in part to the separate control of girls' schools by women's boards in America.

In Moulmein there are four Baptist high schools, one for boys, one for girls, one for Karens (a coeducational school), and one for English-Anglo-Indian girls. Besides, the Baptists have a middle school for Indians, and there are Government schools and those of other missions in Moulmein. So far as the high departments in the first three schools mentioned in Moulmein are concerned, they could be combined into one high school. The girls' school, Morton Lane, is housed in a palatial building which, with reorganization, could house all three high departments. The Judson Boys' School is in a dilapidated building which must be replaced soon, and a new building is being erected for the Karen school. If one coeducational high school, or at most two, properly staffed and directed, could be established by the Baptists, real progress in efficiency and economy would be made. There is also competition among missions in Moulmein, there being three English high schools operated by the Baptists, Anglicans, and Catholics, where it is said there is need for only one. Better comity agreements would effect consolidation in this field.

In Rangoon there is the same problem of too many schools, competition, and overlapping. Other missions besides the Methodist and Baptist, and also the Government, operate schools in Rangoon.

The Methodist Episcopal Church operates four high schools and one primary school in Rangoon. The school work of this mission is almost entirely concentrated in urban centers, doing practically nothing in rural education. The Methodist schools in Rangoon all rank high because each, with one exception, has a full-time missionary educator in charge. Both the Methodist Episcopal boys' and girls' schools ranked highest in Burma in percentage of pupils to pass the tenth standard examination in 1930.

Because of reduction in funds from America, the Methodist schools, especially boys' schools, have had to rely more and more on fees for support. Consequently the boys' schools have a very high percentage of non-Christians in the student body. The largest Methodist Episcopal school in Rangoon has an enrollment of about 1,000 boys, more than 90 per cent. of whom are non-Christian. While the staffs are almost entirely Christian, the schools are predominantly secular. Girls' schools have a much higher percentage (as high as 80 per cent.) of Christians in the student body. So far as training for Christian leadership for the Church is concerned, the high departments of the two Burmese schools, boys' and girls', could be united. If secular education is the aim, these schools are performing a satisfactory service.

The American Baptist Mission operates five high schools in Rangoon, including one for English or Anglo-Burman boys, one coeducational school for Indian children, one coeducational school for Karen pupils, the Cushing High School for Burmese boys, and one for girls at Kemmendine (suburb of Rangoon). Besides these, it operates a boys' vernacular normal school and a girls' kindergarten normal school at Kemmendine.

These schools are largely self-supporting, only the salaries of the missionaries being paid by the mission. The English boys' school had a deficit for the year 1931. The mission has withdrawn all support from the Indian coeducational school and the school is operating with a yearly deficit of Rs.3,000. Christian boys are turned away and non-Christians accepted because they can pay fees.

In 1931 the Cushing High School for Boys, the largest school in the Baptist Mission, had a deficit of Rs.3,000. The enrollment dropped from 1,300 to 820, of which number 134 are Christians. This decrease was caused by a strike of students, resulting from internal troubles and opposition to compulsory attendance at Bible classes. The deterioration in efficiency, though now corrected, was attributed to the small margin of time which the missionary could give to the work. The nation-wide strike of students in 1920-21, which culminated in the establishing of fifty or sixty "national" schools and a rigid enforcement of the Conscience Clause, began in this school. An innovation in the high schools of Burma is a science department in this school, taught by an American teacher.

The Karen coeducational high school is the only Baptist high school

in Rangoon, with the exception of the girls' school, which is operating without a deficit. It is entirely self-supporting but for the salary of the missionary. There are 223 girls and only 109 non-Christians in an enrollment of 555.

The girls' high school at Kemmendine is operated without a deficit. Only the salary of the missionary is contributed to the budget of the school by the Woman's Foreign Mission Society in America. The very fine building was contributed, also, by this board. The student body of 500 is 75 per cent. non-Christian.

The Baptist high schools face three serious problems: (a) a lack of financial support; (b) whether the main objective is to nurture Christian leadership or is secular education; (c) a substitute for compulsory religious education. It is evident that more funds must be found or some schools must be closed. Religious neutrality seems inevitable; and with present financial support the Baptist Mission must decide whether it is desirable to close two or more schools and operate one high-grade school which is predominantly Christian in student body.

In general, it is believed that high schools for girls are superior to those for boys. They are housed and equipped better. The contrast between the buildings for girls' schools, erected by the Woman's Foreign Mission Society of the Baptist Church, and those for boys, erected by the Foreign Mission Society, is often striking. A chief cause of superiority is that women missionary educators devote full time to their schools while in boys' schools the men missionaries too often have a great many administrative duties which divide their time and interest. But the schools for girls are doing little, beyond the rather meager Government requirements, to adapt the curriculum to life situations. Extra-curricular activities are little used for character building, except in a perfunctory way, and there are practically no social service-programs in girls' schools. Boys' schools are but little better than those for girls in this respect. Two notable exceptions to this statement were found in the Baptist Judson Boys' High School in Moulmein, and in the Methodist English Girls' High School in Rangoon, where excellent programs for character training through extra-curricular and other social-service activities are in action.

It may be said of all high schools of both Methodists and Baptists that the curriculum is but the typical Government curriculum intended to train boys for Government posts. The curriculum for girls' schools is slightly different in the addition of cooking, needlework, and drawing. Mission schools are not pioneering and are not carrying on experimental work, except the agricultural school of the Baptists. Science is almost entirely omitted, because of the expense of laboratories and staff and the stereotyped matriculation examination which is largely classical. If Burma's great natural resources are to be developed, science courses will have to be emphasized.

V

**A STUDY OF TWENTY-EIGHT MISSION SECONDARY AND
TRAINING SCHOOLS OF BURMA**

In studying mission schools the questionnaire technique was used to gather facts that would supplement those taken from Government and mission reports and those gathered first-hand on the field, especially those that would provide information concerning the more intangible phases of education.

The questionnaire used for gathering information about secondary and training schools of India was employed in the study of corresponding schools in Burma. Data were similarly compiled in both studies in an attempt to assemble facts concerning: (1) conditions in mission schools; (2) the extent to which schools are fulfilling their purposes, i.e. pioneering in education, evangelizing the non-Christian, and producing Christian leaders; (3) desirable changes recommended by mission-school leaders.

The study which was made during 1930-31 includes only Baptist and Methodist schools but accounts for half of the students enrolled in mission training schools of Burma, a third of those in mission high schools, and a twelfth of those in mission middle schools. The following table lists the number and kinds of schools that responded to the questionnaire:

MISSION SCHOOLS OF BURMA THAT REPLIED TO THE QUESTIONNAIRE

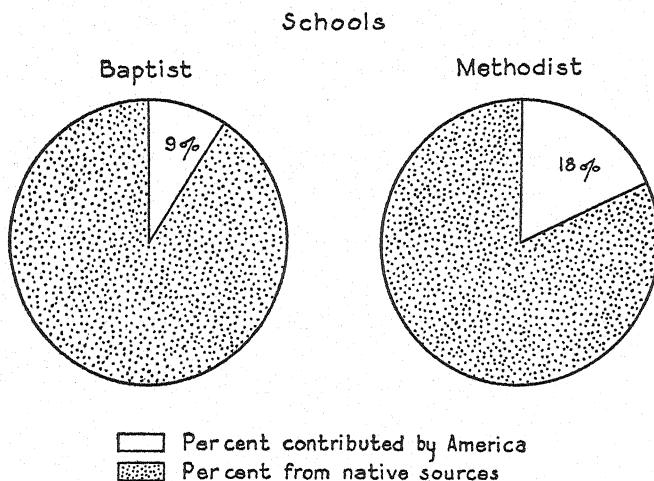
	<i>Boys' Schools</i>	<i>Girls' Schools</i>	<i>Coed. Schools</i>	<i>Total</i>
Middle Schools				
Methodist.....	1	0	1	2
Baptist.....	0	1	6	7
High Schools				
Methodist.....	1	1	1	3
Baptist.....	3	4	6	13
Training Schools				
Baptist.....	1	2	0	3
Totals.....	6	8	14	28

CONDITIONS IN MISSION SCHOOLS

Conditions in the secondary and training schools of Burma differ widely from those of India. Regarding finances, for instance, schools of Burma are far more self-supporting as has already been stated in this report. Baptist schools receive even less help from America than do Methodist schools.

Although the average number of teaching hours per week is slightly higher in secondary schools of Burma than in those of India, and though the student load is greater on the average by approximately five pupils

BURMA
SOURCES OF THE BUDGET RUPEE



per teacher, average salaries of teachers are much above those in India. Whereas in high schools of Burma, the average teacher receives Rs.1,394 yearly, in India he receives Rs.881. The difference is even greater in salaries of training-school teachers, as the average is Rs.1,507 as compared with Rs.553 in India. Some of this variation, however, may be accounted for by the comparatively high standards of living in Burma.

**SCHOOLS OF INDIA AND BURMA COMPARED AS TO FINAL AUTHORITY, BY PER CENT.
OF SCHOOLS REPORTING**

Source of Authority	ALLOTMENT OF FUNDS		EMPLOYMENT OF TEACHERS		SUPERVISION OF TEACHERS		CURRICULUM	
	Burma	India	Burma	India	Burma	India	Burma	India
Principal.....	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Principal.....	50	28	82	56	92	55	36	15
Head master.....	0	2	0	3	4	21	0	9
Government.....	11	4	4	1	4	9	64	58
Mission organization..	21	42	7	21	0	14	0	15
Committee.....	18	20	7	10	0	0	0	3
Council or Assembly..	0	4	0	9	0	1	0	0

Notable differences are to be observed relative to the exercise of authority over school matters. As the preceding table emphasizes, authority is more frequently vested in the principal, superintendent, or missionary in Burma than in India. Consequently, mission organizations, committees, and assemblies play a smaller rôle in managing affairs of the schools. On questions of curriculum, the Government is reported to control even

a larger proportion of the schools in Burma than in India; and proportionally more restrictions on the teaching of religion are recorded because of the Conscience Clause. This is true particularly in Rangoon, Moulmein, and Prome. Other places report that parents do not apply to have their children excused from Bible teaching although the Conscience Clause is in effect. Where there is agitation, they say it comes from Buddhists in the legislature.

ARE MISSION SCHOOLS PIONEERING IN EDUCATION?

From the table, Growth in Enrollment of Males and Females by Standards, 1926-31, it must be concluded that enrollment in both middle and high schools has increased during the last five years, and that the increase is due largely to girls in middle schools and to boys in high schools. Furthermore, during this same period, training-school enrollment has decreased.

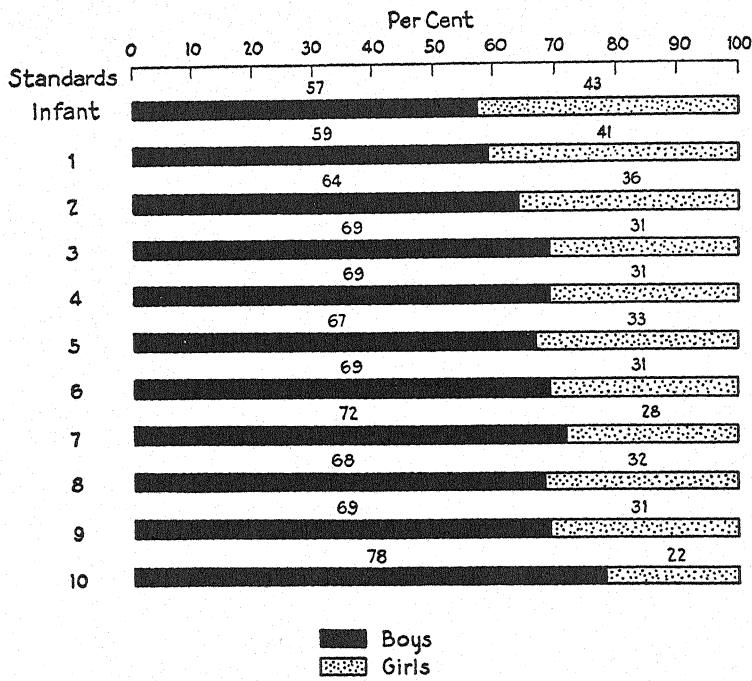
GROWTH IN ENROLLMENT OF MALES AND FEMALES BY STANDARDS (1926-1931)

Standards	MALE		FEMALE		TOTALS		Increase or Decrease (-)
	1926	1931	Increase or Decrease (-)	1926	1931	Increase or Decrease (-)	
MIDDLE SCHOOLS							
Infant....	17	40	23	15	52	37	32
1.....	177	189	12	73	82	9	250
2.....	175	161	- 14	60	80	20	235
3.....	165	173	8	75	64	- 11	240
4.....	174	182	8	68	66	- 2	242
5.....	172	161	- 11	66	62	- 4	238
6.....	132	155	23	45	64	19	117
7.....	185	151	- 34	44	61	17	229
Totals..	1,197	1,212	15	446	531	85	1,643
							1,743
							100
HIGH SCHOOLS							
Infant....	87	261	174	168	177	9	255
1.....	482	384	- 98	493	314	- 179	975
2.....	451	492	41	291	293	2	742
3.....	608	554	- 54	328	267	- 61	936
4.....	611	553	- 58	245	268	23	856
5.....	551	536	- 15	237	273	36	788
6.....	522	516	- 6	232	242	10	754
7.....	570	686	116	187	263	76	757
8.....	295	334	39	125	158	33	420
9.....	211	272	61	76	121	45	287
10.....	213	381	168	99	110	11	312
Totals..	4,601	4,969	368	2,481	2,486	5	7,082
							7,455
							373
TRAINING SCHOOLS							
Training Class							
1.....	24	20	- 4	56	55	- 1	80
2.....	24	20	- 4	42	32	- 10	66
3.....	38	14	- 24	28	27	- 1	66
Totals..	86	54	- 32	126	114	- 12	212
							168
							- 44

There is an enormous wastage in the education of girls as compared with that of boys. The percentage of girls in the tenth standard is approximately half of that in the infant standard.

Approximately half of the twenty-five secondary schools make no report concerning social and economic activities promoted by them. Ten have Boy Scout and Girl Guide organizations. The limited number of these is due to the fact that Government policy in Burma aims rather at quality than quantity of organizations. Most secondary schools have well-organized games and about a third of them teach music.

**PROPORTION OF GIRLS AND BOYS
ENROLLED BY STANDARDS
IN 9 MISSION MIDDLE SCHOOLS AND 16 MISSION HIGH SCHOOLS**



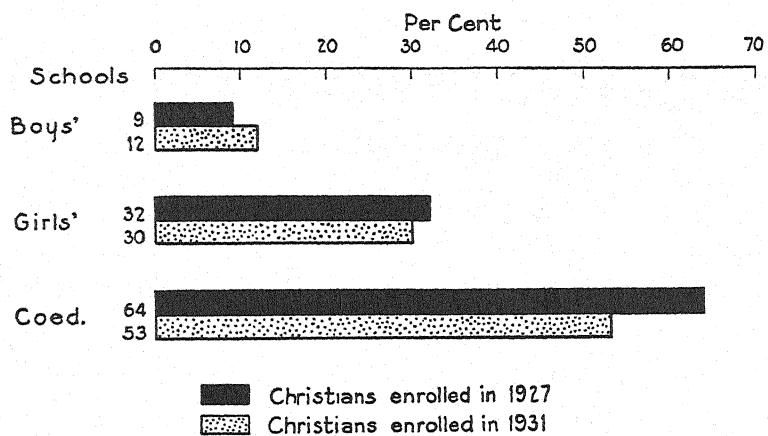
Three-fourths of the middle schools, two-thirds of the high schools, and all of the training schools include handicraft courses in the curriculum chiefly in the form of sewing, carpentry, clay modeling, canework, basketry, weaving, and paper cutting.

In spite of the fact that a Government report states that medical inspection is compulsory in all Government schools of Burma,¹ no more than one-third of the secondary mission schools report having it. Approximately half give no response to the question of health and sani-

¹ *Education in India, 1927-28*, p. 22.

tation, only four teach hygiene and first aid, and one provides for drills. Little is done about teaching child care. Where service of this type is introduced, it is done through the course in domestic economy referred to by Government reports as "one of the best features of the curriculum in Burma." On the whole, facts indicate that health and child-welfare work are very meagerly carried on in these schools.²

**CHRISTIAN ENROLLMENT COMPARED
FOR 1927 AND 1931
IN 16 MISSION HIGH SCHOOLS**



EVANGELIZING THE NON-CHRISTIAN

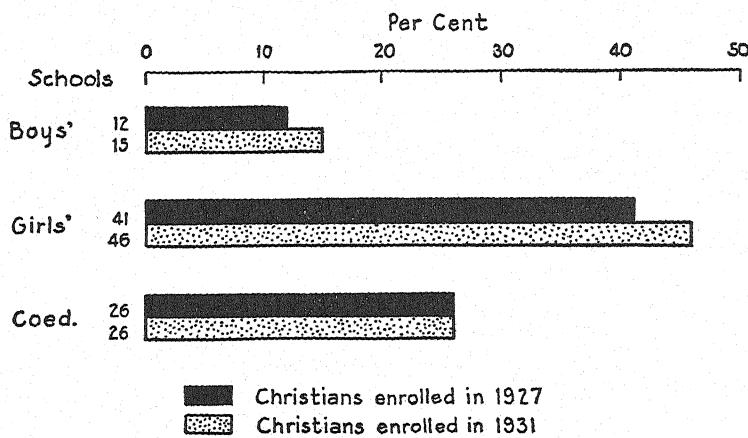
Schools play a part in evangelizing non-Christians in communities as well as in schools. All of them promote one religious activity or another. Some have organized teams to go into the villages on evangelistic trips. In four-fifths of the secondary schools of this study, Bible teaching is made compulsory for from thirty to forty minutes daily. Out of an enrollment of 9,000 students, 240 joined the Christian Church in 1929, sixty-six of these being from middle schools and 174 from high schools. But percentages of Christians enrolled show on the average practically no increase since 1927. In fact, the percentage of Christian enrollment has decreased in girls' high and training schools, while corresponding schools for boys show an increase.

Furthermore, middle and training schools have the highest percentage of Christian enrollment, but high schools are exceeded by coeducational schools.

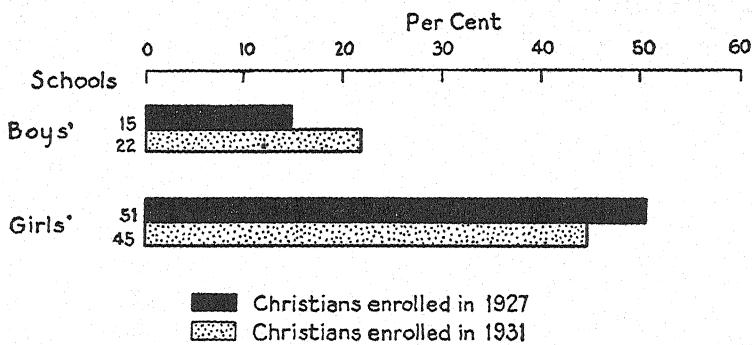
² *Op. cit.*, Table IX, Extra-curricular Activities.

Scarcely more than a third of the enrollment in any type of school included in the inquiry is Christian.

**CHRISTIAN ENROLLMENT COMPARED
FOR 1927 AND 1931
IN 9 MISSION MIDDLE SCHOOLS**



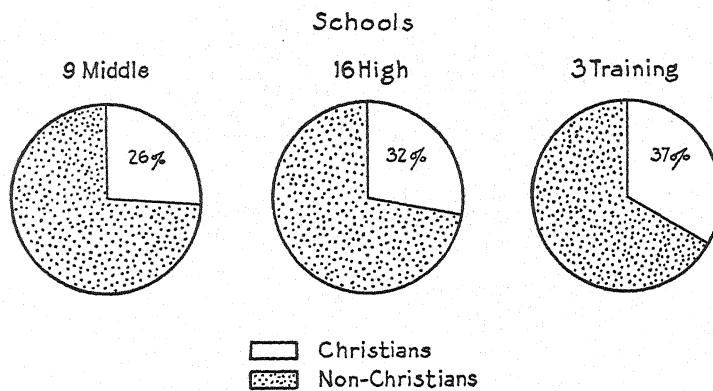
**CHRISTIAN ENROLLMENT COMPARED
FOR 1927 AND 1931
IN 3 MISSION TRAINING SCHOOLS**



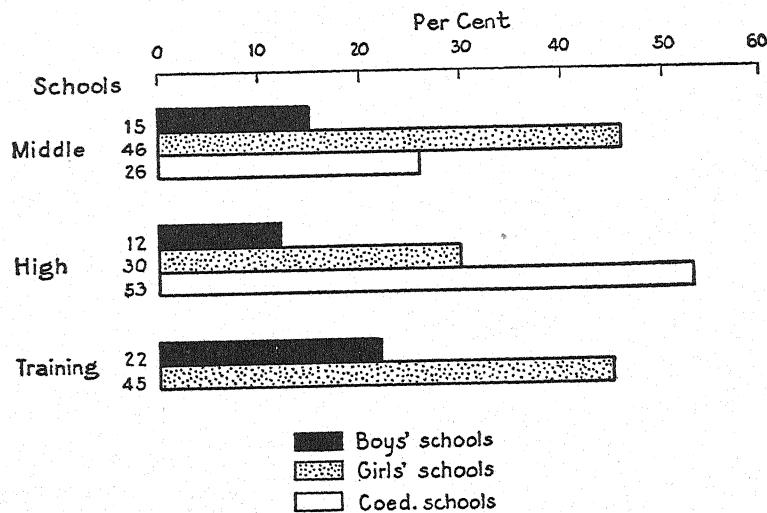
Ninety-two per cent. of the teachers of these secondary and training schools are Christians, but a greater percentage of the women than of the men teachers are Christians. Then too, the percentage of female teachers who are Christians increases from middle schools to high schools,

and thence to training schools where all female teachers are Christians. In the case of men teachers, the reverse is true, as 86 per cent. are

**PROPORTION OF CHRISTIANS
IN THE TOTAL ENROLLMENT
IN METHODIST AND BAPTIST MISSION SCHOOLS**

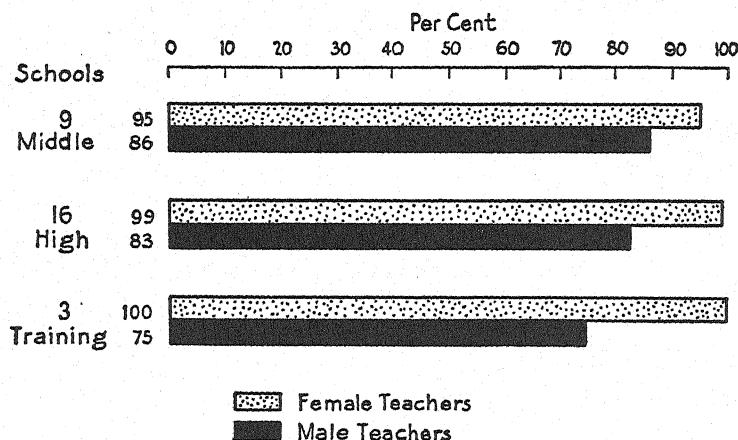


**PROPORTION OF CHRISTIANS IN 1931
TO THE TOTAL ENROLLMENT
IN 28 MISSION SCHOOLS**



Christians in middle schools, 83 per cent. in high schools, and 75 per cent. in training schools.

PERCENTAGE OF MISSION SCHOOL TEACHERS WHO ARE CHRISTIANS



PRODUCTION OF CHRISTIAN LEADERS

The production of Christian leaders is chiefly the problem of the training schools. According to Government reports the work of training teachers for Anglo-vernacular schools will be taken over by the University of Rangoon in 1931.³ Statements on questionnaires verify this fact.

According to another Government statement,⁴ "other schools of Burma have been relying largely on Christian missions for the training of vernacular teachers." This has a direct bearing on the caliber of students enrolled in mission schools. Whereas in the training schools in India 99 per cent. are Christians, only 37 per cent. are Christians in corresponding schools of Burma. It follows also that while 86 per cent. of the training schools in India send more than three-fourths of their students into the employ of the mission, in Burma not one of the three training schools sends more than half into mission work, and one reports sending "few."⁵ This is probably owing to the fact that in Burma selection of students for training schools is made by divisional boards, while in India missions are free to select their own students. Hereafter in Burma, missions may name 50 per cent. of the entrants.

The following table contains suggestions made by school heads for improving conditions in the mission schools.

³ *Education in India, 1928-29*, p. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Table XVI, Production of Leaders.

NEEDS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF MISSION SCHOOL LEADERS BY FREQUENCY OF MENTION

	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS REPORTING			
	Middle	High	Training	Total
Needs				
Better staff.....	3	11	1	15
Buildings.....	6	8	-	14
Equipment.....	2	4	1	7
Recommendations				
Concentrate on schools for Christians ..	1	2	1	4
Concentrate on a few good schools	-	3	-	3
Plan for more education in rural centers ..	2	-	1	3
Introduce industrial courses	-	2	-	2
Employ real educators	-	-	1	1
Employ only Christian teachers	1	-	-	1
Make more contact with homes	-	1	-	1
Get better financial backing	-	1	-	1

CONCLUSIONS OF THE STUDY OF TWENTY-EIGHT SCHOOLS

Mission schools of Burma are administered somewhat differently from those of India and appear to be more disturbed by Government interference.

Relatively few mission schools seem to be organized to pioneer in curriculum building.

Although twenty of the twenty-five secondary schools make Bible teaching compulsory, the percentage of Christians enrolled has not increased during the last few years. Nevertheless, the fact that in 1929 an average of nine students per school joined the Christian Church indicates that the schools are having some success in their effort to evangelize non-Christians.

Mission training schools of Burma do not appear to be predominantly engaged in producing Christian leaders, as only 37 per cent. of the enrollment in these schools is Christian, while in India the percentage is 99.

Leaders in mission secondary schools in Burma, as in India, hope for a program of concentration on fewer and better schools, with more attention to rural and practical education and more emphasis on the training of Christians.

VI

SUMMARY AND SUGGESTIONS

Several changes in the educational program of the missions in Burma are, in the writer's opinion, suggested by the data presented.

Since Anglo-vernacular training has been centralized by the Govern-

ment, there is need for missions to coöperate in building, staffing, and maintaining for Christian students a hostel at the Teachers College of the University of Rangoon. There is need for coöperation in the training of vernacular teachers to the end that a better quality be turned out and that missions may not lose this important service.

A shift of emphasis is desirable to a greater emphasis by all missions upon rural or village education, including the training of vernacular teachers mentioned above. Here is a field open to pioneer and experimental work. It gives promise of the greatest returns in evangelism and social service. Diffusion in rural work and concentration in urban work is important to consider.

A high degree of self-support would seem to demand a greater degree of self-management in education. Complete devolution in some units of educational work seems only to await authoritative action, and in other units to await the training of leaders.

The general lack of a program of social service indicates a new field for emphasis.

Government relations and a growing nationalism seem to point inevitably to enforced neutrality in religious education. A new type of character education is probably desirable to replace compulsory religious education.

A shift from the proselytizing objective of high-school education to that of training the Christian constituency and as a feeder for the Christian college seems imminent. The stringency of funds and the growth of non-Christian schools seem to make this desirable to the end that school units be reduced in number and increased in efficiency.

If higher standards in education are to be achieved, it will require that only trained educators be placed in charge of mission schools and that the working load be so adjusted that self-satisfying, high-grade Christian work can be accomplished. Recruitment of such educational missionaries, and provision for continuity of the work while they are on furlough, are matters for serious consideration by boards of foreign missions.

MEDICAL WORK IN BURMA

by

FRED J. WAMPLER, M.D.

MEDICAL missions were developed very late in Burma's mission program; and even now they take a minor place in the thought of the missionaries. That it is a land of great need medically is shown by the facts that it has ten times as many people per hospital bed as has the United States, and that 243 infants out of 1,000 born die before they reach their first birthday.¹

Located between the parallels of 92-100 E. longitude and 10-28 N. latitude, with only a strip reaching below latitude 16, Burma has all the tropical and subtropical diseases to contend with that India has. The annual rainfall is heavy, and all comes within a relatively short rainy season; but the amount varies greatly in different parts of the country. In 1929 the rainfall for the whole province was 97.6 inches; but in Tavoy it was upwards of 247 inches, while in Minbu it was only 39.9 inches. As the roads are often impassable in the rainy season, the country and village folk are left without any medical care for part of the year.

BIRTH-RATES AND DEATH-RATES

The total area of the province is 233,707 square miles, and the population is 14,652,272.² More than eleven millions of this population are found in less than half of the area, the rest living in highlands and backward districts. The vital statistics of the province, however, are available for only the area under regular registration, which contains 115,060 square miles and a population of 10,822,618.³ This population had, in 1929, a birth-rate of 26.43 and a death-rate of 22.06 per thousand; a rate of 3.53 lower than the 1928 rate for British India, but 10.06 higher than that of the registration area of the United States. The infant death-rate for Burma for 1929 was 243.02 per thousand. This is 70.02 higher than the 1928 rate for British India, nearly three and one-half times that of the registration area of the United States, and more than six and one-half times the New Zealand rate. This great loss of child life is hard to explain in a land where the economic condition is as good as it is in Burma and where the literacy of the women is

¹ Report of the Director of Public Health for Burma, 1929.

² Population as in 1931 Census.

³ 1921 Census.

considerably better than in India. Of factors that tend to run up the rate, the newness of the infant welfare and public-health movements in Burma and the comparative newness of the registration of births and deaths should be specially mentioned. Deaths are generally reported more accurately than births; there is a high probability that many of the births are not registered, which would automatically make for inaccurate comparisons. The 1929 death-rate was considerably higher in urban than in rural areas, a fact which probably bears out the impression that defective registration accounts for some of the rate.

**DEATH RATES
COMPARED FOR SEVERAL COUNTRIES
1928 - 1929***



* Burma figure 1929; others 1928

The following table shows the death-rates per thousand of the native Christian and the native Buddhist communities, and the total for all communities in Rangoon:

Year	Christian	Buddhist	Total
1925.....	27.22	44.85	35.81
1926.....	27.93	44.20	35.40
1927.....	24.81	36.73	31.41
1928.....	24.02	43.23	33.83
1929.....	24.65	39.54	31.78
Five-year average.....	25.73	41.71	33.65

The death-rate is shown by the table to be decidedly lower for the Christian than for the Buddhist community. The Mohammedan and Hindu death-rates are omitted because these populations have a very abnormal age-distribution. The Health Officer for Rangoon estimates that not more than 10 per cent. of the Moslem men have their wives with them in Rangoon, so that there is no way to compare this community with the other two. The same condition is true of the Hindu community, but to a lesser extent. This disproportion of the Rangoon population is clearly shown by age-groups: there are three men to one woman within the ages 20-50, and two to one within the ages of 15-20 and 50-60. The Christian community in the table has had the European

and the Anglo-Indian statistics removed, so that the comparison may be based on comparable groups. The Anglo-Indian average rate for the five-year period was 21.30. The total death-rate is reduced by the small number of children and old people in the Moslem, and, to a lesser extent, the Hindu communities.

The Christian community in Bassein had for the two years 1928 and 1929 an average death-rate of 32.65, compared with a rate of 43.94 for the Buddhist community there. The former includes the European and the Anglo-Indian communities. If these were eliminated the Christian rate would be somewhat higher.

**INFANT DEATH RATES
COMPARED FOR SEVERAL COUNTRIES
1928 - 1929***

BURMA	243.02	[REDACTED]
British India	173	[REDACTED]
United States	70	[REDACTED]
England and Wales	65	[REDACTED]
New Zealand	36	[REDACTED]

* Burma figure 1929; others 1928

The death-rates for the Christians and the Buddhists in Moulmein for 1929 are as follows:

	Total Deaths	Rate per 1,000 Population
Buddhists.....	774	27.39
Christians.....	70	23.13

These figures have not been corrected for the few Europeans living in Moulmein or for the Anglo-Indians.

The three towns named are the only ones in Burma for which the writer was able to get community statistics given so that the Christians can be compared with the native population. Death records for the whole of Burma give Christians a rate of 14.72; Moslems, 20.82; Hindus, 21.47; Buddhists or Burmese, 22.33; other classes, 21.90. These findings, taken together with very similar ones for comparable groups in India, make rather conclusive evidence that the Indian Christian community has a longer life-span than has the group of people from which its members sprang.

The following table shows the average mortality from the principal diseases for the years 1924 to 1928 inclusive:

AVERAGE MORTALITY, 1924-1928

Disease	Urban	Rural	Combined
Cholera.....	0.97	0.46	0.52
Smallpox.....	0.66	0.19	0.24
Plague.....	2.38	0.13	0.39
Fevers.....	4.53	7.11	6.82
Dysentery and diarrhea.....	2.64	0.56	0.80
Respiratory diseases.....	7.16	0.26	1.05
Injuries.....	.91	0.32	.38
All other causes.....	17.84	9.22	10.20
Total.....	37.09	18.25	20.40

MEDICAL PROBLEMS

The problems of medical care and hospitalization in Burma differ in various ways from those in India. Since Burma has no caste system, special wards and kitchens in the hospitals are not necessary and food can be prepared in one kitchen, while the nursing problem is also simplified as there is no need to allow friends and relatives to remain in the hospital to care for the patients. Moreover, the fact that women can nurse men patients simplifies the problem both of the nursing schools and of nursing in the hospitals. As purdah does not exist, special hospitals for women are not needed, although if women doctors were to have charge of certain wards in general hospitals it would probably make it easier for some women to go to the hospital.⁴ As time goes on, the whole problem of hospitalization is likely to become easier; because, on account of the higher economic level of the people, the ideal of self-support is nearer to attainment in Burma than in India.

In certain respects, therefore, the question of medical care is less difficult in Burma than in India. On the other hand, the practice of Western medicine is not so well established, and the people have not become accustomed to taking advantage of it to anything like the same degree as have the people in India. The British Government has been established less than eighty years in Lower Burma and only about forty-five years in the whole province—not long enough to get people educated to putting their trust in scientific medicine—and the missions have been slow in starting medical work as a part of their program. Added to this is the fact that relatively few Burmese have taken up the study of medicine, most of the practitioners being Europeans, Anglo-Indians, or Indians. The Burmese are dissatisfied with the preponderance of Indians in the medical service, and this does not tend to make modern medicine more popular in the public estimation.

⁴ Perhaps the principal reason why women do not enter hospitals lies in the elementary fact that their husbands do not take them there. Where a man can buy a new wife for Rs.200, he may hesitate to spend Rs.400 on saving the life of an old one.

GOVERNMENT MEDICAL SERVICE

The actual numbers in the Indian Medical Service in Burma and in the Burmese Medical Service are: Burmese, 152; Indians, 312; Anglo-Indians, 23; Europeans, 26. Thus less than one-third of the total are Burmese, while the proportion of commissioned officers is even less, being not even one-fourth.

The total number of officers of the Indian Medical Service serving in Burma at the close of 1929 was thirty-four. Nine of these were on leave and four on deputation. Of the twenty-one left, seven were occupying other offices; so that there were only fourteen to fill twenty-five appointments reserved for Indian Medical Service officers. The cadre will decrease with retirements soon due.

The cadre of civil assistant surgeons was increased by one, there being forty-two permanent officers and six provisional and fifteen temporary officers. There were 438 sub-assistant surgeons on the rolls at the end of the year, as against the 451 sanctioned.⁵

From the above it will be seen that there were 494 officers and assistants, not counting the provisional and temporary staff, to man 301 hospitals and dispensaries.

DOCTORS

Including those in the Government service, there are approximately seven qualified doctors in Burma for every ninety-three thousand of the population. The distribution of these is disproportionately high in the cities and very low in the rural areas. The Medical Department of the Burma Government is now subsidizing medical practitioners to live and to practise in rural areas.

At the end of 1929, there were 1,223 practitioners of medicine registered in Burma. A number of these were retired and many others were located in India, so that the active list could not have been more than 1,100. This would make one qualified practitioner for every 13,320 of the population. Two hundred and eighty-eight of the doctors are located in Rangoon and 104 in six other larger towns. If these be eliminated, and also the men in the Indian and Burmese medical services who are located in the hospitals and dispensaries in the cities and larger towns, 283 doctors are left for the rest of Burma, and most of these are to be found in the smaller cities. Rangoon has one qualified doctor for every 1,400 people, which is ten times better than the average for the whole of Burma. Only eight Burmese women in Burma have finished the higher course in medicine. Four of these have Western qualifications and four have taken their training in India or Burma. Only one of these is working

⁵ The statements in this paragraph and in the two that precede it are based upon data in the *Report of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Dispensaries for Burma, 1929*.

in a mission hospital; she has just returned from America and is working at the Harper Memorial Hospital at Namkham.

GOVERNMENT HOSPITALS

Burma has 2.1 hospitals and 42.3 beds, compared with 422.5 beds in the United States, per 100,000 population. These are located in the cities and larger towns and are staffed largely by European, and Anglo-Indian and Indian doctors. The Burmese have not entered the medical colleges to any large extent; and those that do enter have a hard time competing with the Indians in the examinations for civil service appointments. Other civil service appointments pay better than the Medical Service, and the time and cost of preparation are much less than for medicine. These have probably been the principal factors in keeping the Burmese from studying medicine in larger numbers. The hospitals are newer than those in India, and are, therefore, more modern in construction. They are generally cleaner and are run more like American hospitals. The situation in regard to laboratories is much like that in India, the hospitals in the larger cities having fairly good ones and those in the smaller cities and towns having practically none. Only two are equipped with X-ray.

Traveling dispensaries are used in Burma and are said to be doing good work.

The *Report of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Dispensaries for Burma* shows that 2,491,108 patients were treated in the out-patient departments in 1929, and that 101,157 in-patients were cared for. The report also shows a perceptible increase in the female attendance. There were 301 hospitals in Burma at the close of the year. Forty-five of these were special hospitals for the police force, firemen, etc., so that there were really only 256 hospitals and dispensaries to which the ordinary citizen might be admitted during 1929.

There are two mental hospitals in Burma, one in Rangoon and one in Minbu. The patients treated in these in 1928 numbered 1,358,⁶ or 8.76 per 100,000 of population. The inadequacy of the beds is suggested when this number of hospital cases is compared with the 355.2 beds in mental hospitals per 100,000 population in the United States.⁷ There seems to be nothing whatever done in the way of mental hygiene by the Government or the Missions.

MISSION HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES

There are in Burma only four mission hospitals, or one for every 3,663,068 of the population. Two of the four are general hospitals; one is for women and children, and one for children only. The last two are

⁶ *The Annual Report (1928) of the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India.*

⁷ *The Journal of the American Medical Association*, March 23, 1931.

in cities in which there are no hospitals for these classes specially, and the other two in small places in the Shan States where they are not in conflict with any other medical work. These four hospitals have 190 beds, one for every 76,064 of population, or, in terms of the Christian population, one for every 1,353 Christians. The Baptists have one bed for approximately every 1,000 of the Baptist Christian community.

BAPTIST HOSPITALS

The Baptist Mission carries on two different types of medical work, hospitals and dispensaries. The former type of work is centralized, with a staff sufficient to take care of the different calls that may be made upon it. In addition to the usual types of medical service the hospitals carry on out-patient clinics and train nationals for service in nursing, midwifery and compounding. Doctors in need of experience can also go to the hospitals for training in hospital service as carried on with a large emphasis on the Golden Rule.

In the opinion of the writer, there is no doubt but that the best medical work for women and children in Burma is being done by the Baptist Mission Hospital at Moulmein, the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital. This hospital is not only equipped and staffed reasonably well, but it has a professional air and spirit of service that are most commendable. It has been in operation only thirteen years. One of the three X-rays for civilians in Burma is in this hospital. It has seventy-five beds for women and children, and five staff nurses and forty-one nurses in training. A four-years' course in nursing and midwifery is given. The graduates from this school have shown an inclination to take up school nursing as a profession. One of the girls who has had several years' training in school nursing is now taking a midwifery position with one of the local governments, which means that she practically becomes a director and trainer of native midwives and a health worker.

Another hospital doing a unique piece of work, which has attracted much attention and most favorable comment from Government civil and medical authorities, is the Baptist Mission hospital, the Harper Memorial, at Namkham. This is a general hospital located on the Burma-China border in northeast Burma, nearly 200 miles from the nearest railroad. A new building is just about completed and is rendering a high type of service in a section far from the beaten paths of the tourist and traveler. The hospital has sixty beds for men and women and three staff nurses and fifteen nurses in training. When the building is fully completed, it will accommodate seventy patients. Nurses in training are given a four years' course in general nursing and midwifery. The hospital conducts two outlying dispensaries in rural areas and one in the town of Namkham.

The third Baptist Mission hospital in Burma is a small dispensary-hospital of about twelve beds at Kengtung. This is in the Shan States

and is also located rather far from the railroad. From all reports, this hospital has not done a very high type of professional work.

S. P. G. HOSPITAL

The fourth mission hospital is that conducted by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Queen Alexandra Hospital for Children. It has thirty beds and is very efficiently conducted. Young women receive only a two years' course in nursing, the reason being that they are more likely to return to their country districts and help their own people, since they would not be qualified to take Government hospital positions.

BAPTIST DISPENSARIES

The rest of the Baptist medical work is of the dispensary type, the more severe cases being sent to the Government hospitals or to other mission hospitals near by. As long as the Government hospitals have good personnel, this dispensary type of institution can do pretty well, but sometimes the service in the Government hospitals runs rather low with the transfer of staff, and then this type of service becomes very defective. The dispensary method, however, makes it possible to take medical service to a large group of scattered villages, and it is well adapted to fit in with a public-health and sanitation program which Burma so much needs. The method also provides a wide field for evangelistic work. The average doctor, however, will deteriorate professionally doing this type of dispensary work, and for that reason it should be discouraged for fully qualified men.

At Tounggyi in the southern Shan States is a central dispensary with three outlying ones. One of these is visited once a week by the doctor from Tounggyi, but is open every day in the week with a graduate nurse in charge. The other two are visited once a week by the doctor from Tounggyi. These three dispensaries are supported in part by local receipts, but principally from the receipts of the central dispensary at Tounggyi, which is self-supporting.

At Mongnai is a dispensary with a few hospital beds for taking care of serious cases. At present, it is under the charge of a Chinese physician and is doing rather satisfactory work. Some itinerating medical work is being planned from this dispensary.

The Baptists conduct, in addition to their hospitals and dispensaries, the Rest Haven or Preventorium at Tounggyi, a home for pre-tubercular girls. It has an endowment of \$5,000, the income from which takes care of the taxes, repairs, furnishings and service outside of kitchen service. The total capacity of the institution is fifteen girls and a matron. The girls pay their own board, which averages about Rs.30 a month. It was started for teachers and pupils in the girls' school at Tounggyi, and was opened in January, 1927. No active cases of tuberculosis are taken.

It is situated 5,000 feet above sea-level in a delightful climate, and Dr. A. H. Henderson is the physician in charge. It is the only preventorium in Burma. It is modern in construction and is fully screened.

METHODIST WORK

The Methodist Mission in Burma has a series of out-patient dispensaries about Pegu, with untrained personnel supervised by an untrained person. It is stated that cases sent by these dispensaries to the Government hospital are often left without examination and diagnosis for several days after admission. The missionary can usually get service for the sick, but without him some of the patients sent in from the dispensaries may suffer. This condition is likely to get worse rather than better in the future as the number of British in the Medical Service gradually decreases with increasing Burmanization or Indianization of the service.

CATHOLIC WORK

The *Catholic Mission Year Book* gives eight hospitals and dispensaries for Burma. The Reverend Father Fargaten, Superintendent of the Rangoon Leper Asylum, stated, however, in conversation, that there are no Catholic hospitals as such in Burma. He thought that the Leper Asylums and Homes for Incurables and Old Folks must have been counted as hospitals. He also said that outside of these there are only infirmaries connected with the schools. The *Report of the Inspector General of Hospitals and Dispensaries for Burma* does not give any Catholic hospitals or dispensaries, but gives one orphanage in the hospital list.

DISEASES

TUBERCULOSIS

During 1929 there were 5,163 patients treated in Burma's hospitals for tuberculosis of the lungs, an increase of 502 over the previous year. The Inspector General of Civil Hospitals, in his *Annual Report for 1929*, says that "the disease is gaining ground and bad ventilation and insanitary surroundings in which people live tend to increase the spread of this disease." The above figures probably represent only a small per cent. of the people with pulmonary tuberculosis. The post-mortem examinations in the Rangoon General Hospital show that 18.5 per cent. of ward cases die of tuberculosis.

The provision for tubercular patients is practically nil in Burma. Five hundred and three indoor patients were treated in the Rangoon General Hospital in 1929; but these were in the general wards. Very severe cases are sent to the Home for Incurables in Kemmendine. The Rangoon Jail has a twenty-bed ward where the tubercular cases among the jail population are taken care of. There are two wards containing

fifty beds for tubercular cases in the Mingyan Jail. There is no sanatorium in the entire province. The Baptist Mission, as has been stated, conducts a preventorium at Tounggyi.

LEPROSY

Burma is said to be the worst leprosy-ridden province in British India. Father Fargaten, in charge of the Rangoon Leper Asylum, estimated that there are at least 50,000 lepers in Burma. The work done for them is very meagre in proportion to the task. A survey was being planned for this July, 1931, under the supervision of the Indian Research Fund Association and sponsored by the Public Health Department.

In 1928, there were two leper clinics—one in Rangoon and one in Mandalay. The Mission to Lepers has two asylums—one in Mandalay with 312 inmates, and one in Moulmein with 120 inmates. The Catholic Mission has three asylums. The one in Mandalay has accommodation for 442 patients, that at Rangoon has accommodation for 300, and that at Kengtung for forty. There are no untainted children in the Catholic asylums. There is still another asylum at Mongwa, financed and run by a local committee, but the writer was not able to learn the number this institution can accommodate. There is a leper ward in the Rangoon Jail, and there is a leper jail at Pagan. In all, therefore, upwards of 1,200 lepers can probably be taken care of in the existing institutions.

MALARIA

The total number of cases of malaria treated in the indoor and outdoor hospitals in Burma in 1927 was 292,247; in 1928, it was 334,112; and in 1929, it was 364,218. In the last year, 22,459 indoor patients were treated, and the death-rate among them was between 2 and 3 per cent. The Inspector General of Civil Hospitals concludes that "malaria is the most prevailing disease in India."

OTHER DISEASES

Typhoid fever, cholera, dysenteries, respiratory diseases, plague and hookworm are some of the diseases that helped to give Burma its death-rate of 22.06 in 1929.

HEALTH WORK

GOVERNMENT

The Government has a fully organized Department of Public Health under the direction of one of the ablest public-health men in the Government service in British India. A plan has been worked out and sanctioned by the Government for the enlargement of the department to include a medical officer of health with a subordinate staff of public-health inspectors, health visitors and vaccinators for a circle having a

population of approximately 30,000. At present the attainment of this ideal seems very far in the future, since it has been difficult to get sufficient appropriations through the legislative body. To mark time and to prepare the ground for larger appropriations, the Director of Public Health is pressing public-health propaganda in the hope that sentiment for the work will increase. A very good selection of health literature and of charts has been made, and slides and cinema lectures are used. District and assistant-district health officers, epidemic sub-assistant public-health inspectors, inspectors of vaccination, and vaccinators carry on the propaganda.

A demonstration rural-health unit has been established at Hlegu, the office for which is in the Insein district about twenty-five miles from Rangoon. The International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation aids the Government of Burma and the District Council in this demonstration. An International Health Board man is overseeing the work, and the program is being carried on much as a rural-health unit in the United States with adaptation to Burmese conditions. The objects of the unit are to demonstrate what can be done by applying modern methods in a rural area and to provide a field training-school for public-health officers. The unit was formally opened in November, 1929, and is to run for three years.

Under the new scheme, the district health officer can concentrate all or any of his inspectors in one area to deal with an epidemic or a threatened epidemic at any place in his district. In case of more widespread epidemics this same power of concentrating can be used by the Director of Public Health to get together district health officers and their staffs for epidemic control.

MISSION

Mission hospitals and medical missionaries have aided in health work principally in the physical examination of school children. Some of this work started in mission schools. Mr. E. Harris, of the Baptist Mission, says he was the first to have his school children examined in Burma. In addition to this work, the medical missionaries do some health lecturing on certain subjects to selected groups. There is no organized health work in the mission group except the regular physical examination of school children. In fact, the mission doctors are slow to take up preventive work; but all of them are thinking about it, and with a more adequate staff they would be able to put on a program for fighting the diseases in their territories. The hospital staff at Moulmein did mass treatments for hookworm some years ago, and there has been great improvement in that line since. They are not sure how much of the sanitation put into effect at that time remains, but there has been a decided increase in the wearing of shoes in these districts. The only preventorium for tuberculosis in Burma, as previously mentioned, is run

by the Baptist Mission at Tounggyi. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Hospital in Mandalay also gives special attention to building up run-down persons and this amounts to preventive work. Some prenatal work is also carried on in this hospital.

INFANT WELFARE SOCIETIES

There were twenty-nine infant welfare societies in Burma at the close of 1929, all of them in cities. Some of them do maternity and infant welfare work, while others do only relief work for poor children, and still others did not function in the year named. The societies at Maymyo, Moulmein and Mandalay did specially good work. The first educates indigenous midwives, and in 1929 was responsible for more than 4,000 visits to homes. At Moulmein, four midwives are employed and these attended 49 per cent. of the births in the city in 1929. Mandalay has a health visitor and eight midwives in addition to the superintendent. A serious effort is being made to follow babies the first few months of life.

The Infant Welfare Center at Tounggyi trains nurse-midwives and has an excellent equipment and building for the purpose. The girls who take the course get some experience in general nursing in the Civil Hospital which is near by. The Dufferin hospitals train nurse-midwives; the course for these is generally two years. The mission hospitals at Namkham and Moulmein give a four years' course in nursing, which includes six months in midwifery.

The Burma branch of the Indian Red Cross Society has engaged Miss Norah K. Ross, of England, to train health visitors. The Government pays half of her salary and expenses, and the Red Cross the other half. Because of the shortage of funds, the full program was not in operation in 1929. Instead, three women were sent to the Health School in Delhi for training as health visitors. All three of these women are Karens. Miss Ross is working under the technical direction of the Director of Public Health.

TRAINING OF NURSES

The mission hospitals are doing their part toward the training of nurses. The problem is simpler in Burma than in India because women have more freedom and there seems to be little objection to women nursing men patients. The Burmese girls are not, however, entering the nursing schools readily. They do not like the menial work connected with nursing; and being lazy like their brothers, according to report, they make very poor nurses. Most of the native nurses in training are Karens; and all the doctors interviewed agreed that they make excellent nurses.

Many of the nurses who graduate from the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital take up work as school nurses. The nurses, while in training,

do some voluntary health work in the near-by villages. All of them take training as midwives. One nurse from this hospital has taken a position as midwife health worker for the Government in a group of villages. The village in which she will live is largely Christian. The nurses trained in the Harper Memorial Hospital at Namkham get a very full course in nursing and midwifery, and are taught some diagnosis and treatment. They have a good reputation with the examiners, as do those from the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital.

MEDICAL EDUCATION

The missions take no part in training men in medicine. The Government has a Medical School and a Medical College in Rangoon, both of them coeducational. The building that houses them is new and is the best arranged for its purpose that the writer has seen in British India. Some of the departments, especially those of legal medicine, anatomy and pathology, have excellent collections of teaching specimens.

STUDENTS IN RANGOON MEDICAL COLLEGE AND SCHOOL BY NATIONALITIES

BURMESE	75	[REDACTED]
Japanese	1	[REDACTED]
Chinese	8	[REDACTED]
Anglo-Indian	22	[REDACTED]
Indian	145	[REDACTED]

The cost of laboratory equipment for the different departments and Dean's stores up to last of March, 1931, was Rs.241,107, while the cost of the furniture, electric and sanitary fittings was Rs.263,730.

There are twenty-seven teachers on the faculty. Most of these are not devoting full time to the college but are men of the Government Medical Service who divide their time between hospital work and teaching. Of this number, seven are Europeans, sixteen are Indians, two are Anglo-Indians, one is a West Indian, and one a Burman. The Burmese member, and three of the Indians were trained outside of Burma and India.

The hospital beds open for teaching purposes to these students are 935, besides the 1,051 beds at the Mental Hospital. Out-patients treated in dispensaries used for teaching numbered approximately 100,000 in 1931.

Only thirteen of the seventy-two students, or less than one-fifth in the Rangoon Medical College, are Burmese. The Indian students out-

number them three to one, and the Anglo-Indians by one. In the Rangoon Medical School, sixty-two out of a total of 179, or approximately one-third, are Burmese.

In the Medical College, thirteen, and in the Medical School, twenty-one, of the students are women. Eleven of the thirteen women in the Medical College are Christians, the other two being respectively Buddhist and Zoroastrian. Of the fifty-nine men, seven are Christians, thirty are Hindus, seventeen are Buddhists and four are Moslems. In the Medical School, thirteen of the twenty-one women are Christians, six are Buddhists, one is a Hindu and one a Moslem. Of the men in the Medical School, sixteen are Christians, forty-five are Buddhists, ninety-one are Hindus, and six are Moslems.

RELIGION OF STUDENTS IN THE RANGOON MEDICAL COLLEGE AND SCHOOL

Totals	Moslem	11	[REDACTED]
	Buddhist	69	[REDACTED]
	Hindu	122	[REDACTED]
	Christian	47	[REDACTED]
Women	Moslem	1	[REDACTED]
	Buddhist	7	[REDACTED]
	Hindu	1	[REDACTED]
	Christian	24	[REDACTED]
Men	Moslem	10	[REDACTED]
	Buddhist	62	[REDACTED]
	Hindu	121	[REDACTED]
	Christian	23	[REDACTED]

There are twenty-two Anglo-Indians studying medicine in Rangoon. The Anglo-Indians are usually Christians. Were they left out of the reckoning so as to compare indigenous races, there would be only twenty-five Christians from a community of 250,000, or one studying medicine for every 10,000 of the Christian population. There is only one medical student for each 55,777 of Burma's population.

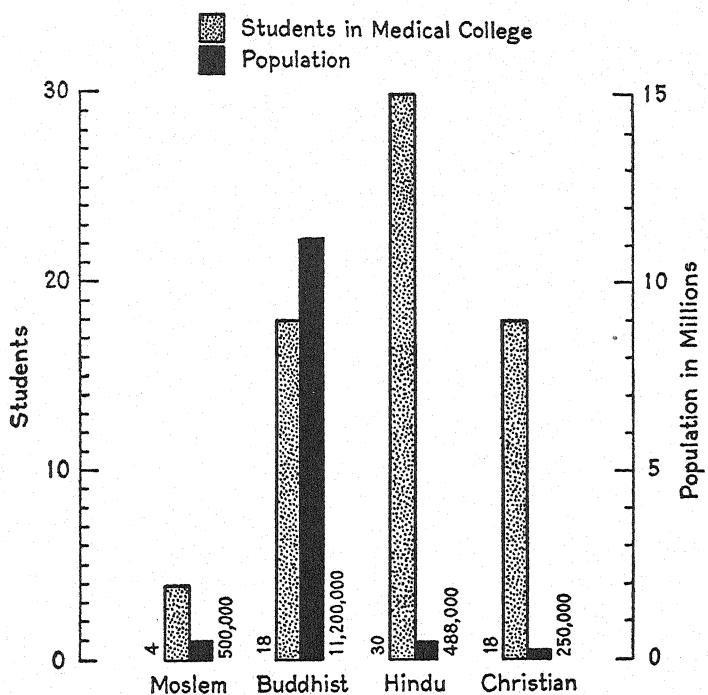
Each student in the college department costs the Medical College Rs.2,997 per year. The annual tuition fees are Rs.240 for the first three years and Rs.300 for the last two years.

The average cost per student in the Medical School per annum is Rs.670; while the students pay a tuition fee of Rs.50 per annum,

The Baptist Christians in Burma have not been inclined to take up medicine as a life-work. Only a few of the native Christians in the Medical College in Rangoon are Baptists.

Western medicine cannot hope to go far in Burma till more of the indigenous races take up the study as a profession. That they have not taken to it more than they have is probably due to the fact that medical missions have been very slow in opening up here. There has

**STUDENTS
IN RANGOON MEDICAL COLLEGE
AND POPULATIONS FROM
WHICH THEY COME**



been little medical work and, until lately that little must have been of a rather unattractive type. The success of the Karen in nursing would suggest that they would also make good medical men and women. So many of them are Christians that the Church ought to be able to influence them to take up this work as an expression of the Christian spirit. This would not only get more indigenous people trained in scientific medicine, but it would also be of great help to the Church to have strong Christian physicians scattered over the country. At present,

there are a few Christian students studying medicine, and some of these will work in the mission hospitals, at any rate for a short time.

In the Baptist Mission, one is struck with the lack of interest in the medical and health needs of the people. The fact that the mission was in existence nearly a hundred years before any effort was made to do hospital work as a part of its program, is in itself suggestive of the attitude of the mission toward the physical condition of the people. Even now, the members of the medical staff who believe in a good hospital, well equipped and well staffed, have difficulty in putting across their program without causing hard feelings. Some of the present medical missionaries are inclined to spend much of their time in evangelistic, educational and administrative work. One other way in which the absence of "medical mindedness" on the part of the missions shows up is that this is the oldest of the Baptist Foreign Mission fields and has more than 29 per cent. of all the foreign missionaries of that church, but has only 17 per cent. of the medical missionaries, and 11 per cent.⁸ of the foreign hospitals of the denomination.

The "Ministry of Healing is an essential part of the work of the Christian Church."⁹ That the Church has a duty to minister to the whole man is generally conceded. "In this endeavor (Christian evangelization) we realize that man is a unity, and that his spiritual life is indissolubly rooted in all his conditions—physical, mental and social. We are, therefore, desirous that the program of missionary work among all peoples may be sufficiently comprehensive to serve the whole man in every aspect of his life and relationships."¹⁰ These ideas, however, seem not yet to have gripped the Baptist Burma Mission.

SUMMARY

The Report on the medical work in Burma shows the following facts:

The death-rate is better than that for British India, but more than ten per thousand higher than for the United States.

The infant mortality rate is very high, being exceeded in British India only by that for the Central Provinces and much higher than the rate in the United States and England and Wales.

The life-span for Christian groups is longer than that for comparable non-Christian groups.

Scientific medicine in Burma is not fully established. Missions were slow in starting medical work.

The Burmese have not been attracted in large numbers to the medical and nursing professions.

⁸ It should be noted that this percentage is based upon figures published in this country which give four hospitals in Burma instead of three, as used in the text.

⁹ *A Survey of Medical Missions in India*, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Report of the Jerusalem Conference of the International Missionary Council* (1928).

Hospital problems are simpler than in India. Proportionate to the population, Burma is much better supplied with hospitals.

Two of the Baptist hospitals are doing excellent work for the sick and in training nurses and midwives.

Several of the Baptist doctors prefer the dispensary type of medical service.

The Baptist Mission has been very slow in opening medical work and even now does not have a medical program commensurate with the rest of its work.

The Methodists' medical work is under non-professional personnel.

The Church of England has one hospital.

The Catholic Mission has no hospital, but three leper asylums, some orphanages and old folks' homes.

There is no sanatorium for tuberculosis in Burma. It is left to the missions and voluntary agencies to conduct leper hospitals and asylums.

Government public-health work is much handicapped by lack of funds, due to the legislature not making appropriations. There is a good rural-health demonstration unit.

About all that missions have done for public health are physical examinations of school children and training of midwives. They also have a small preventorium. Some mass treatment of hookworm was done formerly.

Infant welfare societies are doing some child-hygiene work; but there is still a woeful lack along this line.

Missions have taken no part in medical education with the exception of that provided by two good nursing schools. The Government has an excellent Medical College.

The percentage of Christians in the Medical College is out of all proportion to their numerical strength in the population.

WOMEN'S INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES IN BURMA

by

RUTH FRANCES WOODSMALL

INTRODUCTION

ALTHOUGH Burma has been in its relation to the British Empire merely an appanage of India, it became evident to the staff quite early in the study that Burma should be treated independently. This decision follows the new political orientation taking place in regard to Burma which is believed to be leading to the ultimate separation of Burma from India. Furthermore, an individual report on Burma is logical because Burma presents striking contrasts to India and, therefore, very different mission problems. In no field has this contrast been more evident than in the study of women's interests and activities.

The same general plan has been followed in this report on Burma as in the report on India. The writer has attempted to portray the background of the Burman woman's life, and to focus attention on missionary effort in relation to that environment. Frequent reference has been made to the contrasts between Burma and India to give a clearer conception of the women of Burma.

The writer visited eight cities and towns and several rural centres in Burma. Thirty-two institutions of various types, including schools, hospitals, dispensaries, child-welfare and maternity centres, hostels and rescue homes, also several village schools and the work of Bible women, were studied. These institutions and centres represented Government, private and mission effort, including the Baptist and Methodist, the only two of the coöperating boards in Burma, and also some of the Anglican missions.

The report is based on seventy interviews, five conferences with groups of women missionaries, and seven with groups of Burman women leaders. The interviews were with a wide variety of mission leaders, American and English; with Government officials and foreigners in private life; with Burman men and women leaders; With Buddhists and Burmese and Karen Christians.

Material was gathered from the replies to questionnaires on the following subjects: Women's Interests and Activities, Problems to be Explored, Study of Twenty-eight Mission Secondary and Training Schools, and Effects of the Cinema. A study of the women graduates of Judson

College, and special accounts of several girls' schools, furnished additional information.

Missionaries and nationals in Burma were free from the fear of adverse publicity, and from the sensitive nationalism at present characteristic of India. The general situation was distinctly more favorable in Burma than in India for making this inquiry.

The writer wishes to acknowledge her appreciation of the work of her Burmese assistant and of the splendid coöperation and assistance received from the missionaries in Burma without which this study would have been impossible.

I

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

GENERAL FREEDOM OF BURMESE WOMEN

The striking contrast between the life of the women of India and the women of Burma is evident from the moment one arrives in Rangoon. The first impression of the casual tourist is also the final considered reflection of a careful student of Burma's womanhood. Burma is not only unlike India in the status of women, but differs in this respect from other Oriental countries. An understanding of this dissimilarity is fundamental to the evaluation of the work of Christian missions for women in Burma.

One approaches the study of women of the East with the instinctive expectation of finding some burning problems, especially if one comes directly from India. But in Burma one looks in vain for wrongs of womanhood in need of being righted. There are no deep shadows of purdah, child marriage, girl widows; no inequalities of inheritance rights; in fact none of the social disabilities that have retarded Indian womanhood and sharply divided the social life of India.

The social status of the Burmese woman has exceeded that laid down for her by a religion which decrees that a woman has no hope of Nirvana unless incarnated as a man. But this position is theoretical, not actual. The idea of Nirvana is after all so remote that it has not entered into the Burmese woman's conception of herself or into her attitude toward life. Without any sex-consciousness of inferiority, she assumes freedom as her natural right.

In Burma, women are everywhere in evidence, on the streets, in trains, theaters, and in temple festivities. There is an atmosphere of freedom and wholesome social and economic intercourse. One is conscious of no sharply drawn distinction between women and men. The very similarity in dress (both men and women wear the tightly wrapped skirt), makes one feel that society is built on a united basis. That Burma, with her Indo-Chinese background, should have escaped the foot-binding restric-

tions of China and the purdah of India, and should have evolved her social system on an independent basis, is of singular interest because Burma, situated between the two countries, reflects influences from both.

FREEDOM IN MATTERS AFFECTING MARRIAGE

Basis of Marriage

Social equality is shown to a marked degree in marriage customs. The complete freedom in many marriages is singularly modern. There is no fixed marriage form. In reality, there may even be no actual marriage service. Two people decide to enter the marriage partnership as they might undertake a business partnership. There may be a gathering of friends or the bridal couple may simply begin living together, which is all that is necessary for the legal protection of the wife. She keeps her own name and her property, or she may hold her property jointly with her husband.

Freedom in Marriage Choice

The accepted custom has been the marriage by family arrangement. In cases of coercion, elopement has not been infrequent. Elopement after sixteen has been recognized as a legal marriage and has been frequently followed by a family ceremony sanctioning the marriage. Marriage under sixteen requires the parents' consent. Marriages by choice, especially among Christians and educated non-Christians, are increasing. This may be explained by the increase in girls' education and opportunities for coeducation. The basis of marriage tends to be that of a "companionship, although the instinct of propagation has a very strong influence, especially among non-Christians and the uneducated class."

Although the marriage act is legally undefined, there is no insecurity in the marriage status. The legal lines are strictly drawn between the rights of married and unmarried women; but a woman's life does not depend upon the protection of marriage.

There is no joint-family system in Burma. Individual homes are characteristic, although frequently the young couple remains with the girl's family.

Prevailing Marriage Age

The young bride is the exception, not the rule. There is no need for child-marriage agitation. The average age is from eighteen to twenty years, but marriage at twenty-five or thirty is not unusual. A missionary doctor gives her observations on the age at the first childbirth.

Of sixty cases coming to the hospital for first confinement, forty-two gave the age as twenty or more, and thirteen as twenty-five or more. The higher age is more common among Christians and among those well educated whether Christians or not. In the

non-Christian jungle villages, there is probably a larger percentage under twenty.

Equality of Divorce

Freedom to make the marriage is paralleled by the freedom to break it. Divorce is on a more complete basis of equality than in most Western countries. It rests upon equal rights of husband and wife. If a man and a woman want a divorce, they present themselves before the elders and receive it. Divorce is quite respectable and fairly common. Although it is estimated that perhaps a fourth of the marriages are broken, the comment was made that there is a tendency toward marriage rather than away from it. Plural marriages, though allowed, are becoming more infrequent. Polygamy does not thrive if there is equality of divorce.

SOCIAL CONVENTIONS

This remarkable equality in the enjoyment of social privileges in public life, and freedom in the family status assuring equal rights in marriage, divorce and security of property, has not developed a bold aggressive type of woman. Society has set no rigid bounds for women, but the women themselves, especially of the upper class, have made their own social limits. Personal social relationships are on a conservative basis, however freely women move about in groups in public. For example, it is not yet *comme il faut* for young Burmese girls or young unmarried women to travel alone. Burmese women do not go on the streets alone at night. The demands of convention are fully met, however, if a woman is accompanied by even a young child. The higher classes, of course, are much more socially conservative than the lower classes; the women of the towns more so than those of the jungle villages. The more frequent contact of Christians with Western ideas has not necessarily tended toward more social freedom. Social freedom seems to have no relation to religion. Burmese Christian girls are chaperoned as carefully as young Buddhists.

POPULARITY OF THE CINEMA

Social conventions have not, however, hampered Burmese girls and women from attending the cinema. Judging from the number of women in a Rangoon cinema, one can estimate the social freedom of women. The growing popularity of the cinema is also evident. The increase in Burmese films with Burmese women stars is a noticeable characteristic of the moving pictures in Burma. A large number of American films are also shown and are very popular. A questionnaire on the cinema brought out some interesting differences from a similar study in India. Women and girls attend much more frequently in Burma than in India. As to the influence of the American films, a number of replies stressed the edu-

cational influence, others were more conscious of their demoralizing effect in presenting loose standards of Western family life. Of the number replying to the questionnaire, over half were Christian girls. In view of the increasing influence of the cinema, a careful study of the type of picture and general conditions of cinemas might well be undertaken by Christian missions. The writer's impression is that their attitude toward the cinema has been very detached. The Christian community is not encouraged to attend.

SOCIAL INTERMINGLING IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

Burmese Christian and Buddhist women alike have a certain amount of social contact through religion. Buddhist women with their families attend the pwes, the great dramatic celebrations. Burmese Christian women have their church and its activities. In the coeducational schools, religion serves also as a means of social intercourse.

The writer was impressed with the normal social relationship of students on a mixed Gospel team, holding a three-day revival in a mission high school. This same Gospel team on a tour of schools and colleges in North India had a great social influence because of its demonstration of the normal social intercourse of a group of young men and women traveling and working together. Another illustration of the wholesome social atmosphere was given by a mixed group of Burmese students attending the National Student Christian Association in Madras in 1928. Indian students, seeing the natural intermingling of the Burmese students, insisted on a larger measure of social intercourse than had been planned for the conference.

SOCIAL FREEDOM OF THE KARENS

Karen social life is also built on a basis of freedom. In becoming Christians, the Karens discarded their old animistic background and adopted the Western system. Coeducation from the primary grade through college relieves the Karen girl of sex-consciousness. A mixed school of Karen boys and girls has a very free and unrestrained atmosphere. Karen women, however, are more dependent on their husbands, less entirely free. The Karen social life, one missionary remarked, is a replica of the American social life at the time she went to Burma in 1898. As a more or less segregated minority, the Karens have been less affected by general social changes.

LACK OF STRIKING SOCIAL CHANGES

One of the interesting features of the present situation is that in Burma there is no such social transformation as is present in other countries of the East. One does not feel any ground-swell of progress. The position of women needs no fundamental reforms. There is in fact no woman's problem. To emphasize constantly women's needs, as one is

prone to do in a concentrated study of this kind, seems unnecessary. As a leading Burmese woman said: "Women's needs are men's needs. We never think in such divided terms."

There is undoubtedly a general social advance owing to the increasing contacts of Burma with other countries, and a general development within Burma. Whatever social change is taking place will not present a sharp black and white contrast, but merely a slow steady advance. Women naturally benefit by this advance; but there are no urgent evils motivating special social reforms for women.

DEVELOPMENT OF WOMEN LEADERS

The lack of a "cause" may be one reason for the absence of an active vanguard of women leaders and an articulate women's movement as in India. There has been no drive to reform flagrant social evils because Burmese women have social equality. What more can be desired? Perhaps the lack of leadership may also be owing to the racial temperament of the Burmese. The plenitude of life has made Burmese women, as well as men, happy and care-free and not burdened them with social responsibility. Furthermore, they have come more recently under the educational influence of the West. Very few Burmese women have had English training, whereas educated Indian leaders have long been impregnated with English thought.

Whatever may be the reason, women leaders in Burma are only just beginning to assume public leadership. The last decade has marked their entrance into professional and public life. According to the National Council of Women, thirty-nine women have served on public committees.¹ A study of women leaders in Burma is of special interest to Christian missions, because both Christian and non-Christian leaders are the products of mission schools.

INTEREST IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND NATIONALISM

The active interest of women in political affairs is of recent origin. Women of Burma have the vote, and membership on the Legislative Council is now open to them. A prominent young Burmese woman is planning to seek election for a seat on the Council. Nationalism has not awakened the impassioned response among Burmese women that it called forth among the women of India. "We are not willing to sacrifice as Indian women do for a national cause," was the explanation given by a Burmese school inspectress. Nevertheless, a few Burmese women have appeared in the limelight for the national cause. An aggressive Mandalay woman leader, principal of a Buddhist school, led a public demonstration of women in non-coöperation against the Simon Commission. But such an incident is an isolated example of this type of nationalistic expression

¹ Memorandum to the Round Table Conference answering the comment of the Hartog Committee on the absence of women in public life in Burma.

among women. Ordinarily, women do not occupy the front page in the newspaper. But national consciousness among Burmese women is growing. During the writer's visit in Burma, she found an interesting illustration of swadeshi. Some of the educated more Westernized group who had taken up cigarettes instead of the "whacking big Cheroot" smoked by the great majority, are now giving up the cigarette and smoking a new small Burmese cigar.

Members of this group in Rangoon follow keenly the Round Table Conference and Burma's movement for separation from India.² A Burmese woman editor, the only one as yet in Burma, regularly attends the debates in the Legislative Council to keep politically informed and makes a special feature of political news in her weekly journal.

Interest in national affairs has not been limited to the city of Rangoon. The writer was told, but is unable to verify the statement, that a number of women's nationalist groups had been formed in small towns and villages probably by the Buddhist priests who are the most active political leaders in Burma.

LACK OF INTEREST AMONG CHRISTIANS

Burmese Christians in general have not identified themselves with public affairs. The missionary influence, if not openly, at least tacitly discourages participation in nationalism as being contrary to Christian ideals. If Burmese Christians actively promoted Burman interests, they would thereby be identifying themselves with non-Christian influence, because nationalism and Buddhism are considered synonymous. This separatist tendency is deplored by one outstanding Burmese Christian woman as an unwise policy for the future.

Karen women have shown even less interest in national affairs. Their development has been inside their group rather than outward into the community. As members of a minority formerly oppressed, they have naturally been more closely related to the foreign mission group.

PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN ORGANIZATIONS

COMMUNITY WELFARE ORGANIZATIONS

There are many women's organizations and community welfare societies in which women are participating, such as the National Council of Women, the Burmese Women's Council, the Red Cross, Rangoon Charitable Organizations, Girl Guides, Home for Waifs and Strays, Social Service League, Humane Society, National Education Societies, the Rangoon Vigilance Society, Prisoners' Aid Society, Home for the Aged in Mandalay (Buddhist), the W. C. T. U., Youth Temperance Society, Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality (known as the S. P. I. M.),

² While this volume was being prepared for the press the Burma Round Table Conference was held and Burmese women appeared at the Burma delegation's meetings in London.

and the Y. W. C. A. Scarcely more than a brief mention of these societies is possible in this report. They are of significance in that they show the number of channels of service through which women's influence may be exerted. Several of these will be discussed in other parts of this report. Others are of special interest in connection with social problems.

The National Council of Women

As has been stated, there is no fully developed, active women's movement in Burma, although there are a few women's organizations. The leading one, the National Council of Women, affiliated with the Council of India, though representative of the City of Rangoon with its many different racial and religious divisions, is more international than Burmese in its character. There are Burmese women in the Council, but the organization is foreign in its inception and largely foreign in control. Delegates to the All-Asia Conference were appointed by the National Council.

Its aim, similar to that of the India Council, is to promote through inter-community relationship the general welfare of women and children. Its activities have included a labor investigation for the Whitley Commission, the promotion of education for girls, prison visiting, and a model Baby Welcome center. Christian missionaries as well as Burmese and Karen Christians have taken a prominent part in the National Council.

Burmese Women's Society

As a reaction against the rather strong foreign character of the National Council, a group of Burmese women, mostly Buddhists, some Christians, no Karens, has organized the distinctly nationalistic Burmese Women's Council. The only non-Burman member is an American woman married to a Burman who is considered very sympathetic with Burman aspirations. The aim of the society is the promotion of national interests and the welfare of women.

The Rangoon Vigilance Society

The Rangoon Vigilance Society represents all communities, Burmese and foreign. Its twofold purpose, to promote welfare and legislative reform through educating public opinion, is being attained. Active social propaganda has brought about a Suppression of Brothels Act making brothel-keeping and solicitation punishable offenses.

The Society operates The Girl-in-Need Hostel, designed for girls in need of housing during a period of unemployment, financial stress, or moral danger. Prison visiting and work with the Children's Court are done mainly by Christian women. The work of the Children's Aid and Protection Society under the leadership of a private individual, Mrs. Luce, is outstanding and the only individual piece of social work done by a Burmese Christian woman.

The greatest handicap of the Vigilance Society in promoting a program of moral welfare is the lack of public consciousness of social problems or social responsibility.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union

The W. C. T. U., since its organization in 1911, has been carrying on a steady program of propaganda against alcoholism. The secretary comments on the fact that the W. C. T. U. work depends primarily on the American mission community. Missions regard the temperance program as a definite part of their evangelistic work.

An American woman in Rangoon deplored the fact that the W. C. T. U. could not admit Buddhists into full coöperation. The Buddhist women are keenly interested in temperance, but do not feel free in the restricted religious atmosphere of the meetings which is felt to be absolutely essential.

The Young Women's Christian Association

The Y. W. C. A. in Rangoon carries on its usual type of community service. Missionaries play an important part in coöoperating with the Y. W. C. A. in its efforts to bring about a closer relationship with foreign and indigenous workers. A special feature is a hostel for nurses under the charge of a Karen secretary, the only independent social worker in Rangoon, so far as the writer could ascertain.

GENERAL MORAL CONDITIONS

Moral conditions in Rangoon are much better than in Calcutta, probably because of more normal social conditions and a higher economic level. The disparity of the sexes, however, owing to the migration of male labor from India, presents a serious moral problem. No reliable statistics are available on prostitution in Rangoon, for there is no regulation or registration of prostitutes. There are indications of white-slave traffic from upper Burma, also from Madras and Calcutta.

Crime records show a lower rate among Christians than among non-Christians. An interesting comment was made by the chief of police: "When the police are looking for a criminal and come to a Christian village, they usually say, 'there is very little need to look here,' and pass on."

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO SOCIAL SERVICE

LACK OF SOCIAL SERVICE IN THE MISSION PROGRAM

Christian missions in Burma have not envisaged social service as a definite part of the mission program. Individual missionaries have identified themselves with certain movements for social welfare outside the mission. Aside from the W. C. T. U. and the Girl Guides' movements

in the schools, the writer found practically no activity with a social-service appeal.

Schools and colleges have not presented social service as a field for Christian leadership. Evangelistic teaching has not stressed the relationship between theory and application.

A comment of a college professor is harsh but pertinent: "There is no emphasis in the college on any social question or any social teaching. The whole emphasis is on evangelism without any realization of the necessity of the social application of Christ. In fact such teaching is not encouraged. We have gone in too much for the 'Talkies.'" Another comment comes from one of the women professors of the college. "There has been no encouragement for girls to take up social work. They know nothing of social conditions and do not realize the opportunities for social service. . . . Missionaries as a whole live in a narrow world." One missionary comments on the fact that "it is too early to develop social service as there are not yet enough educated people to carry it on."

A leader in the Y. W. C. A. says: "There is a lack of understanding on the part of the missions as to the use of the word 'Christian' in the larger sense . . . a feeling that the service of the Y. W. C. A. is largely social and does not have a strong Christian emphasis. This indicates that the word 'Christian' is limited to evangelism."

The Vigilance worker also comments on the limited field of missions. "Christian service has been limited to definite lines of mission work and evangelism. . . . The Christian community in Burma is, comparatively speaking, still in the beginning period; social service will develop in time." Commenting on the need for social workers, she mentioned the fact that her appeal to Judson College to recruit future leaders in social work had not yet been answered. A prominent American in Rangoon outside the mission group spoke of the limited interests of the missions which have a very small influence on the public life. "They are practically a negligible factor. With a few exceptions, missionaries do not take an active part in general community life." This lack of mission interest in the social problems of Rangoon was explained by several people on the ground that these problems concern the foreign population rather than the Burman, and that there were as yet no real opportunities for Burmese or Karen social work.

EXAMPLES OF RURAL SOCIAL SERVICE

With two or three rare exceptions, rural social service is as undeveloped as social service in cities. The work of the students from the agricultural school at Pyinmana is a splendid illustration of a very effective type of village service. This program includes regular weekly visits to towns on bazaar days, and the carrying on of a combined program of rural life, education, health welfare and religious uplift. Another illustration is

afforded by a similar service unit—a nurse and teacher touring the villages. These demonstrate the kinds of program that could be developed elsewhere.

NEED FOR SOCIAL SERVICE IN RURAL PLANNING

Rural social service is beginning to be appreciated as a definite need in future planning. This need has been expressed in mission thinking.

The villages of Burma constitute our chief opportunity for building up self-supporting, stable, normally functioning churches which regulate the entire life of the community in its religious, educational and social aspects; and intelligent, concerted, vigorous attention must be given to social conditions and rural uplift.³

The Methodist Episcopal Church in the 1930 Conference in the Pegu district stressed village uplift needs, including libraries, health committees, agricultural demonstrations, and promotion of cottage industries. It is significant, however, that neither this report nor the one quoted above has a special section on social service. The expansion of the social service program obviously is impossible without trained leaders. The Burma Christian Council, recognizing this need, recommended that "those in charge of educational institutions strive to make students envisage their whole task—evangelistic, educational, social, medical and then, through coöperation between various institutions, secure as well-rounded a training as possible."⁴

SPECIAL OPPORTUNITY IN BURMA FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

The emphasis on social service as a part of the Christian message brings a distinctly new ideal to the Buddhist whose religious life and aspiration is centered in the individual, not in the group. Christian missions have by their very presence in Burma exemplified the service ideal. It remains for them to capitalize more fully their opportunity for spreading the Christian social message.

Christian missions have a basis of freedom for women in Burma on which to build the Christian ideal of the highest use of freedom. This is a tremendous asset peculiar to Burma. The social situation in Burma, with its normal relationship of men and women, is freedom from sex-consciousness, and its wholesome social atmosphere gives one an impression of the great possibilities of development of Christian women leaders. Social service has fertile ground in which to develop; women have an opportunity for full participation. Without an emphasis on social service, there is a growing sense of the incompleteness of the Christian task. To quote from a prominent Burmese Christian:

³ *Proceedings of the Burma Baptist Missionary Conference, 42nd Annual Meeting, October 3-8, 1930*, p. 51.

⁴ *Burma Christian Council, 1930*, p. 22.

We should have a definite program mapped out for demonstrating to the people that Jesus Christ and Christianity can endow the nation with a higher and richer life. We should emphasize economic and social living; the social and economic on the flanks should drive forward the whole Christian advance. Mere preaching is not enough; there should be more emphasis on relating preaching to life.

II

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF WOMEN

ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN

The economic contribution of women in Burma is an obvious fact. Women are even more in evidence in commercial life than are the men. Small shops in the bazaars, stalls in the market place, and booths at the pagodas, are in the hands of women. Driving a sharp bargain, they buy and sell and earn a substantial part of the family income. Virtually all women, married or unmarried, have some occupation besides their home duties. Often, as in the higher class, the women will have the responsibility of managing their own estates; in the middle class, they will usually have some trade.

WOMEN IN RETAIL TRADE

Women own their own businesses and trade on their own accounts. Their special interest in trade is of the more personal retail type. In wholesale business, they are said to be less successful. With such a complete measure of economic independence, there is no question of the social freedom of women. Intelligent, always industrious and happy, the Burmese women of the great middle class may well be envied by other women of the East.

The fact that women earn such a large measure of the family support gives them also the right to control, and the responsibility for the family purse. The Burmese saying: "It is a bad husband that does not turn his purse over to his wife," shows that the woman's financial administration of the home is the rule, not the exception.

The foregoing represents the broad outlines of women's economic status in Burma. Whatever her social or financial status may be, she is a partner in earning and in spending. There is not the sharp distinction there is in some countries between the economic independence of the unmarried wage-earner and the dependence of the married woman. Women when they marry suffer no financial retrogression, but grow in economic independence.

WOMEN IN HOME INDUSTRIES AND SMALL FACTORIES

Types of Work

Although, as we have already shown, a very large proportion of the women are shopkeepers, many are also found in a great variety of home industries. The choice of occupation seems to depend on the economic status of the family, general fitness or preference, and is not determined as in India by any restricting social customs. There are apparently no labor tabus. But certain occupations, such as sewing, seem to have fallen more to men. In this respect, Burma and India are alike. Some occupations are carried on chiefly by women; one of these is weaving, which is very commonly done in the homes either for home use or for the shop. But the finer types of silk weaving and embroidery are done by men.

The following list represents the main small factory trades in which women are employed: umbrella making, candle packing, carton making, cheroot making (women make and smoke most of the cheroots), and cigar and cigarette-rolling. They also work in match factories, filling, packing and labeling boxes; in rope factories; in the making of aluminum cooking vessels; in soap factories; and at cotton spinning and weaving. Complete statistics are not available but the following, taken from the National Council of Women memorandum to the Whitley Commission, shows the number of women employed in certain of these trades.¹

Silk and cotton spinning and weaving.....	68,884
Basket makers and similar occupations.....	5,546
Ceramics.....	1,035
Manufacturers of tobacco.....	8,331
Milliners and dressmakers.....	17,835

Conditions of Work

Work in these various lines is carried on largely in homes and workshops not under the Factory Act. The Whitley Commission's recommendation to extend the regulation to include all working centers with fifty or more handwork employees will have a direct effect on Burma.

Conditions in these unregulated small industries are reported as fairly satisfactory. There is nothing comparable to the *bidi*, or cigarette, factories of Madras. Umbrella makers and cheroot makers have the advantage of working on verandahs or in the open. The general higher economic level is reflected in the less tense atmosphere of Burmese labor, which does not give the impression of "work or starve." Life on the whole is

¹ Report of National Council of Women in Burma to Whitley Commission. (The information on women in industry is largely drawn from this source.)

geared to a much more comfortable speed. Wages for women in these small factories represent usually a family supplement, not a sole support.

WOMEN IN REGULATED FACTORIES

Extent of Women Factory Workers

The problem of Burmese women in larger factories scarcely exists. It is negligible in comparison with India. We have shown in the report on India that textile factories using power employ most of the Indian women industrial workers; in Burma, where industrialization is in its infancy, there are only three such factories with less than 700 operatives, men and women (the number of women is not given). The total number of factory workers in regulated industries in Burma is approximately 100,000, of whom 10 per cent. are women (101,353 total; men 89,772, women 10,492, children 1,089).² Regulations for women's work are reported to be satisfactorily observed. There is apparently no problem of infants being allowed in the mills.

Employment of Children

The employment of children has not been a pressing problem. Child labor as a whole is a negligible quantity. The prohibition of child labor under fifteen would be no hardship to Burma. Children are rarely employed alone; they come in usually as part of the family group.

Hours of Labor and Wages

Hours of labor are complicated by a system of shifts and a lack of adequate inspection which makes possible over-work of women, especially during the rush season. Noon intervals, supposed to be one and one-half or two hours, are not rigidly observed. The pressure of labor is, however, relieved by the casual attitude of the workers. Women stop when tired, work less than ten hours, and alternately in morning or afternoon, if on piece work. All factories have one day's rest a week, except rice mills during the pressure season.

Wages for women vary from Rs.12 to Rs.20 per month. There is a chance, however, for women to increase their earnings, if skilled workers, to as high as Rs.35 in match factories, and even to Rs.54 in carton factories.

Evil of the Contract System

The payment of women mill workers presents the special problem of the contract system of labor. The extent of this system is illustrated by a match factory where 150 women were paid directly, while 500 were under maistries. The contract system is a menace, for women are at the mercy of the maistry who may make deductions of wages without any restrictions. The employer knows only the wage allowed, not the wage

² Statistical Abstract 1918-19 to 1927-28, p. 686.

actually paid the worker. It is estimated that 40 per cent. of the original wage is deducted by the maistry.³

The maistry system means not only underpayment but underemployment and overcrowding, especially bad in the seasonal industries like rice mills. The maistry system for the most part affects Indian women.⁴

MAJOR INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM OF BURMA

The main industrial problem of Burma is not connected with Burmese men or women workers but with the migration of Indian labor. Industrial workers from India constitute the backbone of the economic and industrial life of Rangoon especially, and of Burma as a whole. They also constitute a major problem of human welfare. The extent of this industrial migration in 1929 was 308,075 male workers, 25,423 women and 12,408 children. From these figures one can read the story of broken family life, maladjustment in a foreign environment, spread of vice and disease, lack of privacy and moral protection for the small number of women migrants, the white-slave traffic; in short, all the evils of an abnormal social situation.⁵

One quotation from the study of the conditions of these laborers made by the National Council of Women is sufficient.

Overcrowding and lack of accommodation lead to drink, drugs and vice. The traffic in these is notorious. In many barracks it is a common thing to see promiscuous herding together of single men, single women and families within one small room. Single women may often be seen in an overcrowded room under the cots of couples or next to men to whom they are not related in any way.

Such conditions affect not only the Indian workers but life in Rangoon as a whole.⁶

HEALTH AND WELFARE OF WORKERS

The evil effects of the overcrowding of industrial workers are evident in the prevalence of respiratory diseases. Tuberculosis is steadily increasing, according to Rangoon medical authorities. The truth of the statement is borne out by the following comparison.

COMPARISON OF DEATHS FROM TUBERCULOSIS OF MEN AND WOMEN
IN RANGOON, 1928-1929

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>
Deaths from tuberculosis	2,239	1,150
Total number of deaths	7,264	4,426

³ National Council of Women Study.

⁴ Mr. Bennison's Report on Standard and Cost of Living of the Working Classes.

⁵ Report of the National Council of Women to the Whitley Commission.

⁶ Ibid.

Extent of Medical Facilities

Free medical attention is afforded by some of the better firms. Some mills have a resident doctor or a visiting doctor; but there are no women doctors, trained midwives or dais in mills. Indian women utilize these medical facilities less than do the Burmese women, which shows an interesting social difference.

Other Types of Welfare

In the field of general welfare for industrial workers, nothing is being done by employers. The general welfare work of Rangoon, a brief résumé of which has already been given, reaches mill workers in some areas. The public is not yet awakened to the need for social and industrial welfare.

WOMEN IN GENERAL EMPLOYMENT AND PROFESSIONS

The general field of clerical workers, shop girls and telephone operators is occupied by Anglo-Indians or Anglo-Burmans. Burmese or Karen girls have not yet entered public employment, although one or two pioneers are in the field.

Salaries of shop girls deserve special mention as they are below a living wage. One of the largest European shops pays Rs.35 a month, with a maximum rate of Rs.100. The majority in Rangoon receive Rs.50-60 a month. As most of these workers are Anglo-Burmans, these wages are below their normal living standards. This is one indication of the gravity of the Anglo-Burman problem. Neither this report nor the report on India has attempted to discuss the problem of the Anglo-Burman community, but it deserves the special consideration of mission agencies.

In commercial offices, better salaries prevail, often with special sick benefits and provident funds.

Teaching is the chosen profession; but in view of the fact that the number of teachers exceeds by nearly 2,000 the number of positions,⁷ other openings must be explored. Medicine has claimed only a few Burmese women. Girls in increasing numbers are entering nursing. There are more Karens than Burmese in training for this profession, for there has been among the Burmese a certain prejudice against nursing. The health visitors' career is being promoted. There are several lawyers and one woman editor. Opportunities for women in all lines are growing. A study of vocational opportunities for women is, in the writer's opinion, badly needed, together with a definite promotion of certain careers such as trained social workers and health workers.

⁷ Statement made by the Director of Public Instruction in Rangoon.

RELATIONSHIP OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONS TO THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO WOMEN IN PROFESSIONS

Mission schools for girls have made a valuable contribution to the economic independence of women by giving them the basic preparation necessary for many different lines of work. Teaching, the medical profession, and nursing are all built on the basis of the mission schools. Missions have also helped to establish the economic and professional standards of these careers.

The moral welfare of young professional women in independent service in Rangoon demands more attention. The Y. W. C. A. nurses' hostel, although limited in funds and space, is a move in the right direction. Professional life for women in Burma offers unusual opportunities for independence because of the greater social freedom. But social freedom in public careers in Burma, as in India, is not without its moral hazards. The number of Christian graduates in service outside the mission, in Government institutions or private careers, presents an opportunity for an expansion of Christian influence. This requires a closer relationship of the mission with community problems.

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO WOMEN IN OTHER VOCATIONS

Missions have apparently not included other lines of training for women very definitely in their thinking. Vocational and industrial training for girls have not been stressed in mission schools; consequently the girl who does not go on to high school or college and does not follow one of the professions, has no training for earning her livelihood. The Salvation Army Industrial Home in Rangoon offers an exception to the above statement. Definite vocational guidance and practical coördination of mission education with economic opportunities for women are, in the writer's opinion, worthwhile fields for mission endeavor.

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE

In the agricultural field, missions have not yet to any extent included women in their planning along lines of economic welfare. The Pyinmana school hopes to develop such projects for women in its future planning. Through short institutes and programs in the village bazaars, instruction for women in gardening, poultry-raising, home economics, and home sanitation will raise the economic contribution of women in the home, and of the village as a whole. Further expansion of this sort was endorsed in the Rural Reconstruction Conference of the Burma Christian Council.⁸

⁸ *Burma Christian Council*, p. 21.

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO INDUSTRIAL PROBLEMS AFFECTING WOMEN

In the industrial field, Christian missions have assumed little, if any, responsibility, judging from the lack of any industrial welfare program and the general lack of identification of missionaries with industrial issues. In a number of cases, surprise was expressed that the writer should have included this within the range of her interest in studying the problems affecting women. Information on industrial questions was obtained outside the mission from English women in the community and from a Y. W. C. A. secretary. In the college, no group was found discussing industrial issues. So far as the writer could ascertain, the college does not attempt to stimulate the interest of students in industrial questions or to direct their attention to industrial welfare.

Judging from interviews, several explanations for this lack of interest in industrial problems may be given. First, the relationship to missions is not recognized. Industrial problems are regarded as outside the field of mission effort, and even as interfering with the mission objective of evangelism. Another explanation often given was that the industrial problem is essentially Indian; the mission work is primarily for Burma and Burmans. This explanation suggests a fundamental question as to whether conditions affecting such a large body of workers in Rangoon can be isolated from the general situation. It raises a further question as to whether the areas of Christian responsibility can be so sharply divided. Another reason often mentioned for the lack of contact with the industrial situation was the absorption in routine institutional work which leaves no time for anything outside the mission compound. When the question of the industrial interest of missions was raised, regret was often expressed that mission effort cannot include this emphasis. But the feeling is very strong that institutional work already established must not be neglected. Hence, no additional emphasis can be developed without sacrificing existing programs.

Burma has not yet been caught in the pressure of vigorous industrialism. The conditions of women and children employed in industry do not yet offer serious evils. But contacts of Burma with the world are growing; and no doubt Burma will eventually be more exposed to modern industrial organization. In fact it has already felt the repercussions of a world economic crisis. Christian missions have, therefore, the opportunity to educate the public along lines of social and industrial justice so that the evils of advancing industrialization may be avoided. The mission institutions, furthermore, have the responsibility of training the future Christian leaders, men and women, who will determine the relationship of the church to these vital problems.

III

HEALTH CONDITIONS

GENERAL HEALTH SITUATION

INFANT AND MATERNAL MORTALITY

The health situation in Burma does not present the heavy handicaps of child marriage and purdah found in India. One might expect, therefore, a lower maternal and infant mortality rate. But Burma's infant mortality rate of 225.97 is next to the highest for any province in India, and maternal mortality is 11.60.¹

Reason for High Death-rates

The high death-rates in Burma are partly explained on the basis of inaccurate statistics, better registration of deaths than births, and by the fact that a child-welfare program in Burma has only recently been begun. A significant fact is the high percentage of infant deaths in the first six months (80 per cent.). Poor midwifery and certain primitive customs of the treatment of mother and child immediately after childbirth are reflected in these figures.

Primitive Childbirth Customs

During the first eight or ten days, a purification fire is kept burning at an intense heat near the bed. Childbirth is regarded as a period of contamination as in India. The dirty places are chosen on the ground floor because it is believed the whole household would be contaminated if the woman in childbirth were on an upper floor. The midwife and the patient wear dirty clothes. The baby's hair, considered unclean, is shaved at birth, thus often exposing the child to cold. There is, however, no prejudice against daily bathing; and in general the home is much cleaner than the Indian home of the same economic level. A long period of incessant nursing of a child is very common and undoubtedly harmful. Burmese mothers follow another very unhealthful custom of chewing up rice and then putting it into the baby's mouth. The high infant and maternal mortality rates are sufficient proof of the need for concentrated attention to problems of motherhood and child care.

NO RELIGIOUS OR SOCIAL CUSTOMS AFFECTING WOMEN'S HEALTH

Aside from the diseases incident to childbirth, there are no unusual factors in the health situation of Burmese women. One does not as in India need to deal with the problem of women apart from men, since

¹ *Report of Public Health Administration of Burma, 1929*, p. 4. Figures where not otherwise stated come from this source.

there are no deleterious socio-religious practices. Health factors favorable to women are the balanced diet, the normal sex relationships of marriage at maturity, the higher economic level, and the general carefree, healthy life that gives women and children a far better chance in Burma than in India. The effect of these conditions is reflected in the general death-rate of 22.06 which is comparatively low.

VILLAGE HEALTH CONDITIONS

Village health conditions in Burma impress the observer as much better than in India. Personal habits of cleanliness are weighed against the free intermingling of family and live stock, cattle at night and mangy dogs at all times, uncovered wells and tanks, and a prejudice against change. The composite picture, urban and rural, does not give one the hopeless feeling of an impossible situation, but shows the possibility of overcoming these evils through health education and preventive measures.

FACILITIES FOR HEALTH CARE

HOSPITALS

Women in Burma do not have specialized hospital care as in India, for they are free from the social handicaps that have made the splendid women's hospitals necessary all over India. There is, of course, the especial need for women's wards and women doctors in Burma, because the prejudice of the uneducated against hospitals can be more easily broken down by women.

Most of the hospital care in Burma is concentrated in the towns or cities.² Traveling dispensaries serve the rural areas to a certain extent, but wide distances are without doctor or dispensary. Many villages have no trained midwives.

GROWTH OF INFANT WELFARE PROGRAM

Infant welfare, although a recent development in Burma, is making rapid strides owing to the vigorous efforts of Miss Norah Ross, supervisor of infant welfare in the Department of Health. The primary function of Miss Ross' work is the stimulation of local effort, municipal and voluntary, the promoting of health visitors, and the teaching of preventive rather than remedial measures.

The child-welfare program included, in 1929, twenty-nine welfare societies in Burma, concentrated in the cities. The number gives an exaggerated idea of the actual extent of the work, as only four centers carried on active programs—Maymyo, Moulmein, Mandalay and Ran-

² See Dr. Wampler's Report, this Volume.

BURMA

goon. The Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality is the most active welfare agency in Burma.

As yet the active promotion of the child-welfare program has depended on the wives of English officials and missionaries, and a few indigenous leaders, educated wives of professional men or Government servants and teachers. The response of Christian and Buddhist women has not differed materially. Burmese women, with a few exceptions, for instance, a remarkable Burmese Christian woman in Moulmein, have not taken an aggressive part in promoting child welfare.

HEALTH PROPAGANDA AND HEALTH EDUCATION

The Government Health Department is distributing health pamphlets for the general public. The Red Cross has a traveling health demonstration with various types of models presenting different lines of health care, maternity and child welfare. Medical inspection in schools is required and school health education is encouraged.

Recreation and Physical Education

Recreation for women and girls is receiving attention from the Y. W. C. A. and also from the National Council of Women's Playground Committee which is making a study of better park facilities for women.

HEALTH PROGRAM FOR VILLAGES

The great problem in Burma, as in India, is village uplift. Comparatively little has been done, as hospitals are concentrated in towns and medical workers are unwilling to serve in village areas. Foreign agencies have developed great urban institutional centers. To overcome the prejudice against rural service, the Government is offering special inducements for medical service in villages. The only outstanding piece of village health work that came to the writer's knowledge is the Hlegu rural health unit near Rangoon, a Government scheme aided by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation.

The determining factors in the health situation are the lack of evenly distributed medical facilities and the almost total neglect of rural health problems. Ignorance, superstition and reluctance to change militate particularly against rural health welfare. The ignorant dai, or midwife, in Burma, as in India, arbitrates in the primary questions of life and death of village women.

WOMEN IN MEDICAL AND HEALTH SERVICE

Medical Profession

The medical profession for Burmese women is still in its infancy. There are eight Burmese women doctors, four of whom have had train-

ing in Burma or India, and four have had training abroad. The present number of women medical students in the medical college is thirteen; and in the medical school, twenty-one. The following figures show the proportion of Christian to non-Christian men and women students.

CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS IN MEDICAL SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

	CHRISTIAN		NON-CHRISTIAN	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
School.....	13	16	8	142
College.....	11	7	2	52
Total.....	24	23	10	194

This indicates that comparatively more Christian women than Christian men are entering the medical profession. Dr. Wampler's report shows the large preponderance of Anglo-Indians and Indians. There is a great need and opportunity for doctors especially.

Training of Nurses

Nurses' training is given in a number of Government hospitals at Rangoon, Bassein, Moulmein and Mandalay; in two mission hospitals, Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital at Moulmein and the Harper Memorial Hospital at Namkham; and in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Hospital at Mandalay, which gives only two years' training to insure entrance into village service, as the higher trained nurse is usually unwilling to serve in the village. The Namkham Mission Hospital gives the only nurses' training in the Shan States.

Training of Midwives

Midwives are trained in the Dufferin Hospital at Rangoon (enrolling sixty Karens, twelve Burmese, eight Anglo-Indians in 1930-31), the Mandalay General Hospital, and the two Baptist Mission hospitals. Indigenous midwives are trained in several of the Welfare Centers of the Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality and the Infant Welfare Center at Tounggyi.

Training of Health Workers

For the training of health workers, Burma has no facilities. Three girls, all Karens, have been sent on scholarships to the Delhi Health School. This does not adequately meet the need, because of the limited number of students that can be sent owing to distance and expense,

the language barrier, and the entirely different cultural and social condition on which health experience is based.

Status of Medical and Health Professions

The medical profession for women is fully recognized and attracts educated girls of the higher class, although the expense of the long course is a deterrent. The example of Dr. Ma Saw Sa, the first Burmese woman doctor, a Christian, has set a high professional standard and given encouragement to others entering the profession.

The public attitude toward nursing, in Burma as in other countries, changes slowly the conception of nursing as menial work to that of a career. Part of this change in attitude is being caused by the fact that a number of nurses are on the regular staffs of mission schools, and are regarded on the same status as the teachers.

In Burma, nursing does not present a social problem, or as much of a moral danger as in India. Nursing of men as well as women is generally accepted. Employment in Government hospitals is not considered altogether inadvisable although attended by some moral hazards. The demand for private nurses is growing, as is the willingness of girls to enter this field. Opinions as to the moral dangers of nursing differ. Dr. Ma Saw Sa agrees with mission authority in the opinion that "there is too little supervision in the non-mission hospitals. Nurses are in a particularly dangerous moral position and the future of their profession depends upon their moral stability."

However, the English superintendent of the Rangoon General Hospital does not fully concur in this point of view. In discussing this question, she emphasized the overprotective attitude of the mission school and hospital. In her opinion there is no essential difference in moral stability between Christian and non-Christian Burmese. Often the Buddhist girl is morally more controlled than the Christian girl. One government official comments favorably on the Burmese girls as "modest and equal to the situation." Because of the better financial status of Government employment or private nursing, there is a trend away from mission service. Missions should take cognizance of this trend and also of the moral danger in outside service, and should help as far as possible to meet the needs of the nurses in independent service. The Y. W. C. A., as already mentioned, is making a distinct contribution through the Nurses' Hostel in Rangoon.

Nursing, health visiting, and midwifery are unattractive occupations to the Buddhist girls and to Burmese in general; but Karens enter these lines of work more readily. The Burmese, especially the Buddhists, should be encouraged to take up the work, for they can more easily develop an indigenous health program in the period of growing nationalism than can the Karens, a minority, non-Buddhist race.

RELATIONSHIP OF MISSIONS TO HEALTH WORK IN BURMA

GENERAL LACK OF MEDICAL MISSION WORK

Medical work in Burma, in striking contrast to that in India, has received scanty attention from missions. The total mission medical program includes only four hospitals; dispensaries carried on by trained and untrained missionaries; and the training of midwives already discussed. Two of the four hospitals are general hospitals: one for women and children, the Ellen Mitchell Memorial at Moulmein; one for children, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel Hospital at Mandalay.³

MEDICAL PROGRAM OF THE BAPTIST AND METHODIST MISSIONS

The Methodist Mission Program

The Methodist mission has no hospital work or medical program carried on by trained workers. But some valuable village dispensary work of a very practical nature is being done in several places by untrained workers in connection with evangelistic efforts. Patients from the villages are linked up with the Government hospitals for more than emergency types of medical treatment.

The Baptist Mission Program

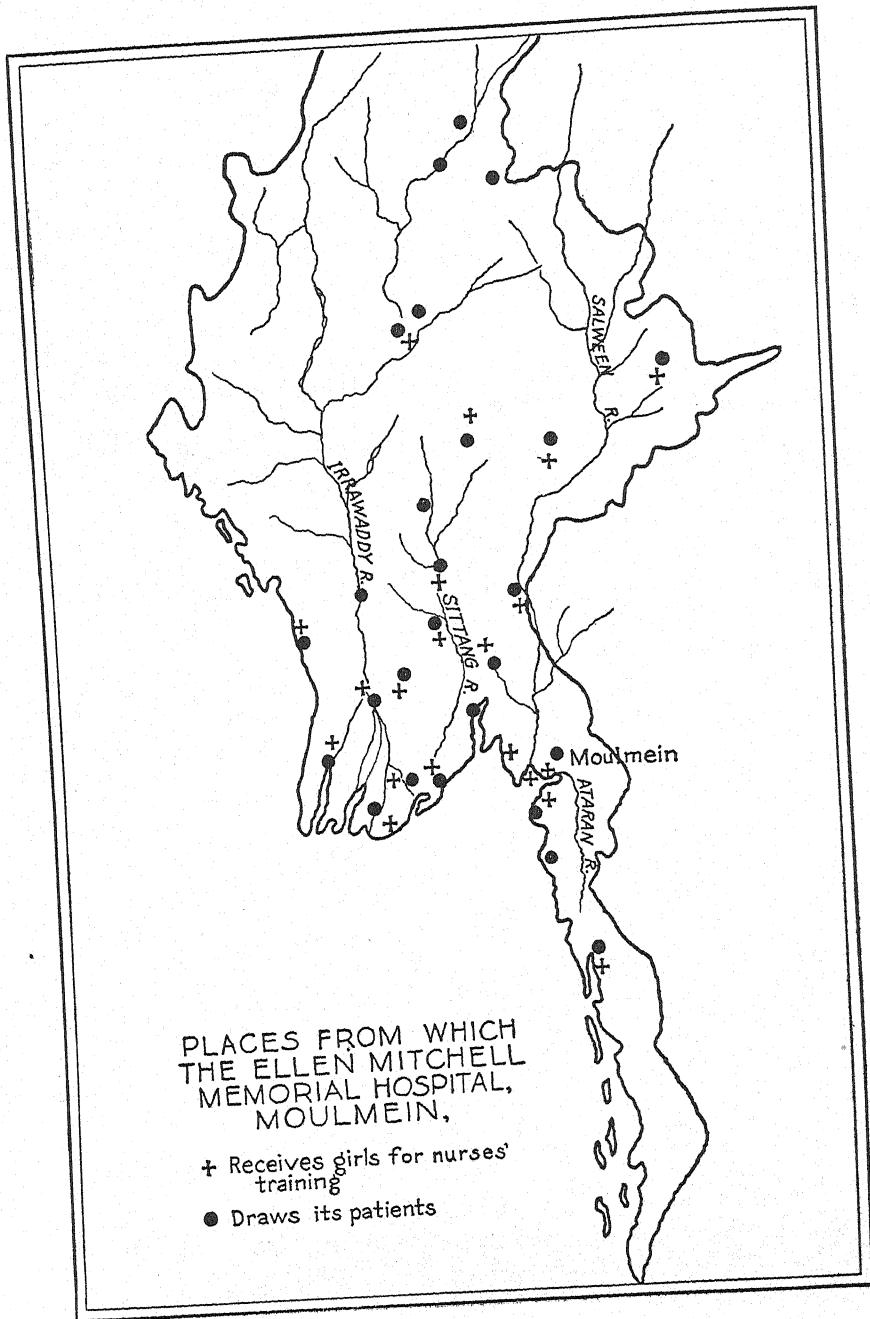
The Baptist mission program is not large, but it is distinctive. The widespread influence of the Ellen Mitchell Memorial Hospital covers a broad territory; there are nurses in training from twenty different places, and patients from twenty-eight different centers. This hospital presents the effective achievement of a high professional standard with a distinct evangelistic objective. An ideal is expressed by the director: "A piece of medical work which cannot command the respect of the medical profession in general is likely in my opinion to fall short to a comparable extent in the approval of the Great Physician."

A small medical program has been carried on for women and children in Mandalay, 1921, in the mission dispensary and village visiting by the missionary evangelist and nurse. This type of village work is rare, and much needed. The Rest House or Preventorium at Tounggyi for tubercular girls, although limited to fifteen patients, renders a valuable service and is the only institution of this type in Burma.

HEALTH PROGRAM IN SCHOOLS

Most mission schools in Burma are not vigorously promoting health welfare. The comment of a Government health official bears out this statement: "Schools could and should have a much greater interest in health programs; they have not sufficiently emphasized social service or

³ Dr. Wampler's Report, this Volume, for detailed discussion.



health work in schools as a means of Christian service." In the study of mission middle and high schools, a few reported health programs, a number had school nurses, most of them had medical inspection, a few reported other types of health work and a few reported no health programs at all. One mission school has stimulated interest in health education through competitive essays on health. This is unusual.

Rural Health Program

The crucial problem of village health work has scarcely been touched by missions. The Institutes on Village Life, held twice a year at Pyinmana by Mr. Case, are an exception. The emphasis is on health and recreation with health talks and demonstrations.

MISSION COÖPERATION

A phase of mission service in the health situation is the contribution of individual missionaries, medical and non-medical, to general health programs, in baby weeks, in infant-welfare centers, in lectures of the medical staff for the St. John's Ambulance Society, and in the medical service of the Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality.

RESULTS OF MISSION HEALTH PROGRAM

The results of mission health work for women cannot be accurately estimated, but missionaries point out certain encouraging signs of improvement in the Christian community: Cleanliness in homes with more screened open windows at night, better cooked food, more regularity in feeding, a decline of bad health practices, a lower incidence of hookworm, and a lower percentage of death among Christians (Christians, 14.58; non-Christians, 21.88).

The mission is contributing much needed medical personnel of a fine type. A recent medical graduate, returning from a course in America, has entered the Namkham hospital. A graduate nurse from Moulmein has been asked by the Government to supervise health work in a group of villages.

The placement of women medical workers in villages is not as difficult a problem as in India. Educated girls of the right type can live in villages. It is suggested that the best plan is to train village girls for definite service in their own districts.

HEALTH NEEDS FOR FUTURE MISSION EFFORT

The health situation in Burma presents a number of specific needs, some of which are within the range of mission effort. Dr. Ma Saw Sa points out the special need for district public health work and general infant welfare. One of the mission nurses comments: "It is a crime to let typhoid and other preventable diseases develop as they do at present."

Miss Nora Ross, director of Child Welfare, sums up further health needs, emphasizing the following: More midwives in both towns and rural districts; a health school to train health visitors in Burma; more emphasis in mission schools on health programs and health service as a career; more mission coöperation in health programs. As to the health school, an opinion was expressed that has a bearing on the mission medical program as a whole:

It would be a mistake for missions to take over responsibility for the training of health visitors, since this should be a Government responsibility and on an entirely secular basis. The mission program would be too narrow and would identify health service too much with a religious objective. Health should be promoted for health's sake and not as a means toward conversion.

This last sentence, however, does not express the prevailing mission policy concerning medical service. The ministry of healing has not been endorsed as a service for missionary effort if unrelated to evangelism. There is even a question in some minds whether the funds for the medical program are justified if they detract from direct evangelistic opportunities. This lack of "medical mindedness" on the part of many mission workers often makes it difficult for a mission hospital to secure adequate funds for its program.

A different attitude toward medical missions is expressed by a leading Burmese Christian woman. "To treat a patient with care and with a spirit of Christian service is in itself equivalent to preaching not only service but Christian love and living and not too much emphasis on preaching. It is after all the life and work rather than the spoken word that counts."

IV

EDUCATIONAL CONDITIONS

GENERAL SITUATION OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

COMPARISON OF EDUCATION FOR GIRLS IN INDIA AND BURMA

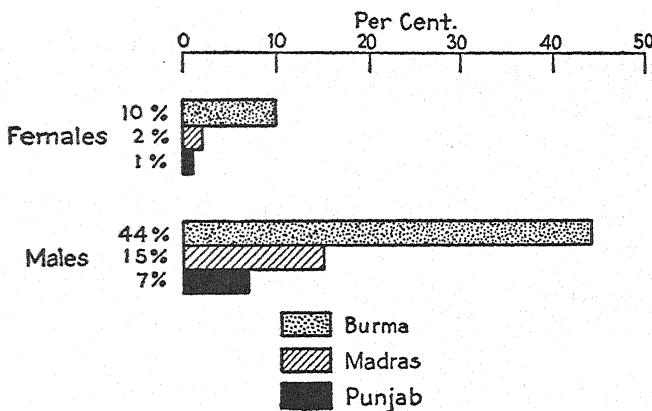
In view of the marked difference in the social and economic position of women in Burma and India, it is not strange that educational conditions should also present a striking contrast. Education for women in Burma is moving forward as rapidly as material facilities permit.

Comparison of Literacy of Women in Burma and India

The literacy of women in Burma (9.7 in 1921) is four times the literacy of the highest province in India, more than six and a half times the literacy of India (1.45); and is increasing more rapidly than in India.

Comparison between Burma and Madras, one of the most advanced provinces, and the Punjab, one of the most backward, is of interest since it gives a more accurate point of comparison than with India as a whole. The following table shows the points of contrast.

PROPORTION OF LITERATES IN BURMA, MADRAS PRESIDENCY AND THE PUNJAB BY SEX



COMPARISON OF LITERACY IN MADRAS, THE PUNJAB AND BURMA*

Percentage of Literates

	MEN		WOMEN	
	1911	1921	1911	1921
Madras.....	13.8	15.2	1.4	2.1
Punjab.....	6.5	6.7	0.6	0.8
Burma.....	37.6	44.8	6.1	9.7

* *Review of the Growth of Education in British India* by the Auxiliary Committee of the Indian Statutory Commission (Hartog Report) Chapter VII.

Percentage of Enrollment of Girls and Boys in Madras, the Punjab and Burma

A comparison of the percentage of girls and boys under instruction in Burma shows much less educational disparity in Burma than in India. This table shows also that, relatively speaking, education for girls is more advanced than education for boys. Education for boys in Burma is only just beginning, compared with the long period of development in India. The situation for girls is hopeful in Burma, for it does not have to overcome the tremendous social lag as in India.

Comparison of General Enrollment of Girls in India and Burma

An interesting evidence of advance in girls' education in Burma is

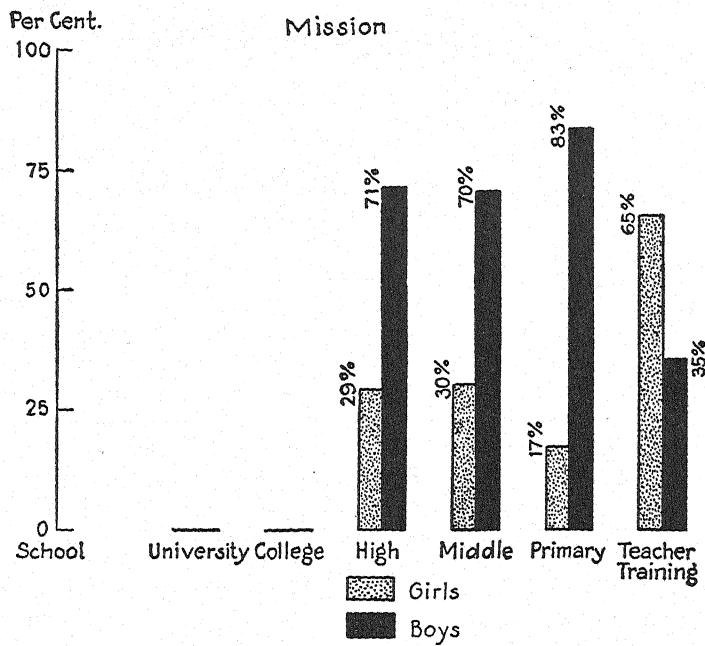
BURMA

PERCENTAGE OF ENROLLMENT OF GIRLS AND BOYS IN MADRAS, THE PUNJAB AND BURMA*

	Percentage of the Total Female Population under Instruction in 1927	Percentage of the Total Male Population under Instruction in 1927
Madras.....	2.5	9.2
Punjab.....	0.8	8.8
Burma.....	2.6	4.1

* Hartog Report, p. 147.

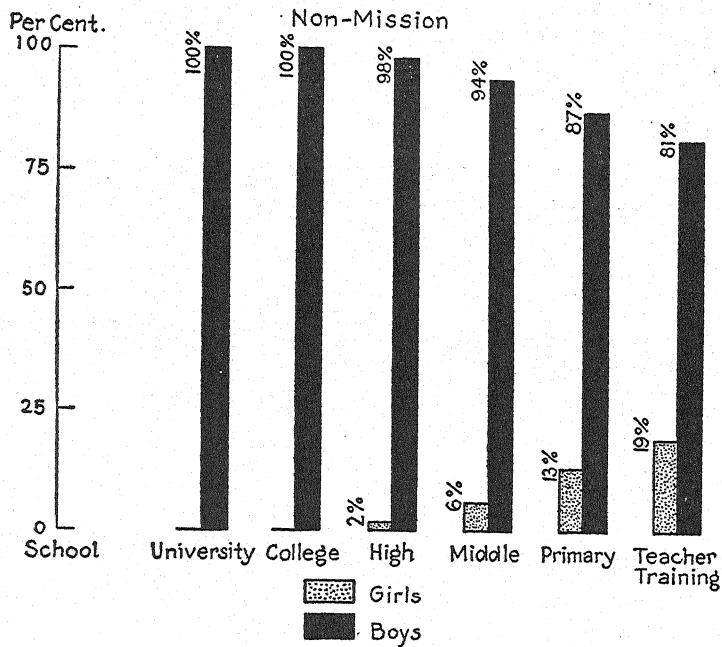
ENROLLMENT BY SEX IN MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS 1926-27



Progress of Education in India, 1926-27, Vol. II.

shown in the increase in the number of girls in boys' schools, that is, in coeducation, and the percentage of girls of school age under instruction. A comparison of Burma with India shows a direct relation between increase in coeducation and increase of girls under instruction. The percentage of girls under instruction is highest where there is the highest percentage of girls studying in boys' schools. The table on next page makes this point clear.

**ENROLLMENT BY SEX IN NON-MISSION
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS 1926-27**



"*Progress of Education in India*", 1926-27, Vol. II.

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS IN BOYS' SCHOOLS AND OF GIRLS OF SCHOOL AGE UNDER INSTRUCTION IN MADRAS, PUNJAB AND BURMA*

	Percentage of Girls under Instruction in Boys' Schools to the Total Number of Girls under Instruction	Percentage of Female Population of School Age under Instruction	
		1921-22	1926-27
Madras.....	52.1	55.5	17.9
Punjab.....	5.4	8.1	5.7
Burma.....	74.8	78.5	18.4

* R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, Vol. I, p. 155. Hartog Report, Chapter VII, p. 147.

PREVALENCE OF COEDUCATION IN BURMA

Coeducation has been generally accepted in Burma, thereby assuring the advance of education for girls. With the Karen population, coeducation has long since been adopted. With the Burmese, there is a preference in the higher stages for girls' education; but even here coeducation is making headway, for one finds more girls in high schools

for boys than in the strictly divided girls' schools. College education is entirely coeducational. Judson College and the University College meet the needs for higher education. The atmosphere of Judson College, where seventy-five girls were studying in 1930, shows that coeducation is a reality. One does not have an impression of a few girls attending a man's college more or less on sufferance, but of girls participating in college life on an equal basis.

WASTAGE IN EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Although, as we have shown, Burma has distinct advantages over India in education for girls, the major problem of Burma as of India is the wastage in education of girls in the upper grades. The extent of the problem is shown by the fact that three-fourths of the increase in girls' education from 1928-29 (12,788), was in the primary grades. This makes evident the fact that the total enrollment figures for girls and the figures on literacy may not indicate the actual educational status of girls.

PROPORTION OF WOMEN TEACHERS IN BURMA

One solution for this problem of decreased attendance of girls in the higher standards would be an increase in the number of women teachers. At present about a third of all elementary teachers are women. This represents for the Orient a considerable proportion, but does not compare favorably with countries of the West. The increase of women teachers has a direct bearing on the success of coeducation. However, the profession of teaching is already overstocked, and it is questioned whether at present more teachers should be trained. According to the Director of Public Instruction, more than 1,900 teachers are unemployed.

GENERAL TRENDS IN GOVERNMENT EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Government schools in Burma are following very much the same lines of development as those in India. There is, however, a much more intensive effort to promote handwork and sewing as a means of "holding girls longer in the elementary school." At present 870 girls' schools are having these courses.¹ There is also active promotion of the Girl Guide Movement under a full-time organizer. Night schools are receiving attention, and the work of the Burma Adult Education Extension Association is encouraged in its promotion of libraries and general educational opportunities for adult citizens.

Growth of National Schools

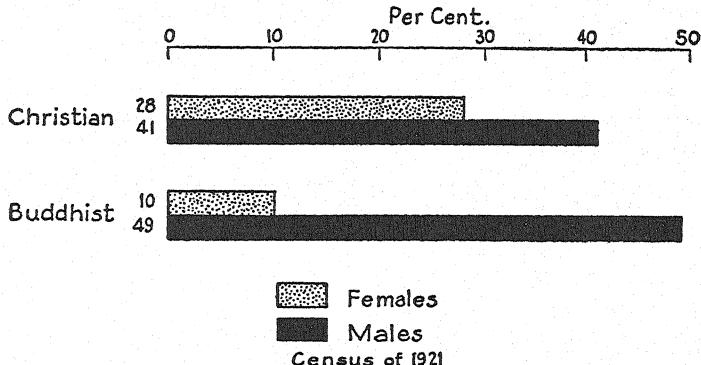
The growth since 1923 of National Schools for girls has introduced a new element in the field of girls' education. The Government is promoting these schools which give evidence of improvement.

¹ *Annual Report on Public Instruction in Burma, 1929-30*, p. 12.

**RELATIONSHIP OF MISSION EDUCATION TO EDUCATION OF BURMA
AS A WHOLE**

A detailed study of girls' education in Burma is in reality a study of mission education. It would be difficult to estimate the full result of the splendid achievement which this phase of the missionary enterprise represents.

**PROPORTION OF LITERATE CHRISTIANS
AND LITERATE BUDDHISTS
BY SEX**



EFFECT OF MISSION EDUCATION ON THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

One can see very concrete results in the comparison of the literacy of the Christian and the non-Christian women and in the comparison of the literacy of men and of women in each community.

PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY OF CHRISTIANS AND BUDDHISTS

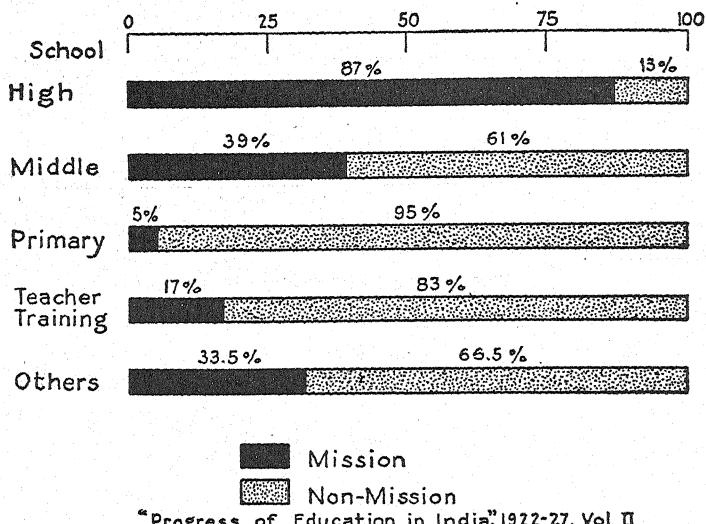
	Christians	Buddhists
Men.....	41%	49%
Women.....	28	10

The high literacy of Christian women can be entirely attributed to Christian missions, as education for Christian girls is practically non-existent outside mission schools. It is through the chain of mission schools in Burma also that Christian leaders have been developed who have constituted the vanguard of progress in many lines and are exerting a widespread effect on home life and in professional careers.

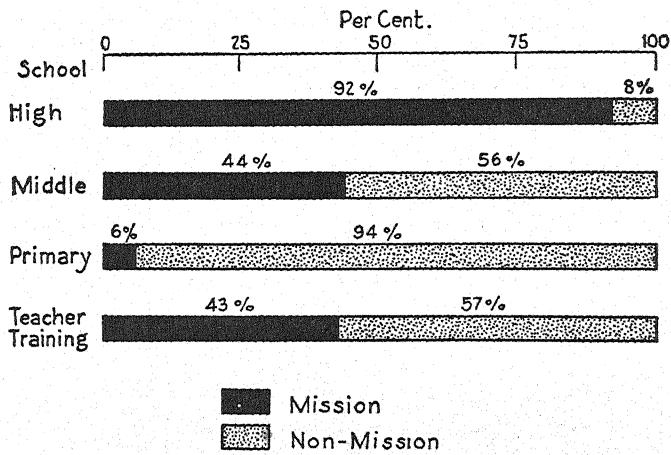
EXTENT OF MISSION EDUCATION

But the contact of mission schools with the Christian community is only one phase of the impact of mission education on the life of Burma as a whole. Seventy-five of every hundred educated Burmese men and women have come from missions. The proportion of girls is even higher.

**PROPORTION OF GIRLS' MISSION
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS AND
GIRLS' NON-MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS
1926-27**



**PROPORTION OF GIRLS
ATTENDING MISSION SCHOOLS AND GIRLS
ATTENDING NON-MISSION SCHOOLS
1926-27**



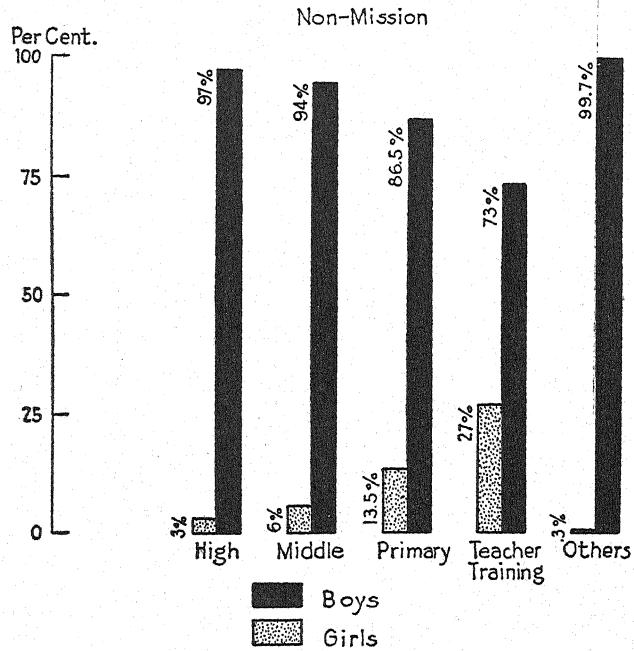
The impressive extent of that influence at present is shown by the following table.

PROPORTION OF MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS TO THE TOTAL EDUCATION FOR GIRLS 1926-27*

	Percentage of Mission Schools to the Total Number of Schools	Percentage of Enrollment in Mission Schools to Total Enrollment
Primary.....	5	6
Middle.....	39	44
High.....	87	92
Teacher-training....	17	43

* R. Littlehailes, *Progress of Education in India*, 1922-27, Vol. II.

PROPORTION OF GIRLS' NON-MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS COMPARED TO PROPORTION OF BOYS' NON-MISSION RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS 1926-27.

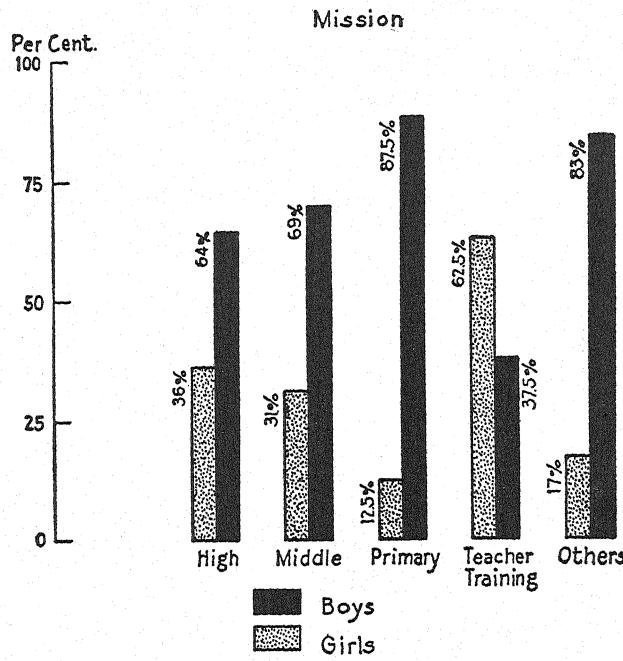


"*Progress of Education in India*," 1922-27, Vol. II

The contribution of missions to girls' education in the higher stages as shown in the preceding tables is especially noteworthy. Twenty of twenty-three high schools for girls in Burma are under missions. Nine girls out of ten in high school are in a mission institution. One-sixth of the number of teacher-training schools are mission institutions.

The extent of mission education for girls today shows clearly the dominant rôle played by such institutions as the Morton Lane High School, the Mandalay High School, Kemmendine, and the Shattuck Memorial School. For several decades these schools have been major factors in establishing standards in girls' education. Mission schools for girls represent the foundation of the present Government system which as a complete system has only existed since 1921. Such a continuous unbroken emphasis on girls' education (13,800 girls out of a total of 50,000) in

PROPORTION OF GIRLS' MISSION
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS COMPARED TO
PROPORTION OF BOYS' MISSION
RECOGNIZED SCHOOLS 1926-27.



"Progress of Education in India," 1922-27, Vol. II.

mission schools has had an incalculable effect in making the public aware of the value and the need of equal educational opportunities for girls and boys. A proof of the emphasis of missions on girls' education is afforded by a comparison of the relative development of girls' and boys' education under mission and non-mission agencies.

PROBLEMS OF MISSION EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

There is no question as to the splendid achievement of mission education for girls in the past and at present, nor as to the need for continued

educational effort. To quote from the English woman who is Chief Inspector of Schools in Burma: "Missions will be needed for a long time. In fact the burden of education for girls rests on them; but certain changes should be made." A Burmese Buddhist inspectress makes the same comment. The need for definite changes in the direction and policy of girls' schools has been brought into the foreground by the present critical period of transition.

Relative Standards of Boys' and Girls' Schools

A problem that has come to the attention of the writer both in India and Burma, is the comparative standards of boys' and girls' mission education. Not only has girls' education under Christian missions received equal emphasis with boys' but in many ways it has been promoted on a higher standard. There are various evidences of the superiority of girls' schools. In many places they have better buildings and more modern and adequate equipment. A striking illustration is the contrast between Morton Lane High School and the Judson Memorial School for Boys in Moulmein.

The teaching in girls' schools is often superior, because the woman missionary in charge has one sole responsibility and is often a trained educator, whereas the man very often is a minister in charge of the whole district evangelistic program. Other criteria of the superiority of girls' secondary schools are fewer teaching hours, fewer students per teacher, a higher percentage of Christian teachers (100 per cent. of the teachers in women's training schools are Christian, 75 per cent. in the men's schools), a higher ranking average in the matriculation examinations, and a more adequate basis of financial support.²

Another reason for the superiority of girls' schools is that they are for the most part supported by the women's boards, which usually have more funds than the General Board.

In discussing this unequal development of boys' and girls' schools, a number of missionaries have emphasized the moral and social effects. To quote from the director of one of the Bible schools: "There needs to be more painstaking personal work done with men and boys in our schools, and a larger proportion of boys and young men receiving training equal to the girls. Otherwise moral catastrophes are inevitable." This problem raises the question whether missions should redress the balance between education for girls and boys, and if so, how this can be done.

Distinctive Character of Girls' Schools

"Are mission schools contributing a unique quality to girls' education?" is a question often asked. This is obviously exceedingly difficult to answer. There is no doubt that the mission school has a distinctive value in atmosphere, ordered discipline, intimate relationships, and con-

² See Mr. Sipple's Study of Middle Schools and High Schools.

tact with fine missionary personalities. Non-Christians mention all of these things in their discriminating appreciation of mission schools. Nevertheless, without discrediting these intangible values, the question may well be asked whether or not the school program gives adequate opportunity for these channels of influence to find expression.

Certain definite characteristics may be considered in evaluating the special quality of a school. Mr. Sipple's study of middle schools and high schools does not reveal a high degree of emphasis on extra-curricular activities. Half of the twenty-five secondary schools made no report concerning social service initiated by the school. According to the writer's observation, there was less emphasis on the extra-curricular values in education in girls' schools in Burma than in India. Several mission principals complained that the rigid examination system made impossible anything outside the regular routine. One woman deplored the fact that she was fulfilling the function of an efficient clerk rather than contributing any creative thinking to the school. A Methodist teacher, on the contrary, demonstrated that the Government curriculum does not prevent original planning of extra-curricular activities and home-life emphases. This school is the exception rather than the rule as expressed by a Burmese teacher, "The mission schools formerly led the Government now the Government grinds them down." Whether the distinctive leadership of the mission school has been forfeited is worthy of serious thought.

Need for Vocational Education for Girls

The need for vocational schools expressed by the inspectress was emphasized in a number of interviews. The present direction of mission education is academic. The main objective is preparation for the examination, which is determined by the standards for higher education. In 104 schools, the average percentage of passes in Government examinations for mission schools was 27.8 per cent. Several of the girls' high schools ranked higher, but the highest was under 50 per cent. The 50 per cent. or more who do not succeed in examination have had no definite educational preparation for other vocations. The school study showed three-fourths of the middle schools, two-thirds of high schools, and all of the training schools had vocational courses; but these courses need expansion and specialization. So far as the writer was able to ascertain, there are no mission industrial vocational schools for girls. The Saunders Weaving Institute at Amarapura fills to a certain limited extent the need for industrial training. The Salvation Army Industrial Home in Rangoon has industrial training for certain types of women. Otherwise, the field of vocational training is untouched.³

The Government education department recognizes this as a primary need and would welcome mission development along these lines.⁴

³ Annual Report on Public Instruction, 1929.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Lack of Adaptation of Mission Schools to Environment

A tour of the different mission middle schools and high schools for girls leaves the impression of a distinctly Westernized school atmosphere. The buildings are impressive and well-administered on Western lines. There is little to suggest an adaptation to the local atmosphere. The highly institutionalized type of life in large dormitories and segregated mission compounds offers little opportunity for emphasis on life situations. Aside from a few exceptions, the idea of division of students into houses or groups has not been tried. The palatial buildings already built make the cottage system impracticable. The atmosphere, language and cultural influence are Western. There are few, if any, attempts to create a Burman atmosphere. A few missionaries, and some Burmese leaders, emphasize the urgent need for more adaptation of mission schools to the environment.

Need for Emphasis on Vernacular Education

This highly Westernized atmosphere is further accentuated by a dominant Anglo-vernacular emphasis. Miss Franklin, the inspectress of schools for Burma, strongly urged that "missions should do more in the vernacular and in coeducation." This field is well covered among the Karens. In the Hengzada district, there are over 150 vernacular schools. The opportunity for emphasizing the vernacular training has come to missions by force of circumstances, since the Government has assumed all Anglo-vernacular teachers' training. The transfer of the higher training schools under missions to the centralized Government institution releases missionary effort which may make possible experimentation in the elementary and rural field.

Lack of Rural Emphasis

The need for rural work, for girls and women especially as well as for the village as a whole, has begun to register theoretically; but has not been translated into practical programs. Aside from the program of Mr. Case, the zealot of rural work in Burma, the village field is entirely neglected. The need for rural education, especially for women, is unquestioned since many Christian villages have no schools.

In this connection, mission schools must consider whether their direction can be less townward. It is commonly admitted that few village girls, after finishing the boarding schools, ever go back to the village. The contribution of missions to town life through these village girls cannot be doubted. An excellent illustration is offered by twenty-eight girl graduates of Mandalay School, all from the village of Muthu, who are carrying on successful careers. Most of these girls did not go back to the village. The training of village girls like these for town life, therefore, has meant steadily depleting the village of its leaders.

The English inspectress has urged that more schools be located in

village areas and that missionaries live in villages rather than be centered in towns. This would involve a distinct change in policy. Consideration should be given to finding ways for the mission girls' schools to contribute more to village Burma by developing channels of service for trained leadership in the village, rather than robbing the village of its potential leaders.

Possibility of More Coeducation

As has already been pointed out, there is a distinct trend in Burma toward more coeducation. The Karen mission schools have given noteworthy demonstrations of successful coeducation. It is suggested that missions develop more coeducational Burmese schools. If this could be done, missions would contribute more effectively toward the solution of elementary education problems. Coeducation in the secondary field would make possible the concentration of mission efforts, which at present are highly subdivided, as at Moulmein. It has been suggested that the pooling of upper grades of Burmese and Karen schools might also be an improvement. This would be an economy of funds and of mission effort, and might also be a valuable means of contact between Karens and Burmese. The racial antipathies constituting the Karen-Burmese problem is fully recognized; but it would seem that joint mission schools would be conducive to a better understanding, which in turn might help to solve the problem.

Need for Experimentation by Missions

One cannot fail to be impressed with the splendid standard of mission education for girls along conventional lines. There is, however, an absence of experimentation, opportunity for which is offered along many lines. The curriculum should be planned to meet practical needs. Vernacular education should be stressed; new projects in rural education should be developed; Western patterns of education should be adapted to the needs of Burma. A Burmese educational leader's comment is pertinent: "Missions should promote different types of schools. There are too many of one kind." The Government authorities emphasize the special fitness of mission schools to experiment in a number of fields needing development.

Problem of Religious Teaching

The Conscience Clause is of fundamental importance in Burma today. How will girls' schools meet this issue? There are widely divergent points of view; on the one hand, the belief that "if the Bible must go, then the mission schools must go"; on the other hand, "the attitude of willingness to depend on the indirect effects of Christianity." The Conscience Clause discussion has opened up the whole problem of the vitality of Bible teaching, and the reality of religious influence of mission schools.

Whether mission schools should limit themselves to the training of Christian leaders, or attempt to hold the non-Christians, also is involved in this subject. Mission schools for the Burmese have had a high percentage of non-Christians; in Moulmein 77 per cent., in Kemmendine, 75 per cent. The National schools may take a few, but mission education for a long time will have non-Christian students if it desires to accept them. In such case, how can missions meet the growing demands of Nationalism and at the same time satisfy mission policy? This is a grave issue.

Mission educational work is valued highly, but opinions are expressed rather freely by Christian Burmese that the American missions "are too stiff-necked, emphasize too much the evangelistic side, and take advantage of non-Christian students in forcing religion on them. Baptists teach religion more than the Roman Catholics or the Anglicans." The statement of a woman Government official is typical of the non-missionary foreign opinion: "Missions should not make conversion the primary object. Education should not be a bait for religion; the missionary should demonstrate more by living than teaching." This must not be taken as a full expression of her opinion, for she goes on to say in another interview, "the well-organized mission with its splendid teaching staff and fine character training is thoroughly appreciated."

Mission education in Burma faces a difficult situation of readjustment from independence of action to the necessity of harmonizing mission programs with national policies. Decreasing funds make clear the wisdom of concentration, rather than expansion. The inclusion of more vernacular work, more rural planning, more vocational training, more coördination of education with life situations, and the re-thinking of religious teaching, demand reflection and require courageous action.

V

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Religious differences in Burma do not play a rôle of absorbing interest as in India, for religion is not the great social determinant in a Burmese woman's life. Buddhists and Christians, as we have already shown, are not socially differentiated because of the influence of religion. Changes in the social and economic conditions have not brought a disrupting process of readjustment of old religious beliefs. Nevertheless, for Buddhist and Christian women alike, religion in Burma is a center of interest.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES OF BUDDHIST WOMEN

ATTITUDE OF OLDER BUDDHIST WOMEN

Although Buddhism assigns to a woman a lower position than to man, by making religious attainment possible only through reincarnation in

masculine form, this inferiority is theoretical rather than actual. There are, to be sure, certain distinctions; for example, the Buddhist woman never goes to the highest places of worship in the temple. Furthermore, the sight of a woman, or contact with her, means contamination for the priest. Buddhist women, however, do not have a sense of being debarred from their religion. On the contrary, the woman controls the religious life of the family. In the home, she guards the household shrine, a shelf which holds the image of the Buddha, flowers and candles. She rises early in the morning to cook rice for the priest. The offerings of women practically support the hundreds of yellow-robed religious mendicants.

Buddhist women carry the major part of the responsibility for religious training of the children, teaching them at home all the religious observances for home life, and taking even the babes in arms to the pagoda where they are taught the attitudes and forms of temple worship at a very early age. When one sees the Buddhist woman kneeling devoutly at the shrine, one cannot fail to be impressed with the depth and reality of her religious devotion, whatever may be her conception of the image, idolatry, or impersonal meditation.

Buddhist women keep strictly the duty days, the Sabbaths when they must give even more to the priests. They go freely to the pwes, the great religious festivals. A Buddhist woman may attain the distinction of becoming a nun, devoting herself to prayers and meditation. The older woman in the home opposes all modernizing religious trends, jealously on guard, for example, against any influence of the mission school in undermining the old faith.

ATTITUDE OF YOUNGER BUDDHIST WOMEN

The younger generation of Buddhist women does not have the deep religious sense of its elders. A new ideal of service, and some group consciousness, are beginning to creep in. The idea of building pagodas for purely selfish merit is losing its appeal. Young Buddhist women under the influence of Western education and the direct Christianizing effect of the mission school are undergoing a change in their religious thinking. This, however, rarely means a change of faith. The solidarity of Buddhism is not easily broken. Furthermore, the present attitude of youth toward Buddhism is strongly dominated by a political and cultural loyalty. Nationalism and religion are interchangeable. Burman and Buddhist are almost synonymous. Modern trends are not undermining the power of religion, but rather are temporarily strengthening it.

RELIGIOUS TRENDS AMONG CHRISTIAN WOMEN

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF OLDER CHRISTIAN WOMEN

The great majority of Christian women in Burma are unaffected by modern currents of religious thought. Religious life for many is bounded

by the mission compound, and focussed in the church. Meeting Christian women individually and in groups in different parts of Burma the writer was impressed with the simplicity and directness of their religious thoughts and experiences. There are no subtleties or uncertainties. Religion means evangelism and evangelism means soul salvation. The writer frequently canvassed opinion on the meaning of Christian service and the reply almost invariably was some form of church work. A typical expression of the idea of Christian workers was, "Those who do the Lord's will and the work of God in love." To them the term "Christian service" means the work of Bible women and pastors "who preach to the heathen in jungle villages."

A missionary makes an interesting comment that "after having been transferred from school work to district evangelism, one of the Burmese women said, 'Oh, now you are a missionary.'" The terms "missionary" and "evangelist" to the Burmese woman are identical.

RELIGIOUS ATTITUDE OF YOUNGER CHRISTIAN WOMEN

New trends are becoming evident in the thinking of the younger generation. When a young Karen teacher in a group of Karen women in Moulmein ventured to suggest that Girl Guiding might be Christian service, the idea seemed very foreign to the rest of the group. She maintained with conviction her point of view, "that Christian service ought to mean any expression of the Christ-like spirit, not only teaching concerning God, but trying to improve moral character. People may not recognize Guiding as Christian service but it will leave a Christian effect on girls in improving their moral character." The rest of the group dismissed her opinion as of doubtful value.

In another group of Karen women in Rangoon, the Karen Y. W. C. A. worker strongly insisted against the dissenting opinion of the group that Christian service is not limited to preaching but that "social service offers a field for Christian leaders in which one should not always expect to preach." The dominant feeling of the group was that community service cannot be equal to evangelism, since "preaching the Word" must take precedence over everything else. The question whether Government service could be considered Christian service called forth a similar divergence of opinion between the older group and the younger. In the older women's opinion Government service could be classed as Christian only if there were opportunity to hold Bible classes and to preach, a program difficult to carry out because of Government regulations. Some younger women felt that there is a field for Christian leaders in Government service by example of Christian living but not in direct preaching. They deplored the fact that Christians have not seen the possibilities of the Christian lay worker outside the church, but have left the Government field of influence largely to Buddhists.

Trend Away from the Church

These differences of interpretation of Christian service are symptomatic of the growing divergence in thought between the Christian leaders of the older and the younger generations. The exclusive interpretation of the older Christian women is that Christianity is church-centered and church-bound. This does not satisfy younger leaders who are moving outward seeking an inclusive Christian message. It seemed to the writer that this feeling was more marked on the whole among the Burmese than among the Karens. The Burmese Christians have more contact with Buddhists and Burma as a whole. They have felt the influence of nationalism. Although they have not participated in the national movement, they have become conscious of the need for closer relationship to national life. They feel that the Christian community has become too smug, limited to the church and separated from the outside world. Karen leaders, like the two already quoted, are not so directly conscious of nationalism as of the broader social appeal and social implications of the term "Christian."

This tendency toward a wider interpretation of the term "Christian" is reflected in the inactivity or indifference of young people in the church. Missionaries and indigenous leaders alike complain that after students leave the automatic churchgoing period of the mission school, many of them take little further interest in church life. "Young people leave the responsibility to older people." "Young people, especially college students, and educated Burmese are not keen on church work and Christianity as a whole." "They criticize the pastor and demand that the service should be interesting. Church has no effect on youth and bears no relationship to its daily life." "The influences outside are stronger; they prefer to go to the cinema on Sunday afternoon rather than to Christian Endeavor." These are some of the comments of Christian leaders who are concerned for the future and deplore the trend of youth away from the church.

The declining interest of young people in the church is not peculiar to Burma, but is a reflection of modern influences world-wide in their effect. However, the failure of the church to attract and hold young people is recognized, by some missionaries at least, as the inevitable result of the entire absence of any social emphasis in Christian missions and the church. "Missionaries do not have time for social service"; "social service work is carried on for the most part outside of the mission"; "the mission has made no study of social problems"; these statements of three different women missionary leaders sum up the situation from the mission angle. A Judson College professor gives succinctly this lack of relationship between Christian teaching and the social message. "The church does not include social teaching in its services." He says further:

An attempt to relate Christian teaching to social questions in a series of sermons on war, sex, and the social teachings of Christ interested the students deeply, as it was the first time their attention had been drawn to the relationship of Christianity to these questions. However, the sermons did not meet with the approval of the faculty and were therefore discontinued.

Trend toward Fuller Participation in Church Evangelism

In spite of the fact that many young people are turning away from the church and definite religious work because of the lack of social emphasis, a strong counter-movement of young people is committed to the task of personal evangelism and the strengthening of the church. Gospel teams made up mostly of young men and women students are carrying on a definite program of religious campaigns or revivals all over Burma, particularly in schools, but also in some communities.

Missionary opinion of these Gospel teams differs. Some missionaries feel that the emphasis on individual salvation leaves out the essential Christian appeal needed by Buddhism; that the repetition of personal experience by young people engenders a religious superiority complex; and that the approach is sentimental and unsound. Others, the majority so far as the writer could ascertain, approve of the method; are not conscious of the absence of the social gospel, since they believe that personal salvation must precede social regeneration; and feel that the Gospel team is a wonderfully revitalizing factor in evangelism. The writer was impressed with the fact that both Karen and Burmese girls took an important part on the Gospel teams, were very articulate in their religious expression, and remarkably free from self-consciousness in their relations with the men on the team.

The results of the Gospel teams are measured largely in terms of converts. The special significance of this most interesting attempt at direct evangelism is the fact that the responsibility for the promotion of Christianity is assumed by the younger generation of Christian leaders in Burma. Although at present under missionary guidance and inspiration, yet it presages rapid advance toward devolution in the field of evangelism. It represents one of the striking results of the intensive evangelistic efforts of the Baptist mission.

PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE CHURCH

Another outstanding evidence of the effective program of evangelism in Burma is the vital participation of Christian women in the church. As we have already pointed out, the religious life of Christian women of the older generation, both Burmese and Karen, is centered in the church. The women missionary evangelists, through a program of careful Christian nurture over a long period, have developed a strong woman leadership in the Christian church. Both Christian communities, the

Karen and Burmese, have their preëminent women leaders of national influence as well as local leaders in every community, and a great number of women less conspicuously but no less actively identified with church life.

PARTICIPATION IN CHURCH COUNCILS

The importance of women in the church is not measured necessarily by their voting powers in church councils. In a number of churches, both Burmese and Karen, the women have voting powers. In some, however, as in the Rangoon Karen church, the decision in church matters rests with men. There are no women on the church committee, no women trustees, no women officers in the church, no members on the school committees. In the Bassein Karen church, however, the women have a voice in church decisions. Judging from conferences with groups of church women in different places, the Burmese women seem more vocal and uninhibited in mixed assemblies. This marks a change. A Burmese woman in Rangoon stated that "women are beginning to talk now. Previously it was the custom that women must not talk." In Bassein, according to one leader, "women speak more than men and are not afraid to tell the truth." The Karen women are more silent in mixed assembly, as one Karen woman in Bassein said: "In mixed meetings we don't talk; it is not the custom. In the National Association only the men talk. Although women are admitted, it is considered a man's organization. Women leave these mixed societies to men and talk freely in their own societies."

WOMEN'S SOCIETIES IN THE CHURCH

Local Societies

The doctrine of St. Paul, which dictates the silence of women in the church, does not seem to have been resented or opposed by women. They find sufficient outlet in their separate women's societies, which form the most important part of the church program. Many of the Karen societies raise scholarships for students in the Bible Woman's School in Rangoon and then carry on their support in village evangelism. The finances of some of these societies are on a very sound basis; for example, the Karen society in Bassein supports nine teachers; the Woman's Society of Henzada contributes to the Bible School, the Burma Union, the Henzada Y. W. C. A., the Moulmein orphanage, and has an Endowment Fund of Rs.6,280.

The local societies contribute not only to their own activities but to the general support of the church. A very large amount of general church finance is borne by women. "The pastor comes to the women when the church needs money," one Karen woman said. "If the woman gives Rs.1, it is worth Rs.10 from a man, for her money comes from the

sale of her chickens, and an anna saved here and there. Out of her little, the woman gives much." A Burmese woman in Rangoon comments on the fact that "women do more work than men in collecting church funds from the members."

National Societies of Karen and Burmese Women

The Karen and Burmese women of the Baptist church each have very well organized national societies: The Union of Karen Women in Burma founded in 1921, and the All-Burma Women's Missionary Society, both of which grew out of women's prayer meetings. These societies link up the work of the Baptist local women's societies all over Burma. Except when they meet annually at the All-Burma Baptist Convention, their work is entirely separate.

These two very strong women's societies, working independently all over Burma, are typical of the divided Christian community as a whole. The Christian faith has not constituted a strong binding force in uniting these two very different communities. Women of both communities recognize the weakness of a divided Christianity, but feel that a solution is almost impossible. A Burmese woman in Rangoon makes the comment: "We simply can't step with the Karens. The Karen and Burmese ideas are so entirely different."

In a group of Karen women the same feeling was expressed: "We live and work together, but it is very difficult for Burmese and Karens to make friends." The racial differences which make unity difficult are also clearly reflected in the attitude of the missionaries who have marked preferences for the race with which they have worked. As one missionary said, "I prefer Karens to Burmese and I am so thankful that I have worked among Karens. I suppose I would feel the same if I had worked among Burmese." Women of these two races, through their church activities, can do much toward mutual racial understanding in the building of a more united Christian community in Burma.

In the opinion of the writer, it would seem that this would also be a major task for the missionary, especially in a period of growing nationalism. It is significant that the need for closer coöperation of missionaries with these women's societies is recognized by their leaders. In frequent conferences with Karen and Burmese women, the desire for a full-time missionary to help in the development of these church societies and activities was expressed.

EVANGELISTIC PROGRAM—BIBLE WOMEN

The development of Burmese and Karen women into a strong and conscious religious life has been part of the general program of evangelism carried on by missions in Burma. Another very important part of the program has been carried on by Bible women.

TYPE OF BIBLE WOMEN

Christian missions in Burma have had a distinct advantage over missions in India in being able to use much younger, unmarried women as Bible women instead of the elderly indigent widow, as in India, for whom the mission felt some responsibility, or the wife of the pastor who had to be subsidized. This policy of subsidy is not approved in Burma. The Methodists, for example, discontinue the salary of a Bible woman when she marries.

POSSIBILITY OF INDEPENDENT VILLAGE WORK

In comparison with the opportunities for independent service of Bible women in India, Burma is very fortunate. As we have already observed, the fortunate status of women in Burma is a prime factor in missionary work. The writer was impressed with that fact in meeting two fine-looking Bible women in Twante, each about twenty-five years old, attractive, modern-looking young women with their sidones (the high circlet of hair characteristic of the Burmese headdress), their white blouses and bright silk longyis. Each had had the fourth-grade education and four years' experience. They had been living together in Twante, working in the neighboring villages in close coöperation with the pastor. They moved about freely without adverse criticism, and worked quite independently without missionary supervision. Their freedom of living and working presents a striking contrast to the more limited sphere of work in India. These two Bible women at Twante are of a slightly higher type than the average young woman who enters Bible training, but on the whole, they are typical. Bible women in villages usually live and work two or three together. Occasionally one may live in a village family but this is rare.

GENERAL QUALIFICATIONS OF BIBLE WOMEN

The usual educational level of Bible women is the third or fourth standard. Occasionally a seventh-standard girl who has failed takes up the work. These lower-trained girls have been used very effectively, and some very successful Bible women have developed from very crude material. The younger lower-trained type has a special fitness for work in the villages and their services should be continued. The older missionaries used to feel that they must accept gratefully any girls who came and try to make something out of them; but the missionaries are beginning to realize now that more preparation must be required and a higher type of girl recruited. A special effort is being made with some success to attract more highly trained girls either high school or college graduates. Training for this type of girl is being given in connection with the Baptist Seminary at Insein. The work of the Gospel team may have the effect of interesting girls of more advanced training in becoming Bible women.

FACILITIES FOR TRAINING BIBLE WOMEN

The present facilities of American missions for training Bible women include a Methodist Episcopal school at Thongwa and two Bible women's schools in Rangoon, one for Karen and the other for Burmese girls. The Methodist Bible School for Women at Thongwa is distinctive in being coöordinated with the Theological School on a very satisfactory basis of coeducation. The Karen Baptist Bible School in Rangoon has contributed greatly to the development of Karen women. It has the distinction of being entirely supported by the Karen church. The Bible women are placed and supported by the Home Missionary Society. Offers from America to support Karen Bible women are always refused as the policy of Karen independent finance is rigidly maintained.

The Burman Woman's Bible School is being reorganized to emphasize two types of training for the lower uneducated girl and for the higher type of religious supervisor. In both of these types, practical experience is stressed.

TYPE OF WORK OF BIBLE WOMEN

The work of Bible women in the villages varies greatly according to the ability and training of the worker. In the early days, the young girls to whom the missionaries had given a measure of training, accompanied them to the villages to act as interpreters, tell Bible stories and sing hymns. The work of the Bible woman has developed in some places to include simple medical work, combining the work of evangelist and nurse; or perhaps the missionary evangelist and a Bible woman supervise the village school. Such a program is being carried on in Pegu and in Mandalay. Some of the better-trained Bible women carry on a much more comprehensive program, helping to establish church societies, working closely with the pastor, holding religious meetings for women, and exerting a general influence on the whole community. However simple or comprehensive the work of the Bible woman may be, the primary motivation is evangelism.

STATUS OF BIBLE WOMEN

The Bible woman has a fully recognized status: In the Methodist church, she holds the same certificate as the local preachers of equal standard and has the same address of honor, "sayama," as a teacher; in the Baptist church, the Bible woman has a responsible position in church life, is respected and favorably received everywhere.

The work of Bible women presents some definite needs: Better professional and economic status to attract more educated girls; recruitment of a higher type for special English training; more practical work along health and social-welfare lines in addition to the evangelistic training; a union scheme of training for Baptists and Methodists, which may be diffi-

cult to accomplish, because of differences in theology. The main criticism of the Bible women's program is that it is narrowed down too much to the field of evangelism and should have more social outreach for general village welfare.

FURTHER OPPORTUNITY FOR MISSION EFFORT

The development of vital religious leadership among the women of Burma has been assumed as the *raison d'être* of the missionary enterprise as it affects women. Every field of effort has been directed toward that aim which has been followed with remarkable singleness of vision. From the great pioneering period to the present, there has been little variation in direction or in methods. The large number of Karen, and the smaller number of active Burmese, women leaders testify to the achievement of the past.

The present situation offers opportunities for enlarging the scope and effectiveness of the mission program. In schools, in the church, through community contact, in the rural as well as urban areas, the mission is called upon to continue its contribution to the religious life of the women of Burma.

VI

SUMMARY

Missionary and Burman opinion expressed in private interviews and group conferences, together with the data in the various fields of our study, reveal the need for some redirection of missionary effort. This will require shifts of emphases along a number of lines:

The social implications of Christ's teaching must be recognized as an integral part of the presentation of Christianity.

The center of missionary effort must shift into the rural area and a full rural program with special attention to the needs of village women must be aggressively promoted.

Health needs as a part of the mission program, with special emphasis on preventive measures in the rural field, must be given more consideration.

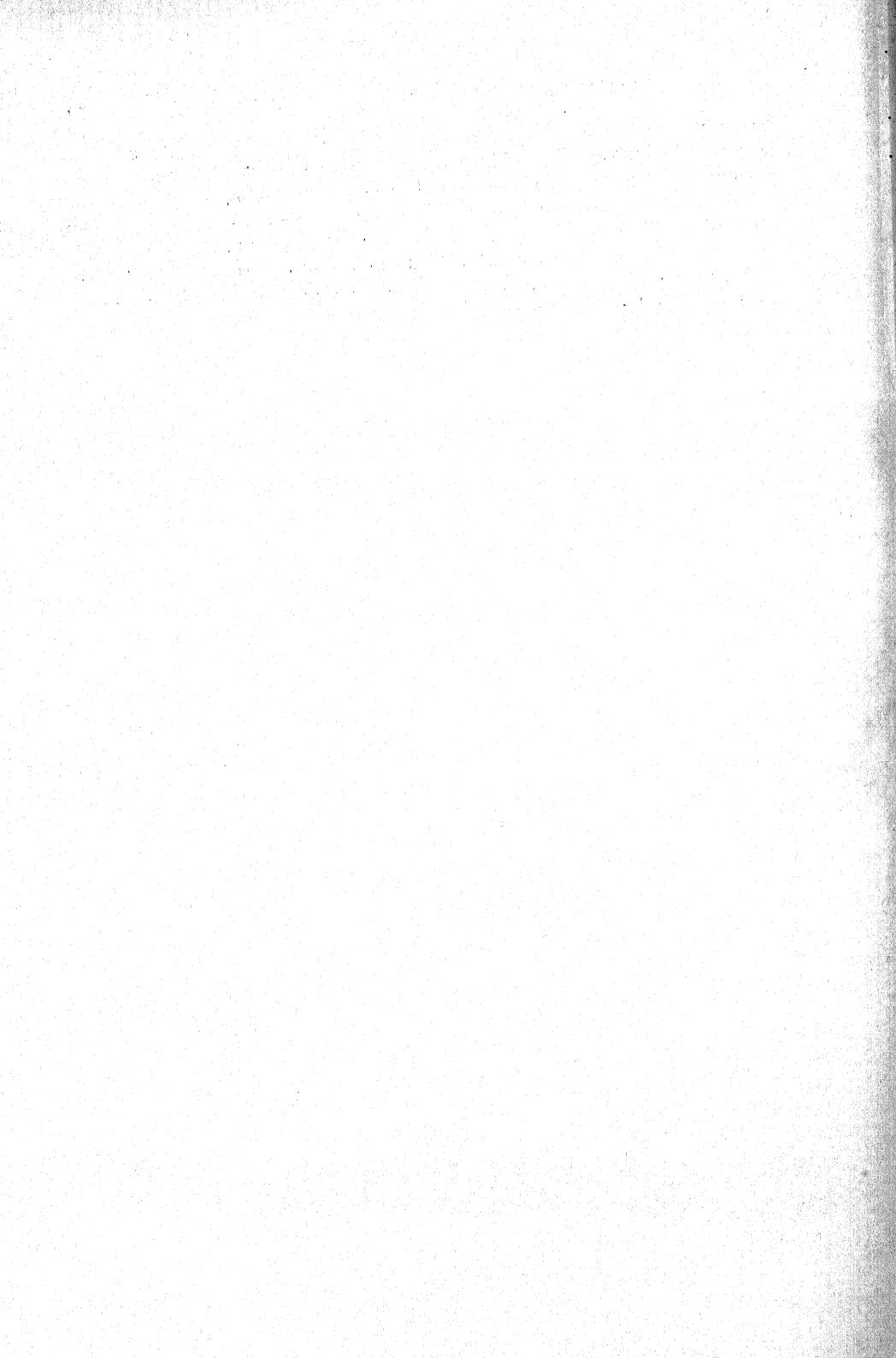
Mission education for girls must recapture the pioneering spirit and enter the field of experimentation, developing practical vocational programs and adapting education to the life situation of the girls of Burma.

In all forms of mission work, institutional routine must be reduced to the minimum to release missionary personality for fuller creative expression.

Religious education must be interpreted in more vital living terms that supersede the limits of Government restrictions.

The missionary enterprise in Burma as a whole must be restudied in

the light of a changing situation. In the writer's opinion, based on an experience in Turkey not unlike the present crisis in Burma, the growing national self-consciousness of the Burmese that identifies Burma and Buddhism may make excessive demands for a time but eventually will probably strike a spirit of more tempered tolerance. For Christian missions, the crisis will not be without salutary results in that it will demand a careful analysis of religious thinking and an exploration of untried methods of religious influence.



GLOSSARY

- Ahimsa*.—Doctrine of non-violence.
- A-Hlus*.—Occasions of hospitality (Burma).
- Anna*.—1/16 of a rupee.
- Ayah*.—Child's nurse or lady's maid.
- Bidi*.—Cigarette.
- Bunya*.—Money-lender.
- Burqah* (burka).—Enveloping robe, covering all but the eyes; worn by women in purdah.
- Cess*.—Tax.
- Chanda*.—Offering.
- Chapati*.—A thin cake of unleavened bread.
- Charpai*.—A wood-frame cot.
- Chawl*.—Standardized tenements for factory employees.
- Chutiya*.—Sacred scalp-lock.
- Crèche*.—Simple nursery for infants.
- Crore*.—100 lakh, or ten million (usually rupees).
- Dacoit*.—Member of Indian or Burmese robber band.
- Dai*.—Indian midwife.
- Devadasi*.—Dedicated to a god or temple.
- Dhal*.—A generic term applied to various pulses.
- Dharma*.—Duty.
- Dharzi*.—Tailor.
- Dhobi*.—Laundryman.
- Ghi* (ghee).—Clarified butter.
- Gur*.—Crude sugar.
- Guru*.—A teacher of religion.
- Karma*.—Sum of person's actions in one of his successive states of existence, viewed as deciding his fate in the next; destiny.
- Kshatriya*.—Warrior (caste).
- Lathi*.—Club.
- Maund*.—Variable,—a railway maund is 80 pounds.
- Mela*.—A religious festival or fair.
- Mohalla*.—Poor section of a town or city.
- Natkin*.—Woman foreman.
- Nats*.—Spirits or demons (Burma).
- Paddy*.—Unhusked rice.
- Panchayat*.—A committee (originally five) for management of the affairs of a village.
- Pariah*.—Outcaste; sweeper.
- Paya-pwe*.—Religious drama (Burma).
- Pie*.—1/12 of an anna.
- Pongyi*.—A Buddhist monk or priest (Burma).
- Pucca* (pukkha).—Substantial, good.
- Puja*.—Worship (Hindu).
- Purdah*.—A veil or curtain; practice of keeping women secluded.
- Pwe*.—An entertainment (Burma).
- Rupee*.—Standard of currency, about 36 cents (1931).
- Ryot*.—Farmer.
- Sari*.—A long piece of cloth worn by the Indian woman as a dress.

GLOSSARY

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Sati (suttee).—Immolation of widow on husband's funeral pyre.

Sudra.—Farmer (caste).

Swadeshi.—Movement in India for boycotting British goods as means of bringing political pressure to bear.

Swaraj.—Home rule.

Taluk.—District.

Thuggee.—Practice of robber-thugs.

Vaishya.—Merchant.

Zayat.—Resthouse (Burma).

Zemindar.—Landholder.

Zenana.—Part of a house in which women of high-caste families are secluded.

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